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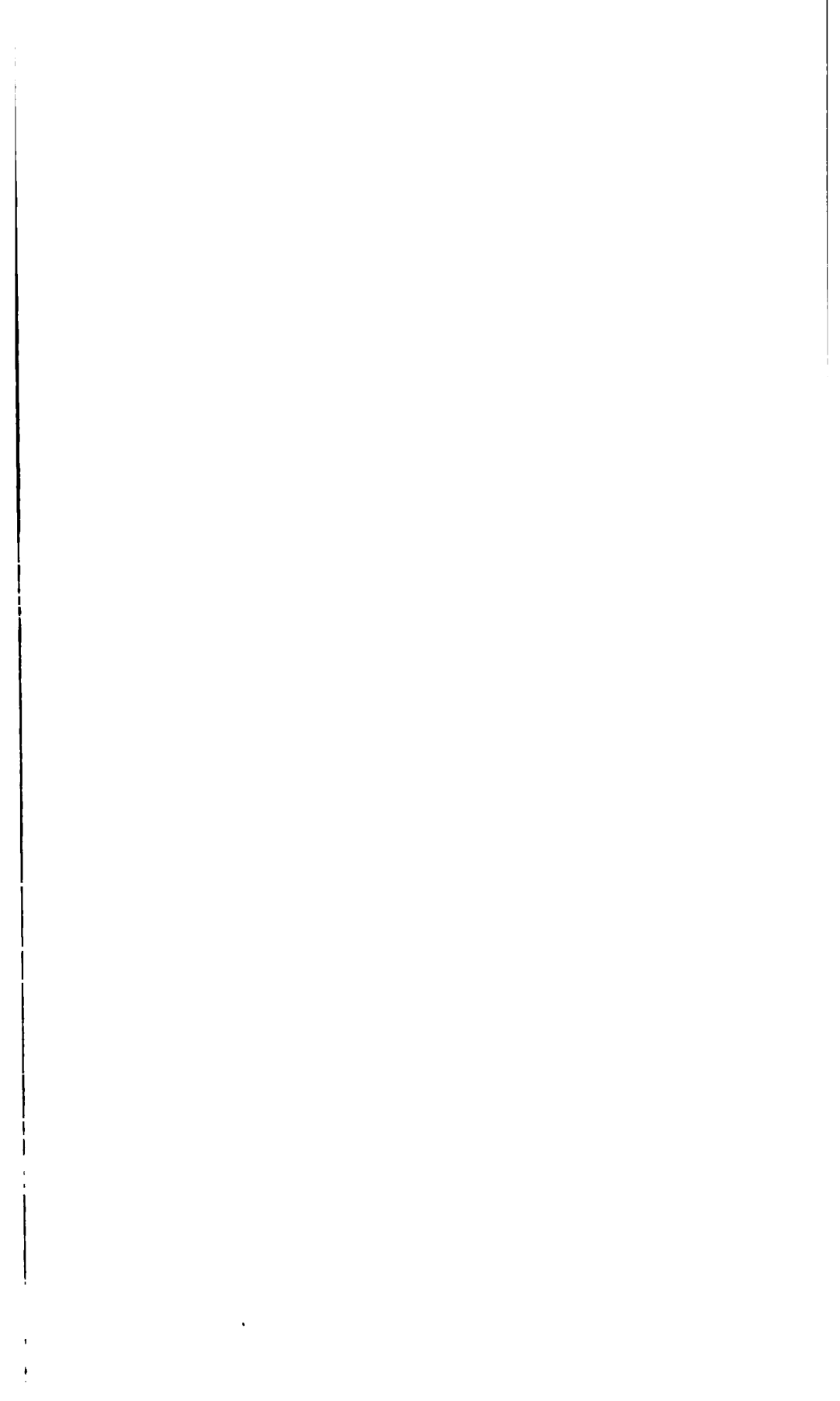
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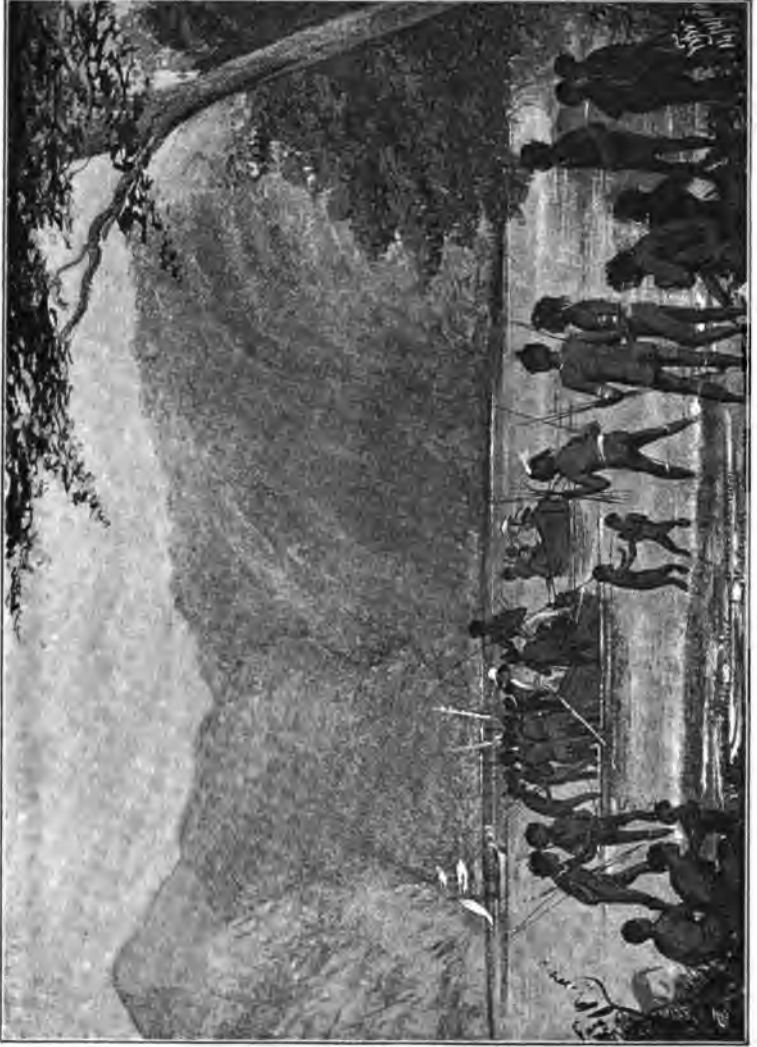


Chas. Mason, Auckland
March 1st 1900
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THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDERS
AND THE
QUEENSLAND LABOUR TRADE





RECRUITING AT MANNO KWOI, MALAYTA I.

THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDERS

AND THE

QUEENSLAND LABOUR TRADE;

**A Record of Voyages and Experiences in the
Western Pacific, from 1875 to 1891.**

BY

WILLIAM T. WAWN

MASTER MARINER

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS BY THE SAME



London

SWAN SONNENSCHN & CO.

PATERNOSTER SQUARE

1893

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To the
SUGAR-PLANTERS OF QUEENSLAND,
who have spent the Best Years of their Lives and
MILLIONS OF MONEY
in Developing an Industry which represents not less than
NINETY PER CENT.
of the Total Agricultural Value of that Colony ; and
which at one time bade fair to eclipse even the great
PASTORAL AND MINING INDUSTRIES
in Wealth and Importance :

To those
BOLD PIONEERS
who have opened up the Rich Agricultural Districts along
the Coast, and have been the means of settling
THOUSANDS OF EUROPEANS
on the Land ;
and who have done more towards the
PRACTICAL CIVILIZATION
of the
CANNIBAL AND THE SAVAGE
than all the Well-intentioned but Narrow-minded Enthusiasts of the
SOUTHERN PACIFIC :

To those
GOOD MEN AND TRUE
who, after a **QUARTER OF A CENTURY** of Hard Work and
Doubtful Prosperity, have been Basely Betrayed, and
UNSCRUPULOUSLY SACRIFICED
to the Greed of the Political Place-hunter and the
Howling Ignorance which follows in his train,—
I DEDICATE
THIS WORK WITH MUCH SYMPATHY AND RESPECT.

THE AUTHOR.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Author of this volume being now in Australia, and so not available for immediate reference, it has been deemed desirable to preface his work with a few explanatory remarks. These are more particularly addressed to English readers.

Among political controversies in the Colony of Queensland, the "Kanaka Question" held a prominent place for many years, becoming at length of almost supreme importance. Along the coast, more especially of Northern Queensland, there stretches a belt of country adapted for the cultivation of tropical products, chief among them being the sugar-cane. To develop the resources of this region it was necessary to find a class of labourers better able to endure the climate than Europeans, as well as to work at a cheaper rate. Thus arose the demand for labourers brought from the various island groups of the Western Pacific—Papuan and Polynesian, loosely termed "Kanakas."

Captain Wawn was engaged in recruiting such labourers, from 1875, when they were first introduced, down to 1891, when the Queensland Government legislated against the importation of Kanakas into the Colony, and their employment there. His narrative is that of a practical man, than whom none could be better acquainted with the subject he treats of. He has recorded much that is interesting relative to numerous little-known islands, and the tale he has to tell may well be regarded as a valuable contribution to the history of Queensland and the Western Pacific.

It was while the labour controversy was at its height in Queensland, that Captain Wawn sent his manuscript to England for publication. Forwarded on board the ill-fated s.s. *Quetta*,

it was lost in the wreck of that vessel. By the time that the Author had re-written his narrative, bringing it down to a later date, the political situation in the Colony had changed. The Kanaka Question had passed out of the region of debate, and the abolition of "the Labour Trade" had become an accomplished fact.

Under these circumstances it was thought desirable to make some alteration in the original plan of the work. Much controversial matter had been gathered into it for which the occasion had passed. Written as the "log" of a practical seaman, details were also contained in it that were only suitable for inclusion in a Nautical Directory. These features, it was felt, might be dispensed with, and the whole remodelled into a less tedious and more attractive form.

The manuscript was therefore entrusted to Mr. W. Delisle Hay, whose experience of revisionary work has been considerable. At his hands such reduction was made as has been just indicated, and the whole narrative carefully re-shaped. No alteration of the text here given was attempted, except of a purely literary kind; the most scrupulous care having been taken to preserve Captain Wawn's own words and to present his views without material change or any substitution. The illustrations have been reproduced from the Author's own sketches, and the maps, supplied by Messrs W. and A. K. Johnston, have been conformed to Captain Wawn's charts.

SWAN SONNENSCHN & CO.

LONDON,

September, 1893.

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FINIS.

THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDERS.

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST VOYAGE OF THE *STANLEY*, 1875.

I arrive at Sydney—The James Birnie massacre—Appointed to the Stanley—Preparations for a recruiting voyage—Sail from Maryborough, 1875—Fraser I.—Arrival at Maré I.—The Loyalty Group—Races of the South Pacific—Missionary work—To Tanna I.—System of recruiting—Goods for island traffic—Firearms—Customary presents—Buying slaves—Refutation of the slander—Misuse of words “buy,” “sell,” and “steal”—Reflections on kidnapping—Tanna I.—A storm—Mode of engaging recruits—Exchange and barter—The “guileless” native—Missionaries and recruiters—War between Catholic and Protestant converts—The returned labourer—The New Hebrideans—Languages—Dress—Productions—Curious land sale—Poisoned arrows—British colonization stopped by Exeter Hall—How the French stepped in—Bombardment of Tanna I.—Incident of the shell—Kava, the native intoxicant—Curious superstition—Niu’s clothes—Falsely accused by a missionary—Erromanga I.—Massacres—Christianity or smallpox!—Murder of the Gordons—“Devil country”—Api I.—Yams, taro, and breadfruit—A shot from the shore—Paama I.—Ambrym I.—Narovorovo—Attack on a bathing party—Flight of the enemy—Port Sandwich, Mallicolo I.—Volcanoes.

IN the beginning of 1875 I arrived at Sydney, New South Wales, in command of the schooner *Flora*, from Samoa and Fiji, after spending five years among the islands of the South-Western Pacific. During that period I had been some time afloat as master or mate, more often ashore, living amongst the natives as a trader. I had

visited New Caledonia, the Loyalty, New Hebrides, Samoa, Fiji, Caroline, Marshall and Gilbert groups. I had also gone through a short but adventurous experience along the shores of New Britain and Duke of York I. The *Flora* was sold to another firm after discharging cargo, and fitted out for the Queensland Polynesian labour trade under the command of Captain Mackay, and I was thrown out of employment.

At this time the second mate of the brig *James Birnie* was in Sydney. This vessel had sailed during the previous year under the command of Captain Fletcher to collect *bêche-de-mer* * amongst the South Sea Islands. Captain Fletcher's idea of savage character appears to have been founded on the mistake that, if you treat a savage kindly, he will therefore behave well to you. At the Mortlock or Lord Howe Is., a huge atoll lying north-east of the Solomon group, the ship was anchored within the lagoon, and several stations for collecting and curing *bêche-de-mer* were formed on the numerous islets scattered along the encircling reef. The chief and his subjects professed the greatest friendliness towards the strangers, and deceived Fletcher so far that the latter forbade his men to carry firearms.

The natural consequence was that the captain and most of the crew were massacred, and the ship was plundered and burnt. The second mate, who had sense enough to carry his revolver concealed about him, and some five or six Polynesians, natives of other islands, escaped in an open boat and made for the Solomon group, whence they got a passage to Sydney.

One of Her Majesty's ships afterwards visited the place, but recovered nothing, though she gave the natives a severe lesson as to their future behaviour towards

* *Bêche-de-mer*, also called trepang or tripang, is a large marine slug, inhabiting coral reefs. Its scientific name is *Holothuria edulis*. It is collected, cured, and sent to the Chinese markets, where it fetches a high price, being highly esteemed by Chinese epicures.

white men. The good effects of this action I experienced thirteen years later, when I visited the Mortlocks in the *Ariel*, rescued a white castaway, and recruited some of the inhabitants. Would that all our ships of war acted as promptly in our defence! I am happy to say that no Queensland labour vessel had before this time visited the Mortlock group, so that the cause of the *James Birnie* massacre cannot be laid to our charge. I mention this because, all through my experience of the labour trade, it has been the fashion to lay the blame on us for all South Sea Island outrages.

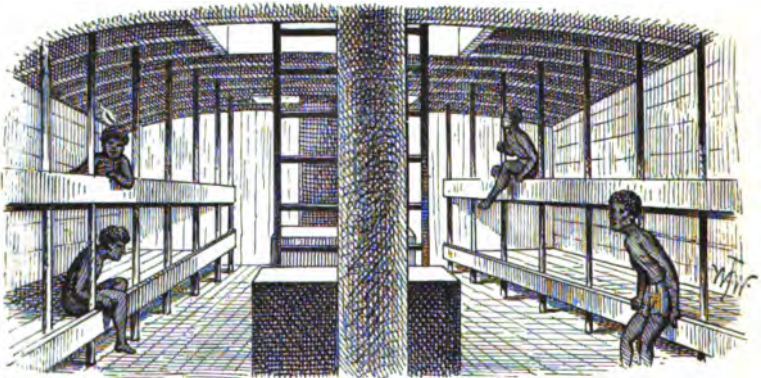
Through the good offices of the late owner of the *Flora*, and in consequence of my varied experience in the South Pacific, I was not long out of a berth. On Feb. 19 I took charge, as master, of the schooner *Stanley*, 115 tons register. Built at Granton, Scotland, she was a handy, weatherly vessel, admirably suited for South Sea work. Having had her re-caulked, coppered, and fitted with two suitable boats and davits, I took in cargo, and sailed for Maryborough, Queensland. H.M.S. *Alacrity* went to sea at the same time, bound for the islands. She was one of the schooners built or purchased in Australia, employed as cruisers among the islands to suppress kidnapping—a crime very common before Fiji was annexed.

At Maryborough I discharged my cargo, and the *Stanley* was fitted with a lower deck on top of her iron ballast, two long shelves or bunks, six feet wide, extending the whole length of the hold, as sleeping quarters for the expected recruits. A bulkhead of four-inch wooden battens, at a like distance apart, divided the whole space into two unequal parts, the after one, to which there was admission by the outer hatch only, being reserved for females.

On May 12 we were ready for sea. The hull and rigging had been examined by the shipping inspector of the port, who had also measured the hold to determine how many recruits the vessel should be licensed to carry.

The immigration agent had seen that the accommodation was satisfactory, and that there were sufficient provisions, clothing for recruits, and blankets on board. I had signed a bond for £500 as a guarantee against kidnapping. A Government agent (generally styled the "G. A.") was appointed, and a licence to recruit and carry not more than 109 Polynesian labourers was issued to us.

Besides the G. A., I had three passengers, all friends of the owners. One, generally known as "Cades," having had some experience of the islands, was to engage the natives on shore, and sailed as recruiting agent. A



RECRUITS' QUARTERS IN A LABOUR SHIP.

second was the Doctor, while the third, whom we called "Cash," had nothing to do but amuse himself and others. There were also seven natives of Erromanga, labourers returning home after three years' service, £3 per head having been paid by their late employers for their passage. At this time, if a "boy" did not return home when his first service expired, he lost the opportunity of having his passage paid by his late employer. Subsequently, on the arrival of a labourer, his first employer had to pay £5 to the Government to cover a return passage. If a labourer died in Queensland, the Government did not refund that £5.

Cabin stores were liberally provided, especially all sorts of liquors, from champagne down to "square gin" and schnapps. A dinner at the "Royal," given by the owner to the cabin party and other friends, and a "drunk" and free fight "forward" among the hands, took place on the eve of departure, and, before heads were level, the schooner was dropping down the river Mary in charge of Pilot Minnahin.

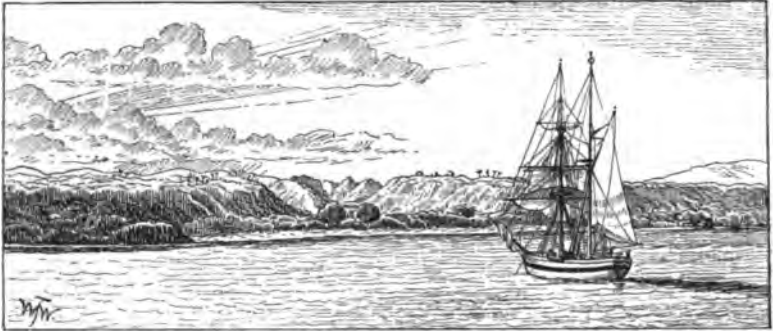
Opposite the mouth of the Mary, and parallel with the coast line, lies Fraser I., long and low, remarkable only for its sterility. There is abundance of fresh water, however, and the island is used as a reserve for the few aboriginals of the district, whom "rum and civilization" have not yet killed off. This island was named after Captain Fraser, who was wrecked on it and lost his life there. His two children, girls, were rescued from the blacks in the early days of Maryborough.

At Fraser I. we lay off the White Cliffs for three days, taking in water and firewood. As soon as the tanks were filled and the vacant space between the bunks and the lower deck stocked with good split logs of she-oak for firewood, the anchor was hove up for good, and the schooner headed northward in order to reach the open ocean round Breaksea Spit, beyond the northern point of the island.

The first week of the voyage was spent in beating against a strong south-easterly breeze, taking advantage of the steady southerly current which runs along the coast from here to Cape Howe. A little to the southward of Cape Moreton, the breeze died away, and was followed by a fresh westerly wind, which gave us a splendid run to the reefs off the south-east end of New Caledonia, and thence past Walpole I. to North Bay, Maré I., one of the Loyalty group, a dependency of the French colony of New Caledonia. Here we lay two days, engaging as boatmen four strapping natives of the island, whom we agreed to re-land on our way home.

Near our anchorage was the English mission station, in charge of the Rev. Mr. Jones, a gentleman respected and liked by all who came in contact with him. He was one of the few of his calling who attended to his own affairs, and did not, without good cause, interfere with his neighbours.

A native of Maré, whom I had shipped in Maryborough as boatman for the voyage, attempted to desert here, probably influenced by his friends on shore. I had some difficulty in getting him back to the beach and on board, after discovering him concealed in a hut about a mile inland. However, I offered a reward for his appre-



WALPOLE I.

hension, not payable until he was safe on board; so interested parties helped me, and he went the voyage with me until our return.

The Loyalties are of coral formation, almost flat on the top, with deep water all round. Uea I. has a vast extent of shoal water on its northern side. Maré and Lifu, with the intervening islets, have been raised by volcanic agency to the height of 150 feet above the sea. But Uea is much less elevated. These islands are densely wooded, but are not considered fertile, owing to the absence of volcanic soil.

Walpole I., 75 miles south-east, is of the same formation. It is 230 feet high, very precipitous, with deep water all round, and is covered with brushwood. It is

the haunt of thousands of sea-birds. The Loyalty Islanders are, I think, mostly of Papuan descent, but with a strain of the true Polynesian.

Touching on this subject, I may explain here that there are three races native to the South Pacific. The Papuan, or Negrito, distinguished by black, or nearly black, skin and "kinky" wool, is found, more or less pure, in New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago, the Solomon, Santa Cruz, New Hebrides, and Loyalty groups, New Caledonia, and to a small extent in Fiji. The true Polynesian, having a brown skin and frizzly hair, is found in New Zealand, Tonga, Fiji, Samoa, and elsewhere to the east and north. The Malay race, with brown skin and straight black hair, is spread over the Equatorial islands, namely, the Caroline, Marshall, Gilbert, and Ellice groups. There is, of course, some admixture where these races have come in contact with each other.

At the time I am writing of, I believe all the inhabitants of the Loyalties had adopted the Christian religion, two-thirds, at least, being Protestants. But what they are now I cannot say, both the Revs. Jones and Macfarlane (of Lifu I.) having been forced to leave these islands on account of the machinations of the French priests. An attempt had been previously made, in 1872, to oust these missionaries, but the late Emperor Napoleon prevented it. He would not permit such intolerance in religious matters.

The men, especially those of Maré, make good sailors and boatmen, and are in great request among traders and whalers. As swimmers and divers they stand in the foremost rank, even among South Sea Islanders. The native dress—a span breadth of banana leaf or bark for the man, and a grass petticoat, or fringe, for the woman—is rapidly giving way to European styles. Their food consists of fish, occasionally turtle and pork, yam, taro, and cocoanut.

From Maré to Tanna I., New Hebrides, occupied us a day, and recruiting, or at least, an attempt to recruit, commenced near Black Beach, a well-known anchorage on the lee side of the island. In these latitudes—the region of the south-east trade winds—the “lee side” signifies the north and west coasts. The south and east constitute the weather side.

Up to this time it had not become necessary to employ a covering boat to lie off at a little distance, so as to protect the recruiting boat when along shore. After this voyage I always adopted the plan which, though a most necessary precaution, was not officially enjoined until some years later, and even then it was frequently neglected.

Our boats, two in number, were each pulled by four islanders, having a mast stepped well forward when required, and a standing or “Spanish” lug-sail, the handiest rig with an island crew. The white man in charge used an eighteen-foot steering oar generally, but rudders and tillers were provided in case of running any considerable distance under sail in a sea-way. Each native boatman was armed with a smooth-bore musket, cut short so as to lie fore and aft on the boat’s thwarts under the gunwale, to which was nailed a long strip of canvas, painted, and hanging down to protect the arms from the salt spray. The whites—the recruiter in one boat, and the mate and G.A. in the other—had revolvers and Snider carbines. The smooth-bores of the boatmen were, a few years later, changed for Snider carbines, and the whites generally adopted the Winchester. Each boat carried a “trade box,” containing about a dozen pounds of twist tobacco, two dozen short clay pipes, half a dozen pounds of gunpowder in quarter, half, and one pound flasks, some boxes of military percussion caps, a bag of small coloured beads, a few fathoms of cheap print calico, a piece (twelve yards) of Turkey red twill, half a dozen large knives, with blades

sixteen or eighteen inches long, the same number of smaller knives, half a dozen fantail tomahawks, a few Jews'-harps, mirrors, fish-hooks, and other trifles. Paint was then in frequent demand. For this we provided a tin canister of vermilion powder and some balls of Reckitt's washing blue. On the thwarts amidships, along with the mast and sail, lay three or four Brown Bess muskets in a painted canvas bag; good serviceable weapons, despite their age. The cheap German fowling-piece, however bright and new, was of no use to us. Tanna men, especially, were very particular about the



RECRUITING BOAT.

guns having "TOWER" on the locks. They knew that these would bear a big charge. I have seen a Tanna man load one with powder enough for three charges, and ball on top, fire it off, and, when the gun kicked him over on his back, jump up again and shout, "Remassan! Remassan!—Good! Good!" He would buy that gun, and think he had the best of the bargain by a long way. But a Tanna man would not look at a smooth-bore now. Nothing, nowadays, will go down with him but a repeating rifle.

Those Brown Besses were intended as presents to the recruits' friends. We were not frequently called upon to give guns then, and one gun would satisfy two or three

parties. A knife and a tomahawk, a handful of beads, ten sticks or about half a pound of tobacco, a few pipes, and a fathom of calico, were considered sufficient for man or woman. But the demand for firearms was rapidly increasing, and, two years after this, I had to give a musket, as well as tobacco and pipes, before a man was allowed to leave the beach.

This custom of making presents to recruits' friends has been eagerly seized upon by our opponents as proof that we really bought the recruits—that the latter were simply slaves, probably captured in war; which is simply absurd. New Hebrideans never spare their enemies in battle, or make prisoners of the men. Slavery is unknown to them; they are ~~not~~ yet sufficiently advanced to appreciate it. The theory that recruits are sold by their chiefs might be true to a certain extent, were it not that the power of the chiefs in these islands is extremely limited, far more so than it is among Polynesians, as in Samoa and elsewhere. But here each village constitutes a tribe, possessing its own chief, whose territory is measured by yards, not by miles.

The fighting power of a New Hebridean tribe is rarely more than twenty to eighty men. Consequently, if a warrior elects to go to Queensland, his departure is felt as a serious loss, to make up for which it is only natural that the tribe should require a musket, powder, and ball. Besides, you will get no article or service from a South Sea Islander without paying for it. Your necessity is his opportunity. To take a recruit in the presence of his friends without "paying" for him, however willing to go he might be himself, would be, at any rate, extremely dangerous.

Owing to their limited knowledge of the English language, such terms as "buy," "sell," and "steal," have a wide and comprehensive meaning. "You buy boy?" is often the first question asked of the recruiter when he arrives at a landing-place. This simply means, "Do

you wish to engage boys?" "Boys," as elsewhere, signifies men of any age. The term "steal" is also frequently misunderstood. If you take away a recruit from his home without "buying" or "paying" for him,—that is, without making presents to his friends to compensate them for losing him,—they will say you "steal" him.

In 1879 a woman, Betarri, came on board the *Storm-bird* on her own account, and was engaged. Owing to subsequent events no present or "pay" was sent on shore. She afterwards told the wife of her employer,



RECRUITING.

Mr. Monckton, of Narada plantation, Maryborough, that "Captain he steal me," which the lady of course interpreted literally.

When it could be done conveniently and with safety, I have generally sent the "pay" ashore to the friends of any recruit who has joined my ship without their consent. Some "boys," who have already served one term of three years in Queensland, are, however, too knowing for their countrymen, and make a bargain for money on arrival in port, varying from 10s. to £2. These have to get away quietly, of course, and they are said to be

“stolen.” By sending the pay for a runaway recruit on shore, any danger to the next comer will probably be averted.

This free use of the term “steal” amongst the islanders accounts for numbers of unfounded charges of kidnapping made against us. But kidnapping has been occasionally perpetrated in these waters, and was, even at the time I write of.

Previous to the annexation of Fiji, in 1874, recruiters from thence never missed an opportunity of “wooling ’em.” Many a canoe was run down, and its occupants saved, to work in Fijian cotton-fields. Australians will



BOLTING.

remember the *Carl* and *Daphne*. In 1872, at Bonape, in the Caroline group, I was, for a few hours, on board the *Carl*, then on her most notorious cruise, and I heard some of the crew boasting of their exploits. Even of late years—in 1884—we had the *Hopeful* case; and I know, from personal experience, that one at least of the prisoners in that affair richly deserved the fate meted out to him. Apart from the immorality of such a proceeding, kidnapping would be extremely impolitic on the part of a recruiter who expected to be engaged for any length of time in the labour trade. One case of kidnapping would spoil the captain's, the recruiter's, and the ship's reputation on the islands, and the friends of

the kidnapped man would not fail to kill the offenders at the first opportunity.

I mentioned that, in 1875, kidnapping was still occasionally heard of. I never witnessed it; but, from the reports of natives all over the New Hebrides, I have very good reason to believe that men were often carried off forcibly by French and Samoan vessels, between 1875 and 1883. One could only expect outrages to be committed by the crews of these; for, although the French vessels carried an officer whose duties were similar to those of our Government agents, I never saw one of them accompany his boats to the shore. The French boats were invariably manned and officered by Polynesians only. As for vessels out of Samoa, I may cite the *Mary Anderson* by way of illustration. She flew the British flag, was commanded by a foreigner who held no certificate except a licence to recruit from the British Consul at Samoa, and was employed to collect labourers for German planters. This vessel carried no Government agent, and the master alone had full control over the recruiting.

To return to my own voyage. The first day's attempt at recruiting in Tanna I. resulted in disappointment. Few natives were seen, and these were chiefly very old men or children. The able-bodied of both sexes were all inland attending a "Sing-sing," as their native feasts and dances are termed in South Sea English. During the afternoon I anchored the ship in ten fathoms of water, about two hundred yards from shore, near the northern end of Black Beach. A moderate breeze from the south-east was blowing all day, with fine weather, and I considered we were in perfect safety for the night. But it was not so.

Just before sunset a dense black bank of cloud rose in the south-east, over the land. Still, as the barometer remained tolerably high and steady, I thought little of it, merely anticipating a deluge of rain. I certainly never

expected the wind to shift from the south-east quarter with a high glass. Gradually, but swiftly, two-thirds of the sky became overcast with clouds of a dark red hue, the north-west quarter alone remaining bright with the sunset glow. Then came a blinding flash of lightning and a rattle of thunder, and seeing that I must expect something out of the common, I had the mainsail double-reefed and one of the boats hoisted up to the davits. There was no time to hoist the other, which was lying astern, for in a moment a small breeze sprang up from the north-west. Within two minutes from its commencement a hard gale was blowing from the same quarter, accompanied by blinding rain, thunder, and lightning. Luckily, we had good holding ground, for I could not get under way now. The second anchor was let go, and chain paid out on both. The gale lasted for about an hour and a half, and veered to south, gradually dying away at south-west. By midnight we had clear weather and the usual south-east trade wind again. Our boat astern was swamped, but luckily uninjured. The breeze was a small but true cyclone, travelling in a northerly direction, a most unusual phenomenon, the only instance I recollect of a cyclone occurring in the month of June in these waters. The barometer, an aneroid, fell only 20° during the cyclone.

Black Beach and its neighbourhood proving a failure, the anchor was tripped next day, and the western shores made for in search of recruits. Our mode of working is as follows :—

At daybreak, if the ship is under way, she is taken close into the land, whilst all hands have an early breakfast. Presently the boats are lowered, and pulled or sailed along the coast, stopping wherever natives collect, the ship keeping as near to them as possible. Trading for yams and other native produce, which recruits prefer to rice, is carried on at the same time that recruits are sought for. The recruiter's boat having been backed on

to the beach stern first, the keel just touching or resting on the sand, the savages crowd about the boat, scrutinizing the crew, and perhaps recognizing some old island hand amongst them, most likely a returned labourer. Then follows much such a conversation as this :—

Native. "What name ship?"

Recruiter. "Stanley."

N. "What name cappen?"

R. "Cappen Wawn."

N. "Where you come from?" *i.e.*, What port do you come from?

R. "Maryborough."

N. "Mallybulla, very good." Maryborough was a favourite place with the New Hebrideans at this time. "You buy boy?"

R. "Yes; you got boy? He like come?"

N. "P'raps, by-and-by. You buy yam?"

R. "Yes; we buy yam altogether—all you have."

Now commences a noisy chaffering for yams, tobacco, paint, beads, etc. A dozen yams, sometimes bundles of them, are offered; and in five minutes, if no ship has been along that way lately, the boat is covered with soil, and half full of yams, taro, cocoanuts, sugar-cane, now and then a few fish, a pig or two, and some curios, such as bows and arrows, clubs, sea-shells, and other unconsidered trifles. Sometimes one has to buy a lot of things that are not wanted, to keep the savages in good humour.

In the meantime the recruiter keeps a sharp look-out for possible recruits. When he sees a boy give his weapons to another, quietly slip off all his bead and shell ornaments, and part from them, he knows that there is luck in store for him. The conversation is renewed :—

Native. "Boy he like go."

Recruiter (trying to appear not at all eager for recruits). "Um, very good. Me look him."

The intending recruit comes close to the boat for inspection, a friend carefully guarding him on each side,



not so much to prevent kidnapping as to stop him from getting into the boat before he is "paid" for, and thus spoiling the bargain. The amount of "pay" once settled, the recruit gets into the boat, and passes forward into the bows. If the covering boat is on the scene, it is backed in, and the recruit transferred to her and taken off to the ship if convenient. The "pay" is handed over as soon as the recruit gets into the boat. Sometimes a boy pretends he will go, in order to get some "pay," and after it has been handed to his friends quietly slips away into the bush. With the same object, others go on board ship when at anchor and desert by swimming at night.

For a long time we were allowed to apprehend and detain all deserters who had signed the agreement on board ship, but the "cast iron" regulations of the Act of 1884 put a stop to that, allowing a Kanaka to sign the agreement for three years' service, travel about in the ship in receipt of the regular rations, cadge all he could, and leave when he thought fit, so long as he did not extend his pleasure trip to Queensland.

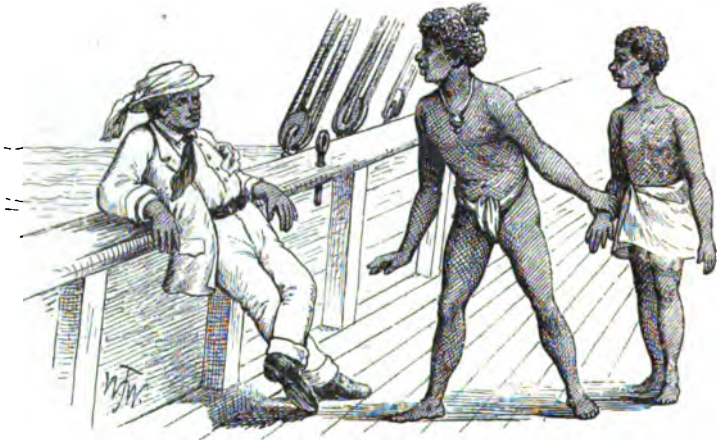
If a vessel happens to return to an island during the same trip, the chances are that she will lose a few of her recruits obtained during the first visit. And as these generally "flit" by night, they take care not to go empty-handed. Guileless persons love to represent the South Sea Islander as a grown-up child; but he is one who would prove a deal of trouble to his parents! Sometimes a "boy," whose friends are unwilling that he should leave home, or who demand too much pay, will make a rush and get into the boat. It is dangerous then to interfere. The best thing to do is to let them fight it out, unless the recruiter lends a hand to get the boy out of the boat. For, of course, the surest way for the savages to prevent a "boy" going away is to tomahawk the recruiter and his crew. The trade box will probably repay them for a little extra risk. There would be more danger of this sort in the work of recruiting were it not that the

natives of the New Hebrides and Solomon groups look upon it as a regular institution, and see that it works as much for their own benefit as for ours.

The visit of any ship to their shores is a change in the dull monotony of their lives. They have an opportunity of bartering their surplus food and what are curiosities to us, in exchange for weapons, tools, tobacco, and other desirable articles.

On the other hand, they lose a few warriors out of each village, but an extra musket in the tribe makes up for that deficiency. The proportion of female emigrants is very small; but, since polygamy prevails in these islands, that does not matter so much. Ninety-nine out of every hundred recruits are between the ages of sixteen and twenty. When one returns from his three years' service he is still a young man, in the prime of life, strengthened and set up by his late labour, possessed of knowledge and experience of the world which has raised him above his stay-at-home fellows. It is this last fact which has made some missionaries so bitter against us. The raw, untravelled "nig" is a very pliable article in their hands. He imagines that there must be something supernatural about the "servant of God," and it is only after a long acquaintance that he finds out that he is but a poor weak mortal after all. By that time he has discovered that the missionary is under the protection of the man-of-war, as well as that if he were killed he has nothing worth stealing. His chief succumbs, most probably, through fear and the hope of protection against his bush enemies, and our "nig" follows suit. Sunday-school children's pennies supply him with various knick-knacks, and he leads a lazy, shiftless life. Dread of the man-of-war secures him peace against his enemies, if his house is close to the mission; but in return he is not allowed to thrash his wife, though she is often the worst of the two. But I doubt if his capacity for fighting and blood-thirstiness is lessened.

In 1880, during the civil war which raged on Maré I. between the Protestant and Roman Catholic natives, these qualities came out rather conspicuously. The wounded were invariably massacred by the victors. Infants were swung by the legs, and their brains dashed out against trees and stones. Villages and plantations were destroyed, and every cruelty was perpetrated that the mind of a savage could invent. Yet, in the midst of such scenes, the minds of these "Christian" warriors were capable of reflection; for, during one massacre, the Roman Catholic priest was not molested in his house,



RETURNED FROM ABROAD.

because the Protestant victors knew that they would meet with no mercy from the authorities if they meddled with a Frenchman.

The returned islander, however, is a very different personage for the missionary to operate on. He has seen the world. He does not believe in offerings to the church in the shape of pigs, fowls, yams, or bread-fruit. He knows how clergymen are regarded by the white workmen with whom he has come in contact. His experience and strength, together with his knowledge of the English language, which last enables him always

to act as interpreter and middleman when dealing with whites, and most likely the possession of a new rifle, whether brought from Queensland or purchased in the island, combine to give him a prominent position in his tribe. The young, untravelled men listen to his stories of Queensland, and follow his example in many ways. So the missionary finds him a terrible stumbling-block in his path.

The New Hebrides group, which includes the Torres and Banks Is., forms a chain of about a dozen large islands, and double that number of smaller ones, all inhabited and fertile, extending 500 miles, from latitude $20^{\circ} 15' S$ to $13^{\circ} S$. With the exception of the Torres Is. at the



MEN OF THE NEW HEBRIDES.

north-west end, and of Aniwa near the south-east, which are of elevated coral formation, they are all volcanic and mountainous, richly fertile, generally covered with dense forests, and unhealthy for Europeans, fever and ague being especially prevalent. The inhabitants are of the Papuan race, intermixed here and there with the true Polynesian, notably in Aoba and the Banks and Torres Is. Their language varies considerably, so much so that a New Hebridean has often a difficulty in making himself understood a dozen miles from his own home, even in the same island.

In Tanna I. three distinct dialects are spoken, and in Pentecost I. there is a marked difference between the languages at either end, only thirty miles apart. In 1875, the people were all cannibals, except in Aneiteum, Fotuna, Aniwa, and Mota, where missionary influence was supreme. Dress does not trouble these savages much. In Tanna and its neighbour islands, in parts where the missionaries have not prevailed upon them to adopt the waist-cloth or a more European style of dress, the men appear simply more disgusting than if they contented themselves with nothing at all. The women wear a kilt or short petticoat of grass or leaves.



HEAD-DRESS OF TANNA MAN.

On Sandwich I. and the Shepherd Is. a mat round the loins and a loose calico cloth depending from it serves the men, while further north a bunch of leaves or even a single leaf suffices. Sometimes they dispense even with this. The women generally tie a strip of mat or of banana leaf round their waists, occasionally a bunch of leaves only. Tanna men dress their hair in a peculiar manner. Each separate lock of their kinky wool is drawn out to full length, generally about a foot, and served round with very fine strips of white bark, which prevents it from curling up again. On the northern islands the women often, if not generally, shave their heads.

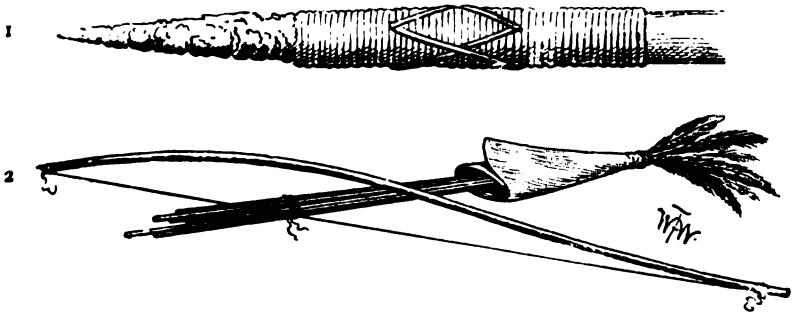
We have always made it a practice to cut off recruits' hair close to the head, invariably finding it tightly matted with earth and lime, and full of certain insects. The "boys" always appeared relieved after the operation, but it was then necessary to provide them with calico turbans to protect their heads from cold or sun-stroke. Native dwellings, as a rule, are simply low, miserable hovels of palm leaves and grass. Of vegetable food they have an abundance. Yam and taro form the staple articles, besides which they have the sweet yam or ufelai, sweet potatoes, cocoanut, a great variety of edible nuts, and fruits which I cannot name, bread-fruit of rather a poor description as compared with that of the Carolines, bananas and sugar-cane. Each village possesses a good number of pigs—half head and legs—and fowls. Dogs—miserable curs—abound everywhere, and form an article of food, though, I am told, it is only the women who indulge in that savoury dish.

I encountered rather a curious circumstance in connection with the sale and purchase of land in the island of Tanna, during 1870. A white man named Thomas Davis, resident at Port Resolution, purchased a piece of ground from a native and paid for it. In order to get room to put up a building, he cut down a tree. The seller of the land complained, and Davis discovered that his bargain did not include the trees growing on the land. He had to pay more for them before he was allowed to clear his property.

The New Hebrideans, as a rule, do not travel much by water. Very seldom we met with an ungainly craft, half canoe, half raft, with an unwieldy triangular matsail, bowling along before a fair wind.

The villagers on the coasts have plenty of small canoes however, from seven to ten feet long, hollowed out of the solid log, and provided with a light outrigger, in which they venture out a mile or two to sea to visit passing ships. Arms of native manufacture, with the

exception of spears, had almost disappeared from Tanna by 1870. Bows and arrows had been superseded by muskets, wooden and stone clubs by "fantail" tomahawks and long sixteen-inch knives. Every Tanna-man owned a musket or two. Further north most of the men carried poisoned spears and arrows, also a tough four-foot bow. One scratch from a poisoned arrow is sufficient to cause death almost invariably. The arrow, or spear-head, is prepared by dipping the bone point into decomposing flesh—human flesh being regarded as the best for the purpose—and allowing it to dry. Two or three coats are necessary. On the islands of Aurora



1. HEAD OF POISONED ARROW, PENTECOST I.
2. BOW AND ARROWS, PENTECOST I.

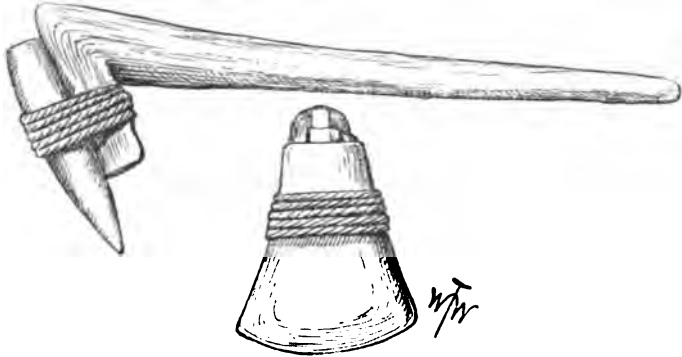
and Pentecost, they point out a small straggling tree, very common on the coasts, which is said to contribute to the deadly qualities of their arrows. A thick, milky, sticky sap exudes from the bark when cut, which they handle very carefully, being especially cautious not to let it get into their eyes or into open wounds. This sap is used in preparing the poisoned arrows, perhaps to assist the decayed animal matter to adhere. The shafts of the arrows are of light cane, and no feathers are attached to the butts. Bows, especially on Pentecost and Aurora Is., exhibit no regular curve when strung for use. The greatest "belly," as sailors would call it, is about two-fifths from the end. The small bone tip is

only insecurely fastened to the shaft, so that it may be left inside when the arrow is withdrawn from the wound. The wound may heal up, but even when the bone tip has been extracted, tetanus supervenes within three weeks after the injury.

The island of Tanna is remarkably fertile, rising to a height of over 3,000 feet in the south. Near Port Resolution, on the eastern side, there is an active volcano, the crater of which is about six hundred feet above sea-level. There are two fairly good anchorages, safe enough during the trade-wind season; namely, Waisissa, a few miles north-west from Port Resolution, with nine to twelve fathoms, and Black Beach on the north-west side, with eight to fourteen fathoms of water; but both are open roadsteads. There is a stream of good fresh water at the latter place. In 1870 the beach was banked up throughout its whole length, forming a large lagoon, with about fifty yards intervening between it and the sea. By 1875 the stream had broken through the bank and was rather shallow, but was still convenient for watering. With the wind well to the eastward there is anchorage in eighteen fathoms close in at Sangali. Port Resolution was ruined as a harbour by an earthquake at the end of 1877. Five years before the time of which I write, Tanna was in a fair way to be colonized by British settlers, but missionary jealousy and Exeter Hall influence stepped in and spoiled all.

From Emolau Point, a little south of Sangali, to Black Beach, nearly fifteen miles of coast and a mile or so back from it, the land was purchased by British subjects with the intention of settling on it and growing cotton. Three plantations—those of McLeod at Ibet, of Bell Brothers at Worgus, and of Ross Lewin at Sangali—had land cleared and cotton growing, Lewin having already gathered and shipped one cargo. These men employed labourers from other islands of the group, for it is an established fact that the New Hebridean men object to

work, and certainly will not become regular labourers on their own islands. The women do all their own plantation work. But they make good enough labourers when transported among strangers. Then they become dependent on their employer for food, pay, and means of returning home, also acting as a protection against the treachery of the native inhabitants. The Tanna people made no objection to the presence of these labourers, refusing to harbour them when they were inclined to shirk their work and leave their employers; being aware that if the white settlers lost their labourers, then the



STONE ADZE, BANKS I.

market for the surplus food supply of the island would necessarily fail.

However, the planter's influence might impair that of the missionary; wherefore representations were made to the home government through the captain of one of our ships of war, and all British subjects in these waters were ordered to return labourers to their homes and employ only the natives of the particular island on which they were located. The consequence was that these plantations were all abandoned, though not until one of the Bells and Ross Lewin had been murdered. Of course this influence of Exeter Hall did not extend over the settlers of other nationalities, so many of the British subjects in the New Hebrides transferred their allegiance to

France, and thus the trade of these islands was directed to Noumea, the capital of New Caledonia. In place of the British colonists, who might have settled on these islands, the group is now full of a lot of the sweepings of the French penal colony. A large company—the *Compagnie Caledonienne des Nouvelles Hebrides*—was formed in 1882, and now owns all the most desirable lands in the group. Its stone boundary-marks may be seen at every anchorage and bay, while there is hardly a good bit of water frontage left for any future settler to select.

Of late years the missionaries have several times stirred up the Australian people to agitate for annexation of the New Hebrides to the British Empire; but it is too late now. The French have a joint protectorate over the group with Great Britain. They own all the best land and have all the best trade in their hands. They have the best right to those islands. Once we had it, but we have lost it.

The south-west coast of Tanna gave us a few recruits, and then I steered for Port Resolution, where I anchored in the middle of the harbour. At that time it was a smooth and safe anchorage during the trade-winds, but in 1877 an earthquake occurred, which raised the north-west side of the port, and shoaled it so much that it is now suitable only for the smallest vessels. I anchored there in 1880 in the *Jabberwock*, but I had auxiliary steam-power, or I should not have attempted it.

A Presbyterian mission station, in charge of the Rev. Mr. Neilson, was situated on the south-east side. On the opposite shore is the shelf of rock to which Captain Cook hove down his ship, the *Resolution*. The iron ring he used on that occasion disappeared long ago, for the natives dug the bolt which held it out of the rock, in order to get the cementing lead to make bullets. In 1870 there was a trading station on the north-west side, where Captain Ashmore, of the *Sea Witch* schooner, placed an agent to purchase sulphur, which natives

brought down from the volcano. The mission had been established for many years, but there were no converts in my time. H.M.S. *Curaçoa* made it lively for the natives in 1867. For some wrong done to the missionaries—driving them away, I believe—she shelled the native village and landed her marines and blue-jackets. Each side lost only one man, according to the natives. However, after the *Curaçoa* had sailed, the Tanna men, searching about for broken shells, found an unexploded one nearly buried in an earthen bank near the head of the bay. This was their first experience of shells, and they wanted to find out the contents. One of them



ROASTING A BOMBSHELL.

had travelled, and knew that white men rendered iron soft enough to be cut by putting it in fire. The result of their experiment was disastrous. Nine of them derived no benefit from it. An old Tanna man told me this story, and I quite believed it.

The mission schooner *Dayspring* came to an anchor here the day after we arrived. On board were some passengers, natives of Tanna, who had been granted a passage in her to and from the neighbouring island of Fotuna. These men now went on shore, and I was rather surprised to see several large roots of kava accompany them. I should have thought that a missionary vessel would have been forbidden to carry such an article.

The kava is a species of pepper, called *Macropiper methysticum* by botanists. It grows as a straggling bush with jointed, crooked branches, and leaves as large as the palm of my hand. From the root an intoxicating drink is made. The mode of preparing this drink is simply disgusting. The root is washed, chopped into small pieces, and then chewed. In the large groups to the eastward, young girls alone perform this operation, but in the New Hebrides the men do it for themselves. After having been well masticated, the root is mixed with sufficient water in large wooden bowls, and is then fit for use. In the Caroline group alone, the root, well washed and scraped, is pounded upon large flat stones, mixed with water, and filtered through a fine, fibrous bark. So prepared, I have often drunk it. A taste for it is soon acquired, though at first it reminds one of a mixture of soap-suds with a dash of pepper. It has a very different effect from alcohol. It is soothing, and a pint of strong kava, or even half that quantity for a beginner, will apparently have no more effect than to make a man feel desirous of being let alone and allowed to sit quietly and smoke his pipe. It is when he gets up to walk that he feels the effects. When his knees give way, he discovers that kava acts in contrary fashion to alcohol. The latter first affects the head, but kava goes to a man's legs at once. Alcohol excites, kava soothes, and then stupefies.

Tanna women are not allowed to indulge in kava, or even to see men drinking it. When I first visited this island in 1870, I noticed that, just before sundown, the women and children disappeared from the beaches, and their voices were not to be heard anywhere. I was told that the reason for this was because the men prepared and drank kava at that hour; and if any unfortunate woman happened to see a man under its influence, she would be immediately clubbed.

Before leaving Tanna I must mention a peculiar form

of superstition which has often occasioned embarrassment, if no worse, to the unsophisticated white man trading with the natives. They imagine that if an enemy, especially if he is one of their own "bushmen," gets hold of a portion of any article belonging to one of them—say a part of a stick of tobacco, or the peel of a banana—he can work the owner of it some ill, such as causing sickness or even death. Consequently, when buying anything from a Tanna man for tobacco, he will never receive a piece of a stick unless a fellow-tribesman receives the remaining moiety. When eating a yam or banana, he will always bury or secretly make away with the skin, or any portion that he or his friends do not consume.

I weighed anchor and left Port Resolution on a Sunday morning, running down to Aniwa, a small island about twelve miles to the north, where I kept the ship "dodging" under the lee, there being no anchorage, whilst the boats visited the shore. A mission station had been established here two or three years before this, I believe; but the missionary was then absent on board the *Day-spring*, so our party did not visit his residence. A former chief of Port Resolution was living on the island with a few of his followers, one of whom we recruited. Old Maiaki had been a big chief in Port Resolution when I knew him five years before; but his reign was over now, and he was an outlaw.

Another recruit we obtained here was a native of the island. This boy, whose name was Niu, had served the missionary for some time as a house servant. When his employer went away on his present trip, he locked his kitchen door, some of Niu's clothes being left inside. After Niu's departure in the *Stanley*, the boy's relatives, knowing that his clothes were there, broke into the kitchen, abstracted them, and told the missionary, on his return, that the crew of the *Stanley* were the burglars. Before the year was out every man in the group—and

the news went further than that—knew that the reverend gentleman accused Captain Wawn of breaking into his house. The kitchen, by the way, was a building detached from the dwelling-house. I suppose it was not worth his while to sift the matter properly, so long as he could get a good story to tell against a "slaver." Many of the stories told by this gentleman about "labour" vessels have just as good a foundation, and no better.

From Aniwa we crossed to Erromanga. We visited Cook's Bay on the east, and afterwards landed our "returns" at their home, Norras, on the south-west coast.



LANDING "RETURNS."

When the boats were seen pulling in towards Norras, a crowd of about a hundred men mustered to meet them, no women or children being visible. This was a bad sign, but the sight of the "returns," with their boxes and bundles, appeared to put most of them in a better temper. No other recruits were forthcoming, so we left and squared away for Sandwich Island.

The mountains in the interior of Erromanga rise to about the same height as those of Tanna, and are of the same description. The coast is almost entirely of coral, elevated on the west to 200 feet. There are three

anchorage, of which I have used only one, in Dillon's Bay. There is a mission station here. No less than five missionaries, three of them resident, have been murdered by the natives, who have the reputation of being the most treacherous of all New Hebrideans—though it is merely "blackening the devil" to say so. The Revs. Williams and Harris were killed here in 1839. Gordon and his wife were murdered in 1861; and, subsequently, the brother of the last-named gentleman met his death at the hands of these savages.

There is a story current in these islands about the death of the elder Gordon and his wife, which I give here as I had it from a native of Dillon's Bay. He stated that the reverend gentleman experienced great difficulty in making converts; in fact, that he could not induce a single soul to enter the fold. One day he fell in with some of the chiefs and old men, and straightway delivered to them a powerful harangue on their sinfulness, winding up by telling them that surely, if they did not repent and become Christians, God would inflict some terrible punishment upon them. However, they continued to chance it until, sure enough, a whaling ship anchored in the bay and introduced some disease among them, measles or smallpox, which swept them off wholesale. The Erromanga man told me they died so fast that the living could not bury the dead, but blocked up the doors of the houses and left the corpses to rot in them. The survivors thought, like all savages, that some one must have "made" this sickness, and their suspicion, finally amounting to certainty, fell upon the poor missionary.

He had told them God would send some punishment along, if they did not become "missionary" Christians; consequently they imagined he had prayed to his God to send sickness, which had accordingly been sent. Though it had begun to diminish, it might any day arise again. As long as the missionaries were alive, they had

merely the choice of Christianity or smallpox. They did not like either, so they killed Gordon to stop his praying, and his wife also to complete the job.

There is a fine stream of water here. The anchorages at Polenia and Elizabeth Bay are, I believe, very confined. There is none at Cook's Bay, and a heavy swell sets inshore, dangerous in light winds. The shore reefs extend a great distance from the land on the north side of the bay, and were not represented on the charts up to 1890. With the exception of these places, the coast all round is steep. Pango Point, long and low, forms the south-east side of Pango Bay, at the head of which is Port Vila or Sou'-West Harbour, a well-sheltered port, but with limited anchorage. The eastern part is too deep, and the north-west arm is blocked up with coral reef. The only fair anchorage is between Vila Islet, on the starboard as one enters, and Lelika Islet, in the middle of the harbour.

There was a mission station on Lelika I. in charge of the Rev. Mr. Annan, but his labours did not appear to be very successful. About a mile and a half from Vila, and also at the head of the bay, is Mele I., connected with the mainland by a sunken reef. A powerful tribe lives on this islet, having plantations on the mainland. The Mele and the Vila people differ very much from the other Sandwich I. natives in language and customs. They seem to have a strong strain of the true Polynesian in their blood. The north side of Pango Bay is "devil" country; it is unproductive land, and is therefore supposed by the natives to be infested with devils, or spirits hostile to man. I know of several small districts on other islands bearing a similar reputation.

Vila Harbour and Mele I. proving unproductive in the way of recruits, we kept on to the north, passing Havannah Harbour on the north-west coast of Sandwich I., a common port of call for vessels visiting this group. Mai, or "Three Hills" I., was next tried. The anchorage

here is in a bay on the north-west side, the wide fringe reef of which extends over half a mile out from the shore along the whole length of the island. The inhabitants of Mai and those of the Shepherd Is. to the eastward, one of which, Tongoa, was in sight from this anchorage, speak the Sandwich I. language, and have the same dress and customs. Api I., with the peak of Lopevi appearing over and beyond it, lay to the north. We did fairly well and spent a couple of days here before running over to the west coast of Api, where I anchored in Ibo Bay, about three miles beyond the south-west point, in nine fathoms. This is a good watering-place, and as there is no village of "salt water" or coast natives here, we had free communication with several inland tribes, "man-o'-bush," as they are termed in South Sea English. Thence we worked the west coast as far as Duane, the north-western point.

This part of Api is thickly populated, and the beaches between the Foreland (a remarkable bluff promontory) and Duane Point have witnessed some bloody scenes. At this period a native of the part, known as "Three-fingered Jack," was a notorious character. He had been concerned in the murder of the mate and the son of the master of the schooner *Zephyr* of Sydney, towards the end of 1874. In Lammen, a low islet on the west side of Point Duane, the natives are also very dangerous; but, previous to this, they had received a good dressing from Captain McLeod, who traded between New Caledonia and the New Hebrides under the French flag, and they were now tolerably quiet and well behaved. Api resembles Tanna and Erromanga in its formation, but its mountains are scarcely so high. At Tassi-wor and Sakari, near the south-eastern extremity, the native dress and language resemble those of the Sandwich and Shepherd Is.; but in the central and western parts the men dispense with any dress beyond a handful of leaves, and their language differs considerably from that of other

tribes. There are two or three other anchorages on the west coast, besides Ibo Bay.

In the southern islands of this group the common yam is the principal article of food, though we bought the ufelei or sweet yam largely; further north, taro became commoner than either. Bread-fruit was also to be had more frequently, but I never saw it in this group equal to that which the "Line" islands produce. Yams are the tuberous roots of a long creeping plant, or vine, and sometimes grow to a large size on volcanic soil, as in Tanna, where a yam weighing a hundred-weight is, or was a few years ago, not such a very unusual sight. Five to ten pounds is the average weight.



YAM PLANTS.

YAMS.

In Tanna I. this vegetable is grown on mounds, the vines being trained over to shelter the roots. In the northern islands of this group, and in New Caledonia, each plant is grown separately, and the vines are trained up long sticks.

In Bonape I., one of the Carolines, a piece of cord pegged at one end to the ground and the other fastened to the limb of a tree, often suffices as a support for the vine, without any clearing of grass or shrubs except for a foot or two round the roots. The yam will not grow on the low islands of the coral atolls.

Taro is an arum, the bulb of which is farinaceous, and

not unlike a dumpling when boiled. The best kind is grown in running water, and the natives sometimes go to considerable trouble—for them—in cutting ditches to convey water from neighbouring streams to the taro patches. Another and bigger kind, with a large dark leaf, grows in dry soil. This keeps well, and is used chiefly on journeys and canoe voyages in New Caledonia.

The bread-fruit tree does not attain to such a size in the New Hebrides as in the "Line" islands, neither is the fruit either so large or so good as that I have eaten in Bonape. There the young tree is propagated from suckers springing from the roots of the old one ; and the



TARO PLANT.



BREAD-FRUIT.

fruit, perhaps on account of this method of cultivation, has no nuts or seeds in it, besides growing to double the size it attains to in the New Hebrides. The fruit of the pandanus tree is largely used by the natives of the coral islands near the Equator as an article of food, for which purpose it is admirably suited. In the New Hebrides it is of a very inferior quality, being regarded as useless. Its leaves form a very durable thatch for houses.

We engaged two or three recruits on this coast, but the fact of the recruiter and the boat's crew being comparative strangers militated against us. Owing to frequent kidnappings by vessels from Fiji, Honolulu, Samoa, and possibly also from Queensland and New

Caledonia, the inhabitants were very chary about venturing near the boats when they saw them manned by strangers. We engaged a man named Sorso to act as boatman and interpreter at Mallicolo, where we intended to proceed shortly. We had now great hopes of making a "good haul" at Paama I., which we visited after leaving Api. The recruiter had had some boys from this island working under him in Queensland. These had since returned home, and he made sure that he would meet some old acquaintances who would either engage again themselves or prevail upon others to accompany us. However, we were grievously disappointed, and we sailed away again without taking a man or woman out of the island. As the boats were being pulled off to the ship, a shot was fired at them from the shore, but fortunately the bullet flew wide of the mark. I mention this as being the first shot, if I recollect aright, fired at my boats in this trade, though afterwards it often occurred. In fact, I never made a voyage either in this or the Solomon groups without most of us experiencing the sensation of a bullet or an arrow whistling past us occasionally. Special cases I shall mention in due course.

Paama is a small, rugged, lofty island, with an anchorage of twelve to sixteen fathoms on its western side, near the Marie Stuart reef. This, which is a dangerous coral reef extending a mile westward of the southwest point, derives its name from a vessel wrecked on it. The Paama natives are an especially filthy lot, and, to me, have always appeared hostile to whites. The island of Lopevi lies about three miles east of Paama. It rises from the ocean in the form of a huge cone, on the top of which is the crater of a volcano. My Admiralty chart gives the height as 5,000 feet, but I think that is rather excessive. A few natives have habitations on the north side. I have never seen this volcano in an active state, but mariners have reported smoke issuing from the summit, and the natives say

that they are sometimes alarmed by subterranean disturbances.

From Paama I steered to the south-west coast of Ambrym. In this island there is a very large volcano with two craters, according to native report, which rises to a height of more than 3,000 feet above the sea. The coast is generally rocky and steep, but there are two or three small anchorages. In Champion's Bay, on the south-west, I found from five to twenty fathoms of water, with not much roll from the sea. When these islands are clouded over, as they generally are during the daytime, the prevailing wind is not felt, and in its place an "eddy-wind" almost always sets in the opposite direction.

Under Ambrym I.—probably owing to the huge volume of smoke arising from the craters and intensifying the bank of cloud resting on the summits—this is especially the case.

We engaged three or four boys on the north-west coast, and two men promised to steal away at night with their wives from their village. I stood close in to the coast at night, and sent the boats to a spot appointed as the rendezvous; but we were disappointed. Fresh water was now running short on board; and as there is no convenient watering-place on this side of Ambrym, I squared away and ran down to Narovorovo, on the west of Aurora I. (Maiwo). I might have obtained a fresh supply on Pentecost I. (Aragh), but at this time I was not at all acquainted with that island.

The natives of Aurora I. hardly come up to the standard of Papuans in these waters. A large proportion of the men appeared to me stunted and misshapen. The village nearest to the anchorage at Narovorovo is situated about a mile away northward, and the inhabitants did not make an appearance until we had been at anchor some hours. It was then afternoon, our watering was all completed, but the boats were still at the beach. Our party were enjoying the luxury of a bath in the

running stream, a number of the recruits disporting themselves in the sea or on the beach. Fortunately the Maré men and other boatmen had been posted all day within the outskirts of the dense forests overhanging the beach, and were concealed from view.

Suddenly, without warning, a long line of about fifty savages issued from the forest about 200 yards from the boats, making directly for them at a run. Possibly they thought they had the whole party cheap. But they pulled up short, about fifty yards off, when out from the trees and bushes rushed our Maré and Tanna men, outflanking them, each with his gun ready in his hand.



ATTACK AT NAROVOROVO.

They changed their attitude at once; but as no women or children accompanied them, and they were all fully armed with bows and poisoned arrows, spears, clubs, and tomahawks, it was quite plain what their object had been. Besides, they had brought nothing with them for sale.

Some conversation then took place between the two parties, after which the natives began slowly to return to their village. Suddenly one of them turned and let fly an arrow at one of the boatmen. It missed its mark, and in a few moments not one of them was to be seen. Our fellows chased them into the forest without firing a shot. The master of the *Lælia* cutter, of Fiji, had been

murdered here during the previous year, together with one or two of his boatmen.

From Aurora I. we went to Port Sandwich in Mallicolo I., speaking H.M. schooner *Alacrity* on the way, at the east end of Aoba or Lepers' I. Port Sandwich is one of the few safe harbours in this group. It is a long, narrow bay, about four miles in extent; but the anchorage is very limited, the outer position being too deep, and two-thirds of the whole port being blocked by coral patches or mud banks. The entrance is contracted by jutting coral reefs. The French "New Hebrides Co." have now a trading station on Sandy Point. The fringe reefs on the south-east side have to be carefully avoided, as near Sandy Point they extend a considerable distance from the shore. There is also a large native village on this side near the entrance, and habitations are scattered about the hills on both sides. Two small rivers flow into the harbour—one, the Erskine, on the west side, and the other, unnamed, into the extreme head; but neither of them affords a suitable watering-place.

The Mallicolo natives differ to no great extent from the others, being just as savage and warlike. During the previous year a native boat's crew from Sandwich I. had been tomahawked and speared to death on the sandy point abreast of where we lay. They were, however, very friendly towards us, and several men soon came off on a tour of inspection, most of them in a canoe, and two or three by swimming. We gleaned three men here, and then stood northward along the coast.

Mallicolo is the largest of the New Hebrides, with the exception of Espiritu Santo I. (commonly called "Santo"). Its mountains attain a height of over 3,000 feet. It has not been ascertained for certain whether there is a volcano on Mallicolo or not. All I know of this matter is derived from an account given me by a native at Ura, an islet on the south-west coast. He said there were two large holes in the ground, a long

way back in the interior of the island, each inhabited by a fiery "devil-devil." That these alternately emerged, each for a few days at a time, and that one of them "kai-kaied"—devoured—grass, and the other stones. These are possibly small craters, which are only occasionally active, and then only one at a time, grass growing about the edges of one of them during the periods of quiescence. The shores of Mallicolo are more diversified than those of the islands we had hitherto visited, being varied by islets and dangerous outlying coral reefs and patches. The anchorages are numerous.



A RUNAWAY HUSBAND.

CHAPTER II.

FIRST VOYAGE OF THE STANLEY, 1875 (*concluded*).

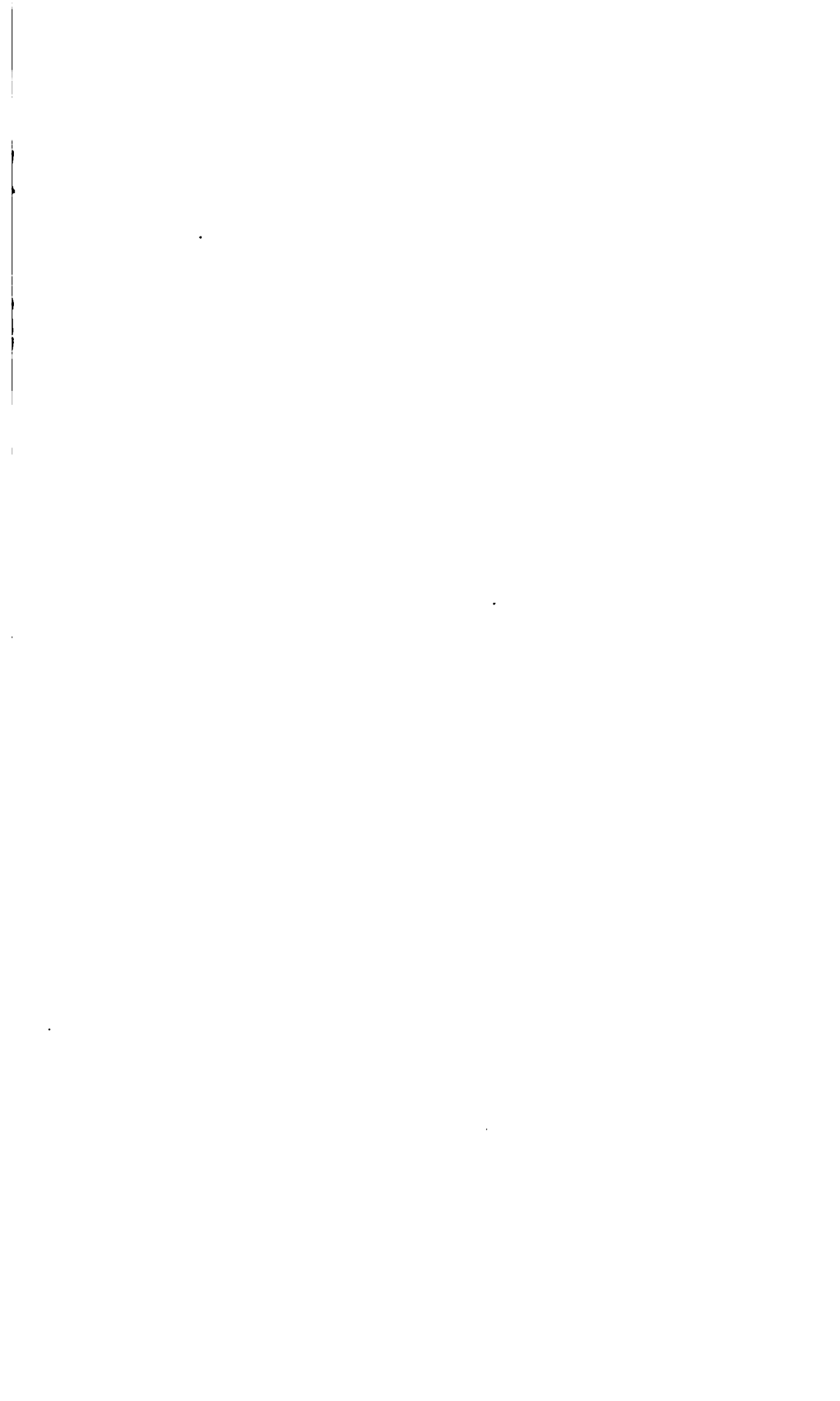
Down the coast of Mallicolo I.—A volunteer recruited—Interpreters—Mbangon Bay—Natives seize a boat—Ururiki I.—Sorso tempted—Sorso deserts—Islanders scared—A night alarm—Sorso's tale—Port Stanley—St. Bartholomew I.—Marlo "Pass"—Reputation of the women—Lepers' I.—Attack on the recruiting boat—List of casualties—Maiwo I.—Homeward bound—Sakau—A storm—Picking up passengers—Tongoa I.—H.M.S. Pearl—Interview with Commodore Goodenough—My advice to him—His fate—Havannah Harbour—Tragedies enacted there—Settlers in Sandwich I.—How wet weather affects recruiting—Leaving Tanna I.—Measles on board—Rigging up a hospital—Rounding Fraser I.—The pilot—A colonial "official"—Inspection of recruits—The affair at Lepers' I.—Newspaper slanders.

FROM Port Sandwich, Mallicolo I., we ran down the coast for about three miles to Mbangon Bay, which is well sheltered from the trade winds, anchoring there half a mile from the shore. We got four boys very quickly. One youngster, who had been some years among white people, volunteered as interpreter, and made himself very useful. Interpreters seldom join as recruits themselves; however, as the boat was being pushed off from the beach with the four recruits, this youngster quietly said to the recruiter,—

"Now, mate, very good you buy me."

A knife, a tomahawk, etc., were accordingly passed ashore to the friends of the lad, and he filled the office of cabin boy on board for the remainder of the voyage to Maryborough.

In those days it sometimes happened that interpreters



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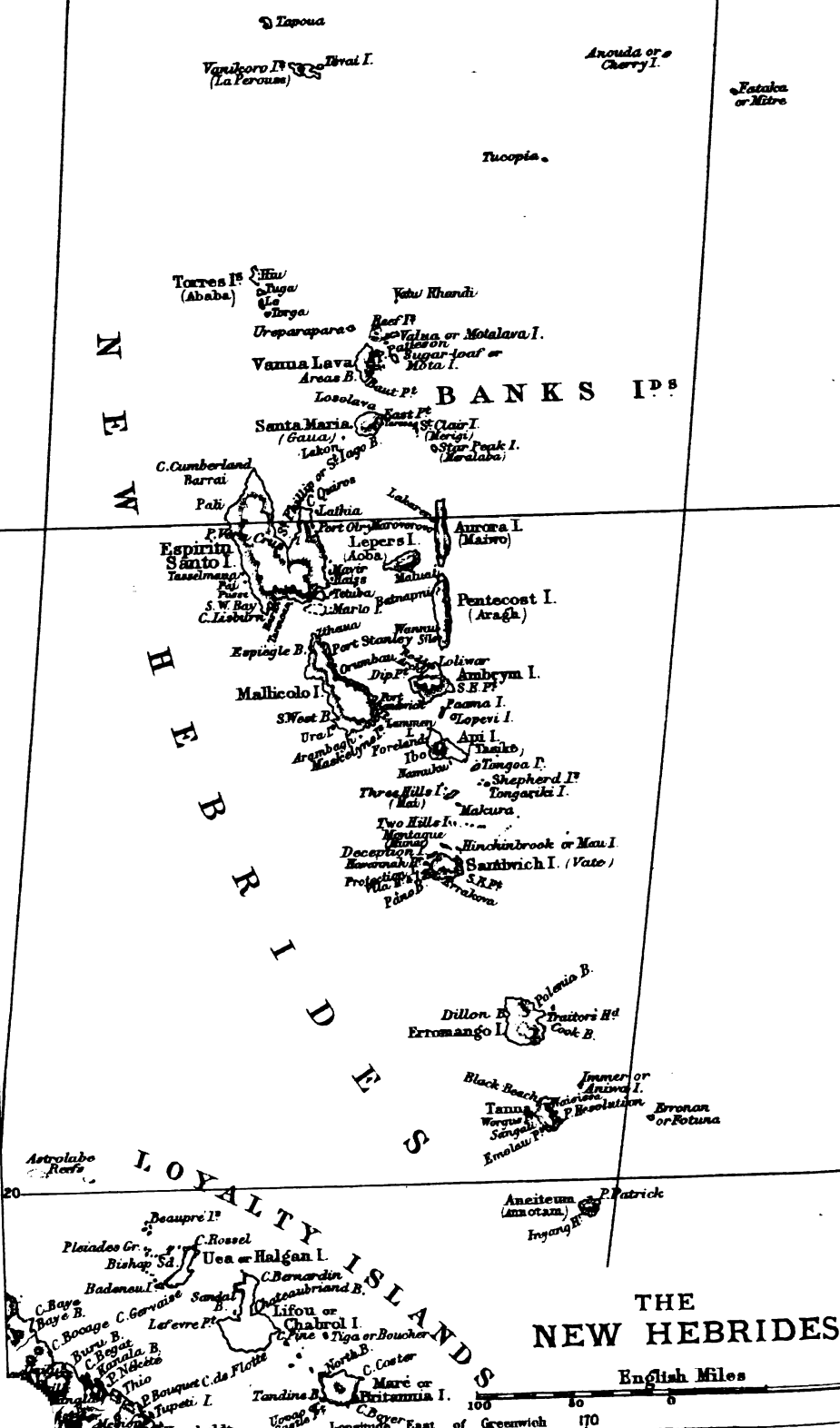
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THE NEW HEBRIDES

English Miles



were not forthcoming when required, while now it would be very remarkable if one did not find a single English-speaking native among ten men on any beach in this group. I am of opinion that fully one half of the men belonging to tribes residing within three miles of the coasts have fulfilled a term of service in one or other of our colonies. Even in the far interior of Mallicolo and Espiritu Santo Is., interpreters may be obtained with very little trouble. Children pick up South Sea English very quickly; and I have known boys who came on board my vessel converse fluently, having acquired the language from returned labourers and by visiting trading and labour vessels.

On the north of Mbangon a long point and coral reef extend about four miles out from the coast. In the second bay southward of this point is situated the large and populous village of Merrabwei. Here I hove to, and the recruiter pulled off to the beach under the village. For some reason, I forget what, the second boat did not leave the ship until the recruiter had already got among the natives. A crowd of about two hundred surrounded his boat as soon as she touched the sand, and, seizing her, with all her crew in her, pulled her up almost clear of the water. They evidently meant mischief, and probably the whole boat's crew would have been massacred had they rashly offered resistance. Luckily the ship lay within rifle-shot, and the second boat, with the mate and the G.A. in her, pulled quickly off to assist the first. The natives then retreated, leaving the boat and its occupants unharmed. The latter were glad to get back to the ship, although unsuccessful.

From the "long reef" we ran down the coast to the north-west, until opposite the centre of the island. There extensive fringe reefs were seen, and, northward of the first small islet, a deep bay appeared. This has the mainland on the south-west, and on the opposite side a low, curved promontory of coral formation, thickly

wooded. At the extreme end of this is the inhabited islet of Ururiki. In the midst of the bay are some large reefs and islets, on the extreme north of which I anchored in eighteen fathoms. The sun was very low when I arrived, and I was glad to find bottom anywhere ; though this was hardly a safe anchorage. The islet of Orambau is situated about a mile northward of Ururiki, a deep channel lying between.

The day after our arrival the boats visited the mainland at various points, but the natives were very shy. Sorso, the interpreter engaged at Lammen I., conversed with them, however, and at one point more than a dozen crowded about the recruiting boat. We never knew what arguments they used to induce Sorso to desert ; but after a while he made an excuse to go up the beach into the bush, and on that day we saw him no more. The natives quietly but quickly slipped away, leaving two iron tomahawks, and some bows and arrows, behind them on the sand.

As Sorso did not return, search was made for him in the vicinity of the boats ; but no trace of him being found, the recruiter came to the conclusion that he had deserted, though at first fancying he might have been killed. To make up for his loss a small brindled pig was captured and brought off, together with the abandoned weapons.

Not liking the present anchorage, on account of a heavy swell setting in round the point of Ururiki, I shifted our moorings next day to the south end of the islet. As soon as we had anchored again, several canoes left the islet, filled with women and children, apparently clearing out to the main for safety—a needless precaution on their part. Some seven or eight men ventured alongside, however, after our boats had paid a visit to the beach near the village, and then confidence was restored, and by the next morning all the runaways had returned.

The "trades" were now blowing almost a gale of wind ; but we lay sheltered in smooth water, the boats meanwhile coasting all round the bay in search of recruits, but without success. On the mainland no natives appeared, probably owing to Sorso's secession.

Just before dawn, the second night we spent here, I was awakened by the anchor watch (one seaman) running aft and calling out to me that a fleet of canoes were coming down on the ship from the head of the harbour. Mindful of Captain McLeod's experience in the Maskelynes a year or two before this, and how a fleet of canoes attacked his vessel, the *Donald McLean*, and were only beaten off after sharp fighting, I immediately roused all hands, and in a minute or two the deck bristled with arms, and every preparation was made for repelling an attack.

The cries became more distinct and drew nearer, making us sure we were in for a fight. However, it turned out at length that the sounds proceeded from one person only ; and presently a canoe, with a single occupant, came into view out of the darkness, driving down to the ship before the wind. A rope thrown from the bows was caught and made fast, and then the deserter, Sorso, shivering in his old shirt, and as pale as it is possible for a brown skin to become, climbed on deck.

His story was soon told. The natives had persuaded him to bolt, pretending they had ascertained that we meant to carry him off to Queensland. At first they treated him well, but, during the second night, he had overheard the headmen saying it was their intention to "make meat" of him, so he ran off into the bush and had kept himself concealed there during the previous day. When night fell, he coasted round the bay, stole a canoe, and made for the ship, knowing that a thrashing was the worst he had to expect from us.

Even this he escaped, an unmerciful chaffing being all the punishment dealt out to him. We broke up his

stolen canoe for firewood, and then got under way, it being now broad daylight.

A few weeks afterwards I was on board H.M.S. *Pearl*, giving all the information I could about anchorages and so forth to the late Commodore Goodenough. I mentioned this bay to him, calling it "Port Stanley" in memory of our visit, and that name it still retains.

Thence I shaped a northerly course, passing the Nor'-East Is., which Sorso called "Sissi," a word meaning "small."

Having arrived off the north-western coast of St. Bartholomew I., I dropped anchor in twelve fathoms, to the east of a dangerous projecting reef, commonly known as the "Robert Towns" Reef. This was named after a Sydney barque, which had been wrecked on it some two or three years before this. Here we had the good fortune to engage a few recruits, and then beat back in an easterly direction, passing between St. Bartholomew and Mallicolo Is.

St. Bartholomew, or, as the natives call it, Marlo, is entirely of coral formation, I believe, the western end being elevated to 800 feet, the eastern portion being low. The channel between it and the south coast of Espiritu Santo is dangerous, except with a fair and commanding breeze, being much beset with reefs, and the tides running very strongly through it. The eastern end of the channel is generally known as Marlo "Pass" or "Passage," and in it anchorage can be obtained at various depths. On the south-east coast there is a sheltered bay, formed by two low islets connected with the main island by a reef.

The north shore of Marlo Pass is not formed by the "mainland"—Espiritu Santo I.—itself, but by the island of Arore, which another channel divides from the main. These channels are connected on the west. The eastern extremity of the northernmost of them, which is known as Second Channel, terminates in a bay behind Tetuba,

an islet lying off the south-eastern corner of Espiritu Santo I.

The inhabitants of Marlo Pass have acquired an unenviable reputation. Probably nowhere throughout the South Seas are the natives conspicuously careful of the virtue of chastity. Here, in St. Bartholomew and Arore Is., it is still less understood or appreciated, and, in the lack of it, the women of these islands may be fairly said to "bang Banagher."

At daybreak one morning we found ourselves a mile to windward of the western end of Aoba, or Lepers' I. It was then blowing half a gale from the south-west, with dirty weather. Squaring away before the breeze, we soon found smooth water under the lee of the island. Viewed at a distance, either from north or south, it resembles a whale's back, consisting of a huge rounded mountain lying east and west.

The inhabitants of this island are extremely treacherous, and very hostile to white men. This they have proved on a number of occasions, murdering and afterwards eating those who fell into their hands. There seems to be an admixture of Polynesian with Papuan blood among them.

The afternoon of our arrival at Lepers' I. the schooner was lying almost becalmed under the lee of the lofty central portion of the island, about three-quarters of a mile from the shore. The boats were in sight at some distance. The recruiter, with whom were the Doctor and "Cash," had run his boat into a small nook on the rocky coast, under a high bank, above which stood a solitary hut backed by dense forest. The G.A. and mate in the second boat lay about 400 yards to the westward.

Suddenly we heard the sound of firing, followed by yells from the natives on shore, and then we saw the recruiter's boat push out with a seemingly diminished crew. The mate's boat pulled quickly up, took her in tow, and presently brought her alongside, all her own

crew being more or less hurt. It seems the natives had called them into the place on pretence of friendship. A crowd gathered about the stern of the boat, and several fellows even got into her. All of a sudden our men were attacked with clubs and tomahawks. The recruiter escaped the first blows aimed at him, making play with his fists until he had an opportunity to draw his revolver. "Tom Sayers," a Maré man, received a tomahawk blow on the head, which laid the scalp open, but did not penetrate his skull, fortunately. Bobby Towns, another Maré boatman, had both his thumbs cut in warding off blows, one of them being so nearly severed from the hand that the doctor had to finish that operation. Lahu, a Lifu boy, the recruiter's special attendant, was cut and pricked in various places, but nowhere seriously. Jack, an unlucky Tanna recruit, who had been engaged to act as boatman, received an arrow through his forearm, the head of which—a piece of bone seven or eight inches long—was still in the limb, protruding from both sides, when the boats returned. The Doctor and "Cash" were both thrown down in the boat at the commencement of the affray, and suffered no hurt. The recruiter would have got off scot-free had not an arrow pinned one of his fingers to the loom of the steering-oar just as they were getting off. The fight had been short, but sharp. Considering the numbers of the Aoba men, and the unexpectedness of the attack, it is a wonder that all our people were not massacred.

The enemy lost two men, at least, both shot dead. None of the arrows that wounded our men proved to have been poisoned, happily. Tom Sayers had received the most serious injury. At first I was afraid he would lose his life, the gash on his head looking bad enough. However, when the doctor overhauled him, it was found that the thickness of his skull had saved him. Had he been a white man, the bone would certainly have given way under the blow he had received.

After dark the clouds cleared off the land, the true "trade wind" filled the sails again, and a course was shaped for the northern end of Aurora, or Maiwo I. Next morning I anchored off Lakareré, or the "Double Waterfall," and lay there two days and nights.

Lakareré was the turning-point of the voyage, for thence we shaped a homeward course, usually working back through the group against the trade wind by night, and in the daytime keeping near the boats as they pulled along the lee shores of the islands, looking for recruits.

The west coasts of Ambrym and Paama Is. were again tried, but proved singularly unproductive. On the western and southern coasts of Api I. the inhabitants complained so much of the ravages of measles, and of its frequent consequence, dysentery, that we did not delay there long.

One day I anchored off Sakau, on the south-east coast of Api I., the wind then blowing lightly from north-east, with rather a dull, cloudy sky. Towards evening the sky became still more overcast, with a threatening aspect towards north-east. About 7 p.m. a vivid flash of lightning showed in the same quarter. I immediately weighed anchor and got both boats out ahead—the northerly wind being exceedingly light—to tow the vessel out of the anchorage. Having gained a mile of offing, I hoisted in my boats, and had hardly done so when a violent squall of wind, accompanied by thunder and lightning and dense rain, burst upon us. Having taken good bearings before it reached us, I was enabled to point the ship's head so as to run for the open sea, passing between Mai I. and the Shepherd Is. I expected this breeze would last through the night, since the barometer was rather low and showed no sign of rising. But I was wrong in my calculations. When we were nearly abreast of the east end of Mai I. the wind lessened for a while, then, hauling round into the south, increased to a gale. This necessitated our beating

about under short canvas all night under the lee of the island, only managing to reach our anchorage by daylight next morning.

Here we met four natives of Tongoa I., who had paddled across to Mai on a visit, and were afraid to trust themselves and their canoe in the heavy sea now rolling in between them and their home.

Having received a pig as payment for their passage, I shipped them and their canoe on board, and crossed over to Tongoa, the northernmost of the Shepherd Is., two days later.

Close to the western point of this island, which is mountainous and rugged, I found a stony beach, with a steep bank or cliff rising behind it, above which was the native village of Panita. Here I dropped anchor. While we lay there, an unpleasant roll of the sea set in, coming round the point.

The recruiter landed our passengers close under the lee of this point, as they were afraid to trust themselves among the Panita people. Cades reported on his return that the four hauled up their canoe above high-water mark, quickly disappearing into the bush. He subsequently saw a party of Panita men hastily following them. I only hope my late passengers got safely home, but I have some doubts about it.

Next morning the recruiter was ashore on the beach with his boat's crew, when H.M.S. *Pearl* hove in sight, coming round the western end of the island under sail. Shortly after her lieutenant boarded the *Stanley*, overhauled the ship and my papers. This formality having been satisfactorily concluded, I repaired on board the *Pearl* to report the attack on my boat by the Aoba natives to Commodore Goodenough, who was then in command of the Australian squadron. After the story of the skirmish was ended, I remained more than an hour with the Commodore, giving him such information as I could with regard to harbours, anchorages, etc. In the course

of conversation he said it was very probable he would attempt to ascend the volcanoes on Ambrym I.

This I endeavoured to dissuade him from doing, assuring him that he would thereby risk his own and his men's lives, by exposing them to native treachery. This advice, however, he rather pooh-poohed, stating as his firm belief that savages, if kindly treated, would show no hostility.

He did not attempt the ascent of the volcano, after all; but very shortly afterwards he found out the mistake of trusting to the good feelings of natives—only too late, for he was mortally wounded by poisoned arrows on Nitendi I., in the Santa Cruz group.

We obtained three recruits at Tongoa, sailing thence to Havannah Harbour, Sandwich I., where we took on board wood and water.

This spacious harbour lies on the north-western coast of Sandwich I., protected by the smaller Deception I. and Protection I., both of which are elevated and of coral formation. It has a length of five miles by an average width of one mile. At its southern end, between the main island and Protection I., there is a clear and very deep passage, which is the principal entrance to the port. There is another ship's passage between the two islets, much narrower and shallower.

The natives living on the shores of Havannah Harbour are now tolerably quiet and peaceable. I assume that this is due rather to intercourse with traders, and to a wholesome experience of ship's guns, than to the work of the missionary, whose influence hardly extends a quarter of a mile beyond his house. However this may be, it is certain that, in former times, many a white man's blood has stained the shores of Havannah Harbour. In April, 1847, these savages massacred all but two of the crew of the wrecked barque *British Sovereign*, and the crew of another vessel, previously lost near the harbour, had suffered a like fate before them.

The settlement at Semma, with its central position, fine harbour, and other natural advantages, may be looked upon as the nucleus of the future capital of the New Hebrides. For, though progressing very slowly, it is steadily increasing. Messrs. Trueman and Macleod were, I believe, the first whites who settled here with the intention of cultivating land to a considerable extent. Their attempt was abruptly terminated by a mournful tragedy. During a drunken quarrel Macleod shot Trueman dead, though in self-defence as reported; and for a short time afterwards the place was abandoned. This affair occurred in 1870.

At the time of our visit, Mr. Hebblewhite, of Sydney, had taken up his residence there. He had erected a good weather-board dwelling-house, and had also a large store well supplied with goods suitable for the native trade, and for furnishing ships. There were two or three other settlers besides; but the lack of an established government, together with difficulties arising out of the introduction of labourers from other islands of the group, had tended towards preventing any permanent occupation by British subjects for purposes of agriculture.

Sandwich I. possesses a similar formation to its larger neighbours, consisting of a backbone of mountains rising from a flat, low-lying coast of coral. Havannah and Vila Harbours afford the only landlocked anchorages on this coast.

From Havannah Harbour we sailed to Tanna I., leaving Erromanga I. unvisited, as the weather was so wet that the boats would have had small chance of success. Wet weather impedes the recruiter's work. The naked savage prefers the shelter of his hut to the less efficient cover of dripping trees. Even if he does venture out, he will not come down to the open beach, where the wind would have full play upon his wet and shivering carcase.

Only one day was spent at Tanna I., and even

a portion of that on board the Maryborough labour schooner *Sibyl*—Captain Taylor ; Mr. Andrews, G.A.

The weather was still too wet for recruiting, no sign of a change being apparent. So, although we had only seventy-two recruits on board, instead of a hundred and eight—the complement we were licensed to carry—our recruiter deemed it better to return to Maryborough at once with those we had engaged, than to run any further risk of measles and dysentery. These diseases were both very prevalent just then in all the islands we had visited.

Accordingly, towards evening, the boats were secured, the yards braced sharp up on the port tack, the ensign thrice dipped “good-bye” to the *Sibyl*, and off we went on our way home, shaping our course so as to weather the southern extremity of New Caledonia.

During the whole cruise among the islands, we had been as careful to avoid infection as was possible consistently with the work of recruiting ; and especially had we made it a rule not to enter any of the native huts. However, as it turned out, one of our boatmen had disobeyed orders in this respect, by allowing himself to be beguiled into a hut in the mission village at Havannah Harbour. The consequence was that on the day after our departure from Tanna, he was taken ill, and the doctor pronounced his case to be one of measles. Of course this spread consternation throughout the ship. The boat on the port davits, being on the “weather” side, was selected as a hospital. A tarpaulin was rigged up over it for a roof, and planks were laid across the thwarts for patients to lie on. Happily, we had not much occasion to use our hospital, however, this being the only case of measles we were destined to have on board. It proved to be a slight attack, and did not spread. Another boy even lay in the boat by the side of the first patient without taking the infection. He had only a severe cold, though at first it was feared he was going to develop measles also.

We weathered the extensive reefs off the south-eastern coast of New Caledonia, running thence with a fair wind to Maryborough. The currents set very strongly, as also variably, off the Isle of Pines. Several times we experienced "rips" over what looked like surf breaking upon coral reefs.

As we were nearing Breaksea Spit, Fraser I., the wind fell very light, hauling round to nor'-nor'-west, the current carrying us southward at the same time. I was therefore obliged to make for Wide Bay bar, at the southern end of Fraser I., instead of rounding the northern point of the Spit and reaching Maryborough



THE DOCTOR'S INSPECTION.

by way of Hervey Bay. After some further difficulties of a similar sort, I beat in over the bar with the flood, against a westerly wind, and anchored near the pilot station.

The pilot boarded us off the station, and took the *Stanley* up to her anchorage. Of course he was informed before he came on board that we had had a case of measles, as likewise that the ship was now clear of that disorder. However, no sooner was the anchor down than he left the ship, no doubt deeming discretion the better part of valour. Next day he sent his coxswain to take the *Stanley* on to Maryborough, where we arrived about the end of August.

As soon as the ship was moored alongside the river bank, opposite to the town, the sub-immigration agent came on board. This gentleman was also protector or inspector—I forget which—of Polynesians, sub-collector of customs, shipping master, and various other things. In fact, he “milked the Government cow” to a considerable extent, filling sundry offices in his own person. With him came the Government medical officer. The inspector examined our recruits as to the manner in which they had been induced to venture to Queensland, and as to the length of time they had agreed to serve, and so forth. The medical officer, at the same time, made a reasonably careful survey of them, to ascertain that all were fit, mentally as well as physically, to do labourers’ work.

This being over, and all the recruits having been passed satisfactorily, during the next three or four days they were gradually engaged for service, leaving us one after another, until the ship was clear of them.

About a week after our arrival the police magistrate held an inquiry into the skirmish at Lepers’ I. (Aoba). This affair had been made to appear much more serious than it really was by the reporter of “The Brisbane Courier.” In the interest of the “Anti-Kanaka” party he had dressed up the plain facts, adding to his account of the affray that “the whites retaliated by burning villages.” The inquiry over, I heard nothing more about the matter.

CHAPTER III.

SECOND VOYAGE OF THE *STANLEY*, 1875.

Passengers on board—Reasons for taking them—A lengthy passage—Arrival at Port Resolution, Tanna I.—Visit to a native chief—"Washerwoman"—Waisissa and Itoa—Vila and Havannah—Hostilities at Merrabwei—The mate's ruse—Aurora I.—Visit to Lakarere Falls—Croton plants—A "sing-sing" ground—Ambrym, Api, and Tongoa Is.—A re-enlistment—Vila Harbour—Mr. Hebblewhite and slavery—Cabin-boys—Dillon's Bay, Erromanga I.—Drifting ashore—"Down with the boats!"—A struggle for safety—Natives waiting for the wreck—A welcome breeze—Homeward bound—The Great Queensland—John Renton—Eight years in the Solomon Is.—Rescued at last—Wreck of the Lyttona.

I SAILED again in command of the *Stanley* in October, on a recruiting trip as before. The Government agent, who had accompanied me during the last voyage, was re-appointed; but our former recruiter, the doctor, and "Cash," as well as the piano, remained on shore. I had two fresh passengers in the cabin in their places—young fellows who wished to see the islands, and who paid handsomely for the privilege of making the round trip in the schooner.

In a general way passengers would be simply a nuisance on a labour vessel; every inch of space, both in the ship and in the boats, being required for stores and for recruits. However, I foresaw that there would be a sensible advantage in taking these gentlemen, apart from the hard cash gained thereby. We were so often dubbed "slavers," and so frequently accused of kidnapping—as though Kanakas could not be induced to come to the colony, except by compulsion—that I, for one,

was always glad to show disinterested persons how recruiting was really carried on, hoping that thereby erroneous impressions might be dispelled, in some measure, from the public mind.

After taking in wood and water at the White Cliffs, I got to sea—as on the last voyage—by rounding Breaksea Spit, whence we had a rough and lengthy passage before reaching the Isle of Pines. I had to fight the trade-wind the whole way, failing to find any westerly breeze in my favour.

We passed the Loyalty Is. without paying them a visit, our first call being at Port Resolution, Tanna I., where I obtained boatmen.

The day we anchored, the G.A. and I landed on the western side of the harbour, and walked a mile or more, along a very rough and rocky native track, to the village of a chief, who was known to Europeans as “Washerwoman”—which designation was, I suppose, a perversion of his native name. We found this gentleman at home; but since our object was to obtain recruits, our walk did not profit us. “Washerwoman” could not spare a single man, even if any had wished to leave. It appeared that he had quarrelled with some of his neighbours on the other side of the harbour, and a conflict between the tribes was impending. However, I believe no fighting took place, a hollow truce having been patched up between the contending parties, shortly after which treaty “Washerwoman” was treacherously murdered by some of his enemies.

I was not the only European sorry to hear of his death; for he had always been a good friend to white men.

The G.A. and I undertook another trip, this time by boat, as far as Waisissa, where I met an old acquaintance. This was Yova, the chief of a village overlooking the little bay on the western side of the island. From him I obtained two recruits. Five years before this Yova

had been a powerful chief, dividing the sovereignty of the beach with Kauass, another headman. Now he was obliged to live in the bush, having been driven there by misfortune in war. "Spanish Charley," a South American half-breed, had been another resident on the beach during the period of Yova's supremacy there. He likewise was constrained to leave, going to Aoba, where he was murdered by the natives in 1874.

Leaving Port Resolution, I took ship and boats on northward, to a spot about three miles from Waisissa, where I found good anchorage off the "black rocks" of Nimatahin. The natives in the vicinity of this place have the reputation of being the wildest in Tanna I. I was tolerably fortunate there. Proceeding thence I next visited the north coast, dropping anchor beneath a village called Itoa. I was obliged to go so close in shore here to get bottom that I had barely room to swing to the anchor. It would have been an ugly place to have been caught in, if the natives had proved hostile, and had chosen to try the range of their guns from the cliffs.

From Itoa to Blackbeach, and thence to Sangali, completed our work on the coasts of Tanna I. We then directed our attention to Erromanga I., where, however, we drew blank along the whole length of the west coast.

We next touched at Vila, in Sandwich I. There I engaged three men, but, unluckily, left the place too soon. A few hours after we had sailed, six men came down from the bush with the intention of joining. They were quickly picked up by another vessel—the *Lady Darling*, I think—which called at Vila the day after our departure.

I put into Havannah Harbour to take wood and water on board, but obtained no recruits there. Thence we cruised northward, seeking recruits at most of the villages in the islands visited during the previous voyage, and with considerable success.

At Paama I. we met with hostilities again. Our boats

were greeted with a volley, which fortunately hurt no one. The people of Merrabwei also made another attempt to seize the recruiting boat. On this occasion, however, the mate—who was in charge of her along with the G.A.—had not ventured close in to the beach, but kept the boat well away, though in shallow water. As she was thus lying to, a party of natives waded towards her from the beach, others remaining partly hidden among the trees near the shore. There were no women or children to be seen, although the village was not more than a hundred yards distant. It was also apparent that the waders carried no commodities to trade with, but that all of them were fully armed.

As the savages slowly approached, wading through water that rose to their knees, the boatmen gave a short pull every now and then. The waders, following the movements of the boat, were drawn further and further out, until they had got so far from the beach that they were waist-deep in the water, while the boats were beyond the range of any arrows that might be discharged from the forest. At length the attacking party got tired of this game and made a rush on the boat, brandishing their tomahawks, clubs, and spears. However, our people were too wary for them. A vigorous stroke or two sent the boat well away out of their reach, and spears thrown after it missed their mark. A couple of shots from the white men's rifles quickly sent the whole crowd splashing and scuttling back to dry land and the cover of the trees.

This incident made it evident to us that nothing was to be obtained at Merrabwei but hard knocks. I therefore took the ship round to the other side of the point, and anchored her. In the evening two couples—husbands and wives—joined us there. They were Merrabwei people, and their friends would certainly have stopped them from coming to us, had their intention been known. We also engaged two "bush men" at this

place. They came from the very centre of the island, so they said.

At Lakarere, Aurora I.—as we happened to have two or three natives of the island on board—a visit was made to the waterfalls, which give the place its English name. There are two of them, and these are not alike in character.

The northern fall, which we came to first, is not visible from the beach or from the bay. The water rushes out from a mountain gorge overhung by dense forest growth. Falling over the edge of a precipice, it descends upon two great projecting rocks, which divide its mass, and lower down, upon a huge rocky shelf. Over this it flows in a thin clear sheet of falling water, till broken again below. The whole contour of the fall suggests a woman's dress—the glistening sheet being the skirt, the dark points of rock and white spray reminding one of ornaments and lace. We named it "The Bridal Robe Fall."

The other fall is at little distance to the right of this one. It consists of a single stream of water, about four feet wide, which rushes down a steep slope of slippery rock. From the appearance of the water-worn rocks edging these falls, I fancy there must be a tremendous rush of water after heavy rains.

Leaving the falls we made a circuit through the forest to a village about a mile northward of our anchorage. There I obtained some slips of different varieties of croton. Planted in boxes, these struck root and thrived wonderfully on board. Subsequently they figured in the public gardens at Maryborough, together with numerous other plants which I had brought from the islands, and deposited there, from time to time.

Though situated on the top of a hill, looking down on the sea, the village appeared terribly damp, overhung and surrounded, as it was, by large trees. There were a dozen rude huts, one of them larger than any of the

others. They consisted merely of a thatched roof, sloping to an insignificant wall, not more than two feet in height. In an open space at one end of the village, stood half a dozen native drums—hollow logs, having an opening cut in one side—planted on end in the ground. This was the “sing-sing” ground, where dances and festivities were carried on.

Descending a rough and narrow path down the precipitous face of the hill, we waded through a muddy taro patch or cultivation. In the middle of this grew a huge croton bush, planted there to keep off evil spirits from the garden. We thence regained the creek, getting back



DRUMS IN THE “SING-SING” GROUND.

to the boats without having heard any poisoned arrows whistle about our heads—a danger one had often to risk in those days.

Some years later a mission station was established at Lakarere, by the Rev. — Bice.

Sailing on southward I next visited Ambrym and Api Is. without result, and finally anchored, one afternoon, under the lee of Tongoa I. The mate, who now took command of the boats and did the recruiting along-shore, thought that Tongoa would yield no boys to us, judging by the attitude of the natives on the previous voyage. The G.A. held a like opinion, in consequence of which I visited the beach myself. Hardly had my

boat touched the sand, when a tall man, holding a gun in his hand, quietly stepped into her, and stood calmly looking at the crowd on shore. Two others quickly followed him.

These men told us they were returned labourers from Queensland. They had been at home for about a month, and were now determined to undertake a second term of service, though in opposition to the wishes of their tribe.

The example set by Bisop—as he styled himself—and his two “mates” was imitated by eight men and a couple of women next morning, making thirteen in all from Tongoa I. “But,” remarked the mate when I brought them off, “you never know when you have ’em.”

The presents given to the friends of these recruits were more liberal than was customary. Ten fathoms of calico, white or coloured, were allowed for each individual, as well as pipes and tobacco.

Our next call was at Tongariki, an island surmounted by a lofty peak, lying seven or eight miles south-east of Tongoa. There I anchored for one night, recruiting two men and a woman—the wife of one of them.

At Havannah Harbour we took in wood and water. Several other labour vessels lay there at the same time, and H.M.S. *Sappho* came in for a night or two afterwards, following me round to Vila, whither I went next.

A white settler, who was a British subject, had died recently at Vila; and some natives of Espiritu Santo, who had been his labourers, were still there. These now wished to engage with me for Maryborough. Mr. Hebblewhite, to whom the deceased employer had been in debt, heard of this. He immediately put in an objection to my engaging these men, claiming their services as belonging to the estate—which would have been simply treating them as slaves. The matter was referred to the captain of the *Sappho*, who declined to listen to the claim asserted by Mr. Hebblewhite. I therefore engaged the Santo men as recruits, with one exception.

This one, a youngster called Puck—whose native name was Massan—I shipped for service on board the *Stanley* as cabin boy. He was to remain with me until discharged at his home, or till he was old enough to land in Queensland as a recruit, if he desired to do so.

At that time most labour vessels carried a youngster to act as cabin boy. Subsequently, however, the practice was forbidden; the authorities choosing to consider it a breach of the Polynesian Act.

Having shipped over ninety recruits, I now resolved to return to Queensland, and accordingly beat down to the south.

One afternoon we were about two miles distant from the western coast of Erromanga I. As the ship seemed to be in perfect safety—heading southward with a light wind off the land—I laid myself down on the settee in the deck-house to read, and presently dropped off to sleep. I had no sooner closed my eyes than the wind fell off, veered round, and then came up in light puffs from the west. The mate, who was attending too intently to some work on deck, trimmed the yards, and then carelessly allowed the ship to drift close in to the land, a few miles south of Dillon's Bay.

The first intimation of our danger that I received was given by a native, who hailed us from the shore. Opening my eyes and looking out of the cabin door, I saw green trees not two hundred yards from the ship! I jumped right out on deck; and then, for a moment, I thought the *Stanley's* career was ended. Not three ship-lengths away from the port-quarter I saw a line of small breakers beating against the face of a level terrace of coral, eight feet in height. This extended back to the foot of a precipice which rose nearly three hundred feet, and was crowned with dense forest stretching up towards the interior until lost to view. To seaward a smooth glistening sheet of water extended far away, till a dark, quivering line showed where the trade-wind from overhead

was rushing down upon the surface. Now and then a "cat's paw" ruffled the glassy expanse, setting inward towards the shore, catching our sails, and gently aiding the ground-swell to drift us, broadside on, into the line of breakers.

"Down with the boats!" I shouted. A rattle of blocks, splashing and commotion, immediately succeeded. Then, with the two boats working ahead, each towing a long line made fast to the jib-boom on either side—which lines were always hung there, coiled up, in readiness for such an emergency—I got the ship's head round to seaward. Meanwhile, on board, we clewed up the square sails and flattened in the sheets of the fore-and-aft canvas.

Now ensued a hard fight for safety. The eight oarsmen pulled their level best, the long steering oars sculling in aid of them; yet not an inch away from the rocks could they haul the vessel, a powerful current drifting her slowly southward along the coast.

For half an hour or more the swell, with the eddying puffs of wind, neutralized all our efforts. At last—oh, welcome sight!—a short spit of sunken reef showed up just under our keel. Against the extreme point of this we dropped our anchor. I say *against* the point; for, in truth, the anchor hung from our bows with a taut, perpendicular cable, resting along the sloping side of the reef rather than upon it. The ship's stern lay in little more than two fathoms of water, while an active man could have jumped from the taffrail into the breakers. Thus we remained for more than two hours, it being impossible to get away until the clouds had cleared from off the land, and till the true trade-wind had reached us.

In the meantime some fifty of the natives, all armed, assembled on the rocks astern and close to us. The talking and shouting we could hear all along the shore and cliffs indicated, too, that these only formed a part of the crowds assembled. They were fully aware there

was a very fair chance of a shipwreck, and, no doubt, were well disposed to do all they could to contribute towards such a desirable result. So, when one of them inquired whether we meant to lie there all night, he was promptly informed that we did, as we considered it a good locality in which to buy yams and "boy."

It was possible—even probable—that if they had been told we should leave at the first opportunity, they would have commenced hostilities forthwith to prevent our doing so. And what nice pot-shots at us they might have had, looking right down upon our deck!

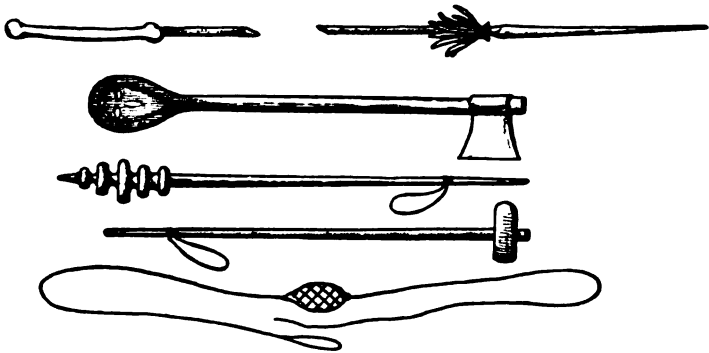
At last, just as the sun was setting, when most of the savages had gone home for the night, a puff of wind blew off the land, coming down a small gully not far off on the south, and making a long tongue of dark water across the glassy surface. Our loose sails shook, and filled as fast as they were sheeted home. The boats were again sent ahead with the tow-lines, but were no longer necessary, for the breeze came down in a hurry from the cliffs astern of us. Away we went, out of danger, with the anchor hanging low under the bows. Nor did we heave to until we had gained two miles off shore, when I rounded to and hoisted the boats aboard.

Another day was spent at Tanna I., though without profit. I then sailed for Maryborough, rounding the southern end of New Caledonia, as on my last voyage. I arrived in port about the first of December, passing the *Great Queensland* lying at anchor off the Fairway buoy in Hervey Bay, outward bound. It was the last occasion on which she was destined to sail these waters. She left England, subsequently, for Australia, but was never heard of again.

During my absence on this voyage, the labour schooner, *Bobtail Nag*—Captain Murray, Mr. Slade, G.A.—had arrived at Bowen, in Northern Queensland. She had on board one John Renton, a native of Renfrewshire, Scotland.

Some eight years before, this man had been a seaman on board a whaling ship. Whilst cruising in the vicinity of the Kingsmill Is., he, with several others of the crew, had deserted the ship in one of her boats. After drifting and sailing for several weeks, undergoing horrible privations from hunger and thirst, from which some of them died, the survivors landed on Manoba I., a small appendage of Malayta I. in the Solomon group.

Renton's companions soon died or were killed by the savages. His own life was saved by a chief named Kabbau, who took him away from Manoba to his own village on the mainland, treating him as his adopted son.



WEAPONS, NEW HEBRIDES.

Renton lived with Kabbau nearly eight years. During that time a vessel was wrecked, or seized, at Manoba I. He heard reports of a white man living on that islet, and subsequently of his rescue by a passing vessel—the crew of which never dreamed that another white man, requiring like assistance, was dwelling only seven or eight miles away.

At last the *Bobtail Nag* hove in sight. However, there was a strong party in the village opposed to Renton's going. So, it was only after considerable delay and difficulty that he was able to send a short message to Captain Murray. This he scrawled with some native pigment on a piece of wood—a fragment of an old canoe.

By means of what seemed to the natives valuable presents, Captain Murray effected his release. The piece of wood with Renton's message on it is still preserved in the Brisbane Museum. He himself entered the Queensland Government service as a G.A. in the labour trade, serving in which capacity he was killed at Aoba I. in 1878.

When I was in Maryborough, waiting for a licence to sail on a third recruiting voyage, news arrived of the wreck of the labour schooner *Lyttona*—Captain Rosengren, Mr. Alliott, G.A., with forty-five recruits—at Hada Bay, on the north-west coast of Christoval I., one of the Solomon group. All hands were saved, arriving at Brisbane in December.

CHAPTER IV.

THIRD VOYAGE OF THE STANLEY, 1875-6.

Masters and recruiters—Head-money—I sail from Maryborough—Ashore on a mud-bank—Aneiteum I.—Missionary rule—Consequences of it—Decrease of population—Causes—Boatmen—Tanna I.—We are fired at—The hurricane season—Cyclones—A determined recruit—Calms—Effects of the heat—Women bolting—An ugly crowd—Champion Bay—A skirmish—A coward on board—A hot corner—Mallicolo I.—Assemblage of natives—Young recruits—"Train up the child"—A contrast—Tommy's I.—The chief Aipanpan—Conical heads—How they are shaped—Examining a child—Our G.A. frightens the women—His exterior man—His height measured—Gods or sign-posts?—Discharging boatmen—An angry missionary—Variable currents—The Queensland public and Kanaka labour—Magisterial inquiry—"You did wrong, sir!"—Party politics and native wrongs.

DURING my two previous recruiting voyages I had seldom taken part in the actual work of the boats between the shore and the ship. I did sometimes leave the ship, but only from curiosity, or to supervise the engagement of recruits by the G.A. before I received them on board. During the first voyage I had acted as sailing master only; while on the second, I was the legal recruiter, having, before we sailed, signed a bond for £500, with one surety, under the provisions of the Imperial "Kidnapping Act," 1872. This I did on every succeeding voyage I undertook in the Queensland Polynesian labour trade.

At that period it was customary for the ship-owner to pay the master, in addition to his regular monthly wages,

a small sum per head for all recruits brought to Queensland and passed as fit for service by the medical inspector. On my second voyage I had received five shillings for each recruit, which I divided with the mate, as he did the boating work and engaged the recruits on shore.

The practice of paying "head-money" was stopped 10th March, 1884, by the "Act to Amend the Pacific Island Labourers' Act of 1880," and "the prosecution of the duties of 'recruiter' by the master" was prohibited by the "Additional Regulations" of June, 1887.

On the two following voyages, the particulars of which I am about to relate, I had a mate with no previous experience of South Sea Islanders. I engaged him solely because he was a sober man, a rarity then in the labour trade. Consequently, I was obliged "to do my own recruiting," as we termed it, leaving the vessel in his charge during my absences ashore.

I think the Queensland Government need not have legislated against "head-money." No doubt it seemed likely to induce evil practices, such as kidnapping; but, on the other hand, good wages and competition would be just as likely to stimulate enterprise in precisely the same way. When "head-money" was abolished, masters' wages—formerly £15 to £20 per month—at once rose to £28 and £35, whilst recruiters got £4 to £5 per month over and above their ordinary wages.

I sailed from Maryborough on Dec. 20, this time without any cabin passengers. My former G.A. was gone too, and another had been appointed in his place. Christmas Day was spent at anchor at the White Cliffs. The day after that we weighed anchor and stood for Fraser I. Straits and Wide Bay bar. A breeze was blowing fresh from the northward, and it mattered little whether I went out by the northern or the southern channel.

I did not get out without an accident, however. Hardly an hour after the anchor was tripped, I called

out "starboard" to the man at the wheel. But he happened to be "suffering a recovery" from a drunken spree over-night, and so put the helm hard-a-port, running the vessel on to a sandbank. There she lay for ten hours, part of which time we spent prowling about in the mud picking up oysters. Then, next morning, before I had been an hour under way, the wind suddenly failed me, and, nearly all that day, we roosted on another bank and ate more oysters.

A newspaper man in Maryborough heard of this, and for more than a week kept reporting "*Stanley* still ashore in Great Sandy Island (Fraser I.) Straits."

I finally got off, crossing Wide Bay bar next day. Nine days later we were at anchor in Inyang Harbour, on the south-west coast of Aneiteum I., the southernmost of the New Hebrides.

Aneiteum I. rises nearly 3,000 feet above sea-level. To judge from its appearance, it is not so fertile as the neighbouring island of Tanna. The inhabitants are all Christians, having been converted many years ago by Presbyterian missionaries, who, in fact, rule the whole island. No traders have ever settled on the main island, though a whaling-station, employing only mission boys, was then located at Annau-unse, a small boat-harbour on the north-western coast.

There used to be another whaling and trading station belonging to Captain Paddon, in the little Inyang I., which lies within the harbour. Paddon, when he removed his establishment to New Caledonia, abandoned this station to a Mr. Underwood, who had been one of his employés. I found the islet deserted, only the ruins of a house remaining on it. A tidal or storm-wave had flooded it a year or two previously, and had swept everything away.

The missionaries have had full and unopposed scope in governing this island; but whether the natives are any happier than they used to be, remains an open ques-

tion. One thing is certain—they are dying out! The population is not so numerous by two-thirds, at least, as it was when the inhabitants were first converted to Christianity. Yet this decrease has not occurred in consequence of emigration; for the missionaries have not permitted that, except in very rare instances. Fighting has been put a stop to also, and I remember hearing a missionary say that murder had been unknown in the island for more than fifteen years previous to this time.

A similar decrease of population has occurred elsewhere, as in the Hawaiian Is. especially. There, in 1877-8, the native government was inviting Maoris from New Zealand to take up lands in the group, in the hope of thereby resuscitating the native population.

After more than twenty years' experience of South Sea Island people and races, I have come to a certain conclusion, which is, that missionary Christianity has operated to kill them off as surely, perhaps as quickly, as have traders' guns and rum. It has put the wolf into a cage, so to speak, where he has simply pined away, becoming a miserable, sneaking, pitiable wretch. Missionary teachings have also abolished club-law as an element of domestic life; but they have failed to inculcate the virtue of chastity in the minds of Polynesian women, and promiscuous intercourse between the sexes will suffice to destroy any race.

I visited Aneiteum for the purpose of obtaining boatmen, in which I succeeded. The resident missionaries of Inyang Harbour were absent during my stay there. I was therefore able to engage four young men who had learned how to "pull a good oar" in the whaling-boats. But, alas! instead of the plucky savages their fathers used to be, I found these fellows nervous and easily frightened. Luckily for me, on one occasion, their practice enabled them to pull well instinctively when running away. If I had been obliged to fight, they would have been of no use at all.

I anchored here on the northern side of the harbour, opposite the mission station. The harbour is a convenient one when "the trades" are blowing, but lies open to the north-west. Water is obtainable near the mission. When leaving the harbour to go northward, mariners should be careful of a dangerous outlying reef not far from it on the western coast.

There is a boat passage on the eastern side of the harbour, through which the master of a barque—either in ignorance of the proper entrance, or through stress of weather—once ran his vessel without injury, more by good luck than by good management.

From Aneiteum I proceeded to Port Resolution, Tanna I., where the first recruits were engaged. One of these ran away from his friends, shouting and jeering at them when he arrived on board, and found I was getting under way to leave the place. The "pay" was taken ashore by the G.A., who landed a white trader, who resided there, at the same time.

In the dusk, as the G.A. was pulling back to the ship, which was lying to outside, a shot, which just missed the boat, was fired from the missionary's garden, that gentleman being absent from home. The G.A. sent a bullet back in reply, continuing on his way to the ship. The north-eastern coast yielded us a few boys; but, as the hurricane season was now due, and the trade-wind becoming unsteady, I did not delay there long. Thence I made for Sandwich I. whilst I still had a fair wind, passing to the east of Erromanga. Making but a short stay at Vila, and then at Havannah Harbour, I ran down to Api with the last good trade-wind we were to have that season.

The months of January, February, and March are termed, in this part of the world, the "Hurricane Season." Some years later than this, however, I met with a hurricane in December, and they have been known to occur in November and in April. This year I

was fortunate, though in place of hurricanes I had calms, or exceedingly light winds. The only hard blow I encountered was on our return, between Tanna and Aneiteum Is., when I think I must have been on the verge of a cyclone. These storms, rotating from north to east, from east to south, and so on round the compass, travel in a south-easterly direction, the centre generally passing westward of the New Hebrides.

On the west coast of Api I. we obtained a few recruits whilst anchored at Ibo. Further north we got another boy. The G.A. and I then judged it expedient to leave that place, thankful to get away safely with even one. The boy had been determined to go, showing fight when his friends attempted to drag him out of the boat; even snatching up a boatman's carbine, and threatening to shoot at them. After that the crowd retreated to the cover of the trees, some of the men waving their hands and shouting to us to go away—a request we quickly complied with, more through regard for our own skins than from any particular wish to please them.

The calms were now frequent and protracted. Sometimes the ship remained at anchor for two or three days for want of wind. Usually there was a light easterly breeze for a few hours in the evening. At other times we were becalmed out in the open sea, miles away from the land, broiling under the "Bengal Tiger" (the sun), and drifting slowly westward. This necessitated a long pull ashore for the boats during the sweltering heat of the forenoon. Towards evening the mate had to work the ship in our direction with the light evening breeze, to pick us up.

One morning, I remember, the G.A. was unable to accompany me—the only occasion on which he missed during the voyage—for the sun had affected his head the day before. I left the ship with the two boats, having a pull of several miles before I reached a long sandy beach, on the south coast of Ambrym. It was about 1 p.m.

when I reached the shore, and the ship was quite out of sight over the horizon. So great was the heat of the sun that a carbine, planted nearly upright in the bows, exploded as we were on our way, simply through the sun's heat upon the barrel. The surface of the ocean was like a sheet of glass, not even a catspaw to be seen.

When we reached the beach, a crowd of men, women, and children came round the boat, the former leaving their spears and other weapons at a distance. The usual noisy chaffering for yams, and so forth, ensued, and about a hundredweight was purchased, principally for beads and tobacco.

A boy then offered to engage, and a long knife, a "fantail" tomahawk, beads, tobacco and pipes having satisfied his friends, he got into my boat, from which he was transferred to the covering boat as it backed in to receive him.

A destitute French sailor, whom I had picked up at Vila Harbour, was this day steering the covering boat.

Two other natives—a man and his wife—also wished to come, but the man was forcibly removed from the beach by his countrymen, his wife following him. Just as I was shoving off, another boy made a rush into the water, grasped the gunwale, and, with my help, got into the boat. Some of the tribe wanted to prevent his leaving. However, after a lot of jabbering and noisy quarrelling, they were over-ruled by the majority, and the boy remained where he was, the usual "pay" being given in return. I then pulled westward along the shore.

About a mile further on, we saw a couple of women trying to bolt; but their countrymen were too vigilant, and, after a smart race, they were caught and dragged back into the forest. This happened close to a rocky point crowned with trees, where I noticed a quantity of columnar basalt near the water's edge. Beyond this point a small bay, where there was a stony beach, opened

to the north-west. A party of about a dozen men hailed us here, and I backed the boats in to interview them.

These fellows did not bear the friendly appearance of the crowd I had just left. No women or children were present, and nothing was offered for sale.

All had firearms—in a few cases, rifles—tomahawks and clubs. Their bearing was so suspicious that I got away as soon as I decently could, after a short conversation. Some of them, I noticed, were looking at the steersman of the other boat with anything but friendly eyes, and I heard the word “man-o-wee-wee” (“oui, oui,” *i.e.* Frenchman) uttered several times. Others, during our stay there, kept within the shade of the trees, and did not come near us.

I then went about a mile further on, to a low point, beyond which was a low black rock, with a crowd of natives on it. They had lit a fire to make a smoke—which is the signal they wish to trade—as soon as they saw us. Pulling round the rock, into what is now called Champion Bay, I backed my boat to the beach, in order to begin trading.

The natives seemed friendly. About a dozen women, with bundles and baskets of yams, and several children, were squatted on the sand, under the thick bushes which overhung the beach, about twelve yards away.

I had been there about half an hour, and had bought all they had to sell, when a boy offered to engage with me, and, getting into the boat, sat down close to me in the stern-sheets.

I had just handed the knife and tomahawk to a man who was standing in the water, near the boat, and was giving him a handful of tobacco, when, suddenly, the rest of the party—both the men near us and the women on the beach—rushed away yelling, while half a dozen muskets exploded close at hand. Two bullets whizzed close to my ears, one on each side, others tearing up the water about the covering boat, splitting the blade of one

of the oars. But it was the worst shooting I ever witnessed, for not a man of us was touched.

My first impulse was to shoot the man alongside, who was now cowering down in the water; but remembering the men I had spoken to in the other bay, I surmised it was they who had fired on us, not the party we had been trading with.

A vigorous thrust of the steering-oar sent the boat away from the beach, and my fellows laid back and pulled with a will.

A bit of fringe reef, with a break of the sea on it, here and there, was in the way. Luckily, there was just water



A HOT CORNER.

enough to enable the boat to graze over it. Meanwhile, the scoundrels kept banging away at us; but every shot missed, while I fired back at the puffs of smoke coming out of the bushes. As for my recruit, I had him safe between my legs.

Before we got out of range, I saw the bow oarsman of the other boat pull in his oar, topple over the bows into the water, and hang with his hands to the gunwale, almost stopping the boat, of course. At first I thought he was hit, but presently perceived he was only frightened. I was just putting my last cartridge into the breech of

my rifle, and, instead of sending it ashore, it went so near Sam's head, that he was glad to scramble back into the boat and resume his work.

A light breeze from south-east had been blowing for the last hour, and had brought the schooner up within a mile of us. We were soon on board of her, glad to escape with nothing worse than a good scare.

I was afterwards informed by Captain McLeod, a Noumea trader, that these fellows had, for some months back, attacked every boat that came within reach of their bullets.

Next morning I anchored in Port Sandwich, Mallicolo I., and I thought that here also we were likely to get into trouble; for, all that day, bands of natives were seen walking along the beach towards the principal village. They appeared to be assembling there in large numbers, and, as they were all fully armed, painted, and feathered, and especially since no women seemed to accompany them, we surmised that they contemplated hostilities towards us. Perhaps we were mistaken; at any rate, no trouble occurred while we lay there, or during the next two days.

Soon after I had anchored, a canoe full of men and boys came alongside—on a tour of inspection, apparently. One of them, named Jack, a returned labourer from Fiji, who could speak a mixture of English and Fijian, explained that the men of the neighbouring tribes were assembling at a large village to hold a "sing-sing," or feast. This may have been the truth; but if it were, it is rather strange we never heard the drums or choruses whilst we lay there.

There proved to be little need to leave the ship. I made one cruise round the harbour, taking the boats some distance up the little river Erskine. On the second morning of our stay, our acquaintance, Jack, offered himself as a recruit, bringing two others with him. When I sailed I had nine youths on board, two or three

of whom, I acknowledge, were legally too young to be recruited, being evidently under the age of sixteen. But, at that time, I knew there would be no difficulty in getting them passed as fit by the immigration agent at Maryborough, although I should not have cared to try it on in later years.

— In order to train the Polynesian to work, and to make him of some use in the world, it is necessary to commence at an early age. At sixteen he is a man, with all his savage habits rooted in him. When middle-aged he cannot be altered, except for the worse. Take him away from savagery as a child, and you can make him what you like.

— When we got back to port, these young boys were all engaged as house servants—an occupation they were allowed to fill, notwithstanding the outcry against it in Queensland. Three or four years afterwards, I met two of them in Maryborough. Their employer was staying at the Royal Hotel, on a visit, and had brought them to town with him. I failed to recognize them, when one bade me "Good-morning, Captain"—in pure English.

— Instead of the dirty, pot-bellied little wretch, who climbed up on to the ship, with drops of water trickling off his greasy hide—for he had swum off to the ship to engage—grinning, yet scared at his own temerity, without a good point about him except his big bright eyes, I now saw a quiet, self-possessed, well-made Kanaka, wearing dark clean clothes. Had it not been for his brown skin, I should have taken him for a white man, and a decent-looking one at that. I am certain no mission-station on the islands ever produced a more trustworthy, civilized specimen of humanity than that lad. Nor was his case an exceptional one.

— With a light wind from north-east, I beat out of Port Sandwich, rounded the Maskelyne Is., and worked the south coast of the island, anchoring off Arambagh, or "Tommy's Island." The veritable Tommy himself

came on board, acting as interpreter, until I became acquainted with Aipanpan, a "big chief" residing some three miles east of Arambagh, on the main island near the large village of Assagh.

Aipanpan has since gone the way of nearly all flesh in these islands, having been knocked on the head by his neighbours and enemies. At this time he ruled supreme in the bight of the coast between the Maskelynes and Timben, the point of land just beyond Lennurr I. During the four or five days the ship lay here, this chief slept on board and accompanied the G.A. and myself



MALLICOLO ISLANDER.

in our boats ; Tommy, who had picked up a little English in Fiji, being the interpreter between us.

In Port Sandwich, as well as on this coast, both the G.A. and myself had remarked the extraordinary shape of most of the heads of men and boys. They had very retreating foreheads, the back part of the crown elongated in a conical form, and the eyes protruding. This extraordinary feature is attained by artificial means, adopted in infancy.

One evening we landed on Lennurr I., where there was then a small village of half a dozen mean huts. We were sitting on a log, talking, through our interpreter,

with the few men living there, when a woman passed by with an infant. She held it on her hip—not in her arms like our women—supporting the child's head with one hand.

A bandage round the child's head excited my curiosity. I got up and walked towards her to examine it, thinking that the child had met with some injury.

The mother, however, scuttled off to the huts as I approached ; and Aipanpan had to put on his " big chief " air, and order her to come back, before she would allow me to examine her child.

It was a male child, not a year old, probably only a few months. Around its head, just above the ears, several bands of plaited bark were tightly wrapped, each of them half an inch wide. These would effectually prevent the skull from enlarging laterally. The top of the head was covered with a black, semi-liquid substance, having the appearance of tar, being also protected by leaves. It was thus rendered so heavy that the child could not hold it up without its mother's assistance. The desired conical shape was already produced, and the child's eyeballs protruded as if a shake of its head would cause them to drop out.

The Mallicolo people consider this curious deformity beautiful ; and, after all, how can we blame them ? Our own women think a wasp-like waist the height of beauty, although it often carries with it a temper to match, if nothing worse.

The woman seemed to be in a terrible fright while I was examining her dirty offspring. I believe she thought I intended to eat it, and was glad to get it out of my clutches at last.

We visited Timben Point one day, and the village on it, engaging three men there. We landed under the shelter of the point, and were loitering near the boats, when a crowd of men, women, and children suddenly ran out from the bushes on to the beach. They evidently

did not expect to come on us so quickly ; for, when they saw the G.A. standing on the beach, within a few yards of them, there was a yell and a general stampede into the bush at the sight of him.

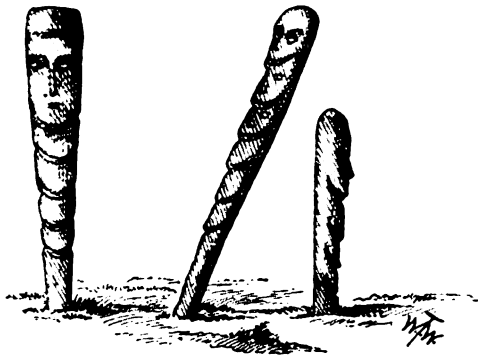
He certainly was, even among white men, a remarkable object. He stood over six feet in height, possessed decidedly red hair, including a rather full beard and moustache, with a face burnt by the sun to the hue of a brick. His under lip had suffered terribly from the heat, and, to protect it, he had stuck a bit of brown paper on it, like a small shelf. He always wore spectacles. His rig consisted of a cloth cap adorned with a bunch of feathers, stuck upright on one side ; a flannel singlet, rather disreputable trousers, at the waist-belt of which were slung a revolver and a sheath-knife ; and, to complete all, a pair of immense blucher boots.

When our G.A. beamed on a mob of niggers with his spectacles, he generally created a sensation.

The natives here were all rather undersized. At Timben they wished to preserve some record of our giant. So they persuaded him to stand upright against a straight-stemmed tree, directing him to show how far he could stretch his arm up the trunk above him. This he complied with, and an active little warrior made a chop with a long-handled tomahawk at the place where the G.A.'s fingers extended to. Had not the latter dropped his hand quickly, he would certainly have been shortened by two or three inches.

At Tommy's Island, on the outskirts of the village, there were numerous carved wooden posts, planted in the ground in various places. They were made from the stem of the fern-tree, which is plentiful in these islands. I think they were intended to serve merely as ornaments, and were not "gods," as we at first supposed, for the natives treated them with little reverence, and were quite willing to part with a few to us, as they did, for tobacco and beads.

From Arambagh, or Tommy's I., it was my intention to have gone further along this coast, to South-west Bay. However, as the light northerly winds that should have prevailed then were wanting, clouds resting on the mountain summits of the island, and calms prevailing under the lee, I crossed over to Ambrym I. Taking good care to avoid the scene of my late skirmish. I worked back to the south, watering at Havannah Harbour as usual. On the south coast of Sandwich I. we picked up three recruits, one of them representing himself to be a mission teacher from Aruntabau village. I had now over ninety recruits on board, and thought it time to return to Queensland. So, with a light northerly



CARVED POSTS—ARAMBAGH I.

wind, I steered for Aneiteum, in order to land my four boatmen there.

There was one care off our minds this time, which had troubled me so much during the former voyages. Measles and dysentery, which had committed such havoc among Kanakas, in their own islands, as well as in Queensland, had apparently quite disappeared. When passing Tanna we ran before a lively gale from northward, with a confused sea and heavy rain squalls. Next day I was almost becalmed, about four miles south-west of Aneiteum, light airs occasionally coming from north-east.

My four Aneiteum boatmen received their pay, £2

per month, in "trade," as they preferred to have it that way. Tobacco, pipes, calico, knives and axes were accordingly given to them in lieu of cash. They were landed, after a long pull, by the mate and G.A. The latter, on his return, informed me that the resident white missionary was at home, and that he was very angry because four of his promising flock had accepted service in a "slaver." He need not have been afraid of my visiting his island again, to hire boatmen. Those I got there were certainly good oarsmen, but in a "row" they were not worth their salt.

The passage home was a long and tedious one, as the wind was light and variable the whole way. Off the south-eastern extremity of New Caledonia I found the currents very variable, and, while delayed there for two or three days by calm weather, I always found myself at noon fifteen or twenty miles short of the position my "dead reckoning" placed me in—at one time north, at another south.

At this time the employment of Kanakas in Queensland was looked upon with great disfavour by a large portion of the Queensland public; particularly in the southern portion of the colony. In the north, where the white workmen could see that a cheap and servile labour was absolutely necessary for the cultivation of sugar-cane under a tropical sun, the traffic was viewed with more favour. Shopkeepers, also, in the northern parts, were favourable to it. For the islanders spent all their wages, to the uttermost farthing, before leaving the colony; preferring a chest full of calicoes and beads, tobacco and cutlery, to the hard cash which would be entirely useless to them in their islands. The mining population, however, was dead against it, being afraid that the Polynesian cheap labour might be introduced on the goldfields: a fear that political agitators on the opposition side took good care not to allay—quite the reverse!

By the "Polynesian Act" of 1880, the employment

of Polynesians in Queensland was restricted to certain branches of agriculture only ; so that, with the exception of the very few who had elected to remain in the colony prior to the passing of that Act, as house servants or in the mines, it became practically impossible to engage them for other purposes.

A day or two after our arrival at Maryborough, a preliminary inquiry was held by the police magistrate at his office, concerning the attack on us at Ambrym I. Nothing more came of it, however, although the P.M., who was an avowed Anti-Kanaka-ite, seemed to consider that I had done wrong in firing back at the natives.

“ But you fired back, did you not ? ” asked he.

“ Yes, I fired back to flurry them and spoil their shooting. It was done in self-defence.”

“ You did wrong, sir ; you did wrong ! ” and he would have made trouble for me, I dare say, had he been able to do so.

Yet, apparently nobody had disapproved when “ The Brisbane Courier,” six weeks before our arrival in port, announced that, while ascending the Fly River, New Guinea, in the s.s. *Ellangowan*, in opposition to the wish of the inhabitants, Mr. Chester, a Queensland police magistrate, and the Rev. Mr. MacFarlane, a missionary, had fired on the natives, defeating and driving them away, and had broken up one of their canoes !

But then, neither of the political parties of the day were much interested in those proceedings :—

There was no money in it !

CHAPTER V.

FOURTH VOYAGE OF THE STANLEY, 1876.

I leave Maryborough in April—Tanna and Sandwich Is.—Meet with the Sibyl—Her luck—Pentecost I.—Daly—Beachmen and bushmen—Dragging the anchor—Batnapni—Espiritu Santo I.—Haiss and Mavir Is.—Malvat Bay—A cool customer—Engagement of a sorceress—Native names—A “coo-ee” from the beach—Easy recruiting—Tea and satisfaction—Runaways—The chase—Recaptured—Levatleluldum—Threatened hostilities—“All’s well that ends well!”—Lammen I.—The chiefs prevent us from engaging men—Departure and return—A rival recruiter—My success and gratification—The Lady Darling has no such luck!—Sandwich I.—Homeward—Recruits wonder at the lighthouse—The horse and his rider—Arrival in port—The Dancing Wave—The massacre at Gala—Escape of Broad—His rescue—H.M.S. Barracouta sent to inflict punishment—Action stopped by missionaries—Effects of a planter’s bankruptcy—Polynesian claims and the Act of 1876—Murders elsewhere—A false report—Vessels in the labour trade.

I SAILED from Maryborough again in the middle of April, having a new G.A. on board. I had a long passage across to the New Hebrides, beating up against head winds. At last, one evening, we sighted Amédée light, on the reefs outside the harbour of Noumea, the capital of New Caledonia. I ran thence with a strong current, setting to windward along and outside of the barrier reefs, which helped me considerably.

At Waisissa and at Itoa, Tanna I., some recruits joined; and then we ran down to Sandwich I., anchoring in Havannah Harbour, to obtain wood and water as

well as boatmen. I engaged four men there in that capacity—natives of Protection I.

This port I left by the smaller ship's channel on the north-west. Just outside it I "spoke" and boarded the *Sibyl*, of Maryborough—Captain Taylor, Mr. Kirby G.A. She had "made a haul" at Pentecost I., and being now "full up," was returning home. While cruising off the north side of Ambrym I., the *Sibyl's* jib-boom had been carried away one night by a violent squall, and less than half an hour after that her main-boom had been badly injured. In order to repair damages properly, Captain Taylor had sought for an anchorage on the lee side of Pentecost I., and had had to sail some distance northward before he found one to suit his purpose.

Hitherto we had been in the habit of considering Pentecost I. as rather a poor place for recruiting. It appeared now, from the accounts of Taylor and Kirby, that the natives there were eager to leave home, instead of the contrary. In one anchorage the *Sibyl* had lain for three entire days. During the first, a few natives were spoken to on the beach; during the second, three men were engaged; while, on the third, thirty-six were received on board, making up the full complement the ship was licensed to carry.

Such news was too good to be neglected. So, as no recruiting work was possible that day—the sun then sinking fast—I hauled up to north-east and cleared the group by passing between Muna and Mataso Is. Next morning I lay off "Daly's" beach, on the southern extremity of Pentecost I. looking towards Ambrym I. Having got hold of "Daly" himself—a native who had adopted the name of a Sydney skipper with whom he had formerly sailed—I took him on board as interpreter, and anchored in South-West Bay.

The creek running into the head of the bay, near our anchorage, divided the territory of the beach tribe from that of another living up in the forest, styled by us

“bushmen.” Daly took care to keep on his own side of the creek when he landed; the twenty or thirty bushmen—who came down from the hills with some of their women about an hour after I anchored—keeping as carefully to theirs. In fact, Daly would not have ventured to have left the boat at all, had not a party of his own tribesmen appeared on the scene.

I obtained a couple of men here, though with difficulty. They were both bushmen, and could not be induced to go on board until Daly and his crowd had gone home, and until they were assured that the ship would sail early next morning.

I worked the southern coasts of Pentecost I. for a week, anchoring at Sile and Wannu, and obtained a fair number of recruits. Still, I did not come in for such luck as the *Sibyl*'s people had done.

One afternoon I dropped anchor on a projecting ledge of shore-reef—with four fathoms of water, but barely room to swing—a little south of Batnapni Bluff, near the village of Verramatmat. There I recruited two women. At night the trade-wind came off the high land in heavy gusts; and about 10 p.m. the ship quietly dragged her anchor off the coral shelf, and went to sea of her own accord. Luckily, I chanced to come on deck, and discovered the state of affairs before worse happened. For the anchor watch, a thick-headed German, was whistling up and down the deck, blissfully unconscious of it all.

Next morning I anchored in Batnapni Bay, soon discovering from the natives that this was Taylor's late anchorage. But I had not luck equal to his. Too many men had gone away already, so the chiefs thought. In consequence, I had to content myself with mere gleanings.

I then went over to Espiritu Santo I., seeking an anchorage on the lee side of Tetuba I., but without avail. At last I espied a sunken ledge of the shore-reef jutting out, on which I let go the anchor, keeping the topsail

sheeted home, to prevent the ship from swinging shorewards.

I worked this islet, but obtained only two men, and they were runaways. So in the evening I weighed anchor again, and stood out to sea, as it was not a safe place to lie in. The next three weeks were spent on the eastern coast, only half a dozen more boys being recruited there.



SHOOTING FISH—ESPIRITU SANTO I.

The coast of Espiritu Santo I. is composed entirely of coral and coral rock. This becomes elevated to the north of the point off which lies Tetuba, a small islet, only a few feet above sea-level. The same formation underlies the soil for some miles back into the interior, until it meets the volcanic tufa of the mountains.

From Tetuba I sailed northward, past a low promontory forming a large bay open to the same quarter.

Here there is a native village, called Benkula. The two large islets, Haiss and Mavir, lie parallel to the coast, north of Benkula Point; and another very small one, bearing only a few trees, lies a mile or so beyond Mavir. There appears to be very deep water all round, except between this little islet and Mavir.

I spent three weeks on this coast, and recruited only eight men. So small a number was due, doubtless, to the very wet weather we experienced, which, together with unsteady winds, and a heavy swell setting in on the coast, obliged us to keep the vessel a good distance away from the shore when the boats were at work. The natives have much more confidence in us when the vessel is close at hand, especially if she is anchored.

But I was not done with Pentecost I. yet. Recollections of the thirty-six men recruited in one day by the *Sibyl* still tempted me. So, having tried Lathi I. with no success, I hauled up one evening, on the starboard tack, and made a "long board" all night to north-east. Next forenoon I tacked, as the trade-wind generally veers to east in the daytime, and to south at night, and so fetched the northern coast of Aurora I. I watered at Narovorovo, keeping a bright look-out for the hostile villagers at the far end of the northern beach. Thence working south, I anchored in Malvat Bay for the first time. There I lay for two nights, and was fairly successful.

The first recruit engaged at this place assumed a very independent manner, though he was so young a lad that I much doubt if he was quite as old as the statute required. I had pulled into the bay, chattered with a mob of natives, taken soundings with the lead, and was pulling out again to bring the ship in to an anchorage, when this youngster paddled up to us. He began by asking a few questions about the ship, her destination, and so forth, and was answered by a native of Pentecost, who was acting as interpreter for me. Then he followed us to the ship, making his cockle-shell of a canoe fast to one

of the boats. Coming on board with us, he calmly proceeded to survey the whole ship, examining everything on deck and below. Having concluded these investigations, apparently to his satisfaction, he condescended to signify that it was his intention to accompany me. The interpreter soon explained the agreement he was to enter into, and his name was then put upon the list. His friends made no objection subsequently. They received the "pay" without a word, not even saying good-bye to him, as far as one could see. The boy made friends with Puck, who had no objection to employ him as an assistant, notwithstanding that they could converse only by signs.

This visit to Pentecost I. proved more successful than my former one. I engaged fully thirty recruits there in all. Among them was a woman that the tribe seemed quite anxious to get rid of, but for what reason I was unable to discover at the time. She was thin, certainly, but she was young and in good health. Yet she seemed just as eager to depart as was her tribe to get the "pay" and be well rid of her. I subsequently ascertained that she was supposed to be a witch, and had been suspected of causing the death of a chief of her village. If I had not accepted her, in all probability she would have been killed. She rejoiced in the euphonious name of Mettawamamakan, which made an elegant addition to our recruit list.

On this island, nine out of every ten women's names are prefixed by the word Metta, while nineteen out of twenty men's names begin with Tari or Tabbi.

While we lay at Batnapni, there was an appearance of an approaching shift of wind one afternoon. I therefore deemed it safest to get under way and dodge about all night, as the anchorage was close to the shore, and was so confined that it would have been a difficult matter to have got out of it in the dark, with a foul wind. Accordingly, towards sundown, the chain was hove short.

As the hands were making sail, a "coo-ee" sounded from the shore. This cry, the well-known Australian signal, has been introduced into the islands by returned labourers. Most of the natives who had been on the beach all day, had now gone home to the hills; and, when I backed the boat in, I found only three grown men and two small boys. One of the former wished to engage as a recruit, so the interpreter discovered and informed me.

Preliminaries were quickly adjusted. The new recruit got into the boat, and the "pay," consisting of a knife, a tomahawk, etc., was handed to the others on shore. I then made signs to a second man, inviting him to accompany us also. To my surprise he quietly handed his tomahawk over to the remaining fellow, and stepped into the boat. Another knife, tomahawk, etc., were passed out.

Still the third man lingered at the boat's stern, the boys keeping a few yards off.

"You come too," I said to him, which was duly interpreted.

Very quickly he turned round, dumped the pay received for the first two at the boys' feet, returned to the boat, got in and sat down.

The lads were too young for recruits, even at that time; so I contentedly paid for the last man, and pulled quickly off, fearing lest my recruits should change their minds.

"By Jove!" I said to myself, "this is easy work. If it was all like this, I'd depopulate the group, and then come back and shift the islands themselves!"

Now it appears that these three gentlemen had no real intention of going to Queensland at all. However, they *did* go, as we shall see.

As soon as we got on board they were examined by the G.A., and their names—Kaipan was one of them, I think—were put on the list of recruits.

Sail having been made during my absence, and the anchor having been heaved up and secured, the boat was hoisted in, and the ship allowed to drift off the land with her topsail aback and stay-foresail to windward. Meanwhile we took our evening meal, which consisted of dinner and tea rolled into one. We fared very well in those little "hookers"; far better than in any other sailing ships, big or little, that I have been aboard of.

As for the new recruits, they were all right, apparently. With lighted pipes in their mouths, their blankets over their arms or round their shoulders, they lounged against the rail for awhile, and then disappeared—at any rate, two of them did—down the main hatchway.

The sky was clouded over, and the land, two miles away, appeared black and close to us. As the ship was only drifting broadside on, and making no headway, I fancy they must have thought we were still at anchor, and that we were not three hundred yards from the shore.

We had taken our meal on deck, as we usually did in fair weather, the flat-topped skylight serving for a table. Having finished, we were just filling our pipes for a comfortable smoke, when suddenly, borne on the light wind off the land, there came a sharp yell, followed by other broken cries.

"Runaways swimming off!" sung out some one forward.

Down went the port boat with a rattle and splash, the crew tumbling into her as she descended. After them I went, delighted at the idea of picking up half a dozen recruits, perhaps.

The cries continued, as we pulled lustily in the direction they seemed to come from. Presently we found—not the fugitives from the shore we had expected to see—but a runaway from the ship, one of the three just enlisted, thoroughly spent with his long swim. When I grasped his wool under the boat's counter, the water actually

bubbled in his throat as he tried to cry out ; and, so great was the way on the boat, that he nearly dragged me overboard, grabbing at my arm with both hands as energetically as I did at his wool.

I soon had him in the boat, where he laid himself down to recover. The other boat had followed me, and, for a time, we cruised round about, and in towards the land, expecting that his two companions must have bolted likewise. Then we listened awhile, for it was now nearly calm ; but nothing was to be heard. As for *seeing* anything, it was as dark "as the inside of a cow."

When tired of this, we pulled back to the ship, and had the satisfaction of finding the other two worthies stowed away below. They seemed to have expected violence, for one of them was armed with a rusty bayonet which he had found "between decks," while the other had secured a billet of firewood. These weapons I took away from them, and then left them to sleep off their ill humour, placing sentinels over both the fore and the main hatches to prevent any further attempt at evasion.

This little dodge of first getting "trade," and then deserting, was often tried on, too frequently proving successful.

Less than a mile south of Bulhagh Bluff there is a precipitous hill, below which extends a narrow strip of boulder-strewn beach, bearing the name of Levatluldum. There some of us had a narrow escape from death by poisoned arrows, as I shall now relate.

On this beach, one fine morning, a crowd of thirty or forty men, headed by a grey-headed but active old chief, had assembled near my boat. They were all armed with spears, clubs, and poisoned arrows. Some women stood watching us, at a little distance from the water. I perceived that several boys were inclined to enlist, but were rather frightened about it ; so of course I tried to do my level best to encourage and persuade them.

The boat was lying with her iron-shod keel grating and

grinding on the shingle, while the natives were gathered round me, trading away their yams and curios. The



IN A TIGHT PLACE.

G. A. was sitting in the stern-sheets beside me, and the crew were all in their places.

Suddenly, without a word of warning, every savage

in the group before me drew himself up and stood fixed and motionless, with spear poised or bow stretched, the whole array of points levelled straight at me. My heart seemed to jump up into my throat, and all the hair I had left on the top of my head fairly bristled up.

There was no getting out of it this time, and I must acknowledge I was in a "blue funk."

Involuntarily my hand went up, palm from me, as a sign of peace. I raised a smile on my countenance—a pitiful one, I do not doubt—as I gasped out, "You darned fool! What for you want to fight?"

The old chief and several of his men could understand a little English.

I became aware, then, that the G.A. was drawing his rifle out of the locker at my feet; so I just put my foot on it to prevent him from exposing it. I also felt that the boat's crew had got hold of their guns. I think I caught sight of the stroke oarsman's barrel. Putting my other hand behind me, I privately motioned to them to lay the guns down. This they did, and presently the menacing spears and arrows were slowly lowered, though still held ready for instant action.

After a little the old chief descended from a boulder on which he had been standing, a few yards off, and, coming close to the boat, shook hands with me and made peace again.

This demonstration on the part of the natives had been occasioned by my men, who had handled their guns in consequence of seeing a native, near me, snatch a small bag of tobacco out of the stern-sheets, and bolt into the bush with it.

The chief was very angry, or, at any rate, pretended he was. He sent after the thief, obliging him to restore the bag. Half of its contents had been abstracted, however; but the reader may be assured I made no further inquiries about it; for we were overmatched, and were decidedly in a tight place.

Hardly had this matter been settled, when three men made a rush into the boat. For a few moments, I thought the threatened attack upon us had really begun. I was tumbled over the G.A., momentarily expecting to feel a tomahawk or a spear strike me. When I had picked myself up, I found the rush had been made by three would-be recruits, whose friends were unwilling they should go. The old chief, however, consented to permit of their departure; so I handed over the "pay," and thankfully returned to the ship.

Leaving Pentecost I., I next weathered Ambrym I. There I made no call, as the natives along the western coast were disposed to be hostile at that time. I paid a passing visit to Paama I., going on thence to Api I.

Rather late one evening, I pulled in to Lammen islet, which lies off Duane, the north-western corner of Api I. There I engaged three men, and might have got more; but, unfortunately, I had not a sufficient number of muskets in the boat wherewith to "pay" for them. I therefore pulled back to the ship, taking my three recruits on board, and then returned to the islet with the required muskets. It was dark by the time I got there. While I was making the trip to and fro, the elders of the village were informed of the departure of the three men I had enlisted, disapproving of which they determined to spoil my little game.

I pulled over the fringing reef, into a bight on the south-eastern coast of the islet—the tide being well up—and, getting close to the beach, held on to some overhanging branches. While in that position we could hear a mob of natives squabbling on the shore not far off. Presently, one of the boatmen, a Paama man, told me he overheard some of them proposing to fire into the boat, so as to prevent further recruiting. Had they done so, they would have had a fair shot at us out in the open, whilst we could see nothing of them, hidden as they were by the shadow of the trees. So, as quietly as possible,

we pulled away, expecting a volley every instant. However, we got back to the ship without that little treat, much to our satisfaction.

Early next morning I took the ship close into the land, and then pulled round the islet again, but without getting a single man. The chiefs and old men walked round the shore, following the course of our boats, driving back all who showed any inclination to join us. At last, after both parties were pretty well tired of this work, it became evident that mischief would result, if I persisted in my attempts. The chiefs called out to me, "Go away!" menacing us with their guns and spears. So I pulled back to the ship, hoisted in the boats, and ran down to windward, making for the Foreland.

An hour later a sail appeared in the south, bearing down upon us. Thinking that the sight of another vessel might deter the natives from attempting actual hostilities, I went about and returned to Lammen, where I hove to close under the lee of the islet.

I suppose that after seeing the *Stanley* depart, the chiefs had relaxed their vigilance. For, when I backed the topsail, three canoes went across from the islet to the mainland. As soon as we were observed, a tremendous yelling and shouting arose on the islet; several warriors, waving spears and tomahawks, rushed out from the trees on to the shallow shore-reefs, splashing about and cutting all sorts of capers in their excitement.

The two foremost canoes were filled with women, probably going to their plantations on the main island; but the third and hindermost was manned solely by nine young fellows, who, as it turned out, desired to join me. It had been their intention to cross to the main island, on pretence of guarding the women, and then to follow us along the coast, hoping that we should see and take them off before they got upon hostile territory.

The chiefs and their partisans on the shores of Lammen shouted and signalled to the canoe people to come

back. However, the two foremost canoes—which were already near the Api side of the channel—were paddled on faster to that shore, where the women landed, hauled up the canoes, and disappeared into the forest. The third crew turned about and paddled in our direction.

The other schooner I mentioned as coming up from the south had now drawn near. Down went my boats, therefore, and I had the pleasing satisfaction of securing nine able-bodied recruits, right under the bows of the *Lady Darling*, of Brisbane. Having shipped them, I proceeded to pay a visit to the new-comer. Her boats were already off, drawing the coast of the islet. However, they speedily returned, the *Darling's* recruiter reporting that the natives had threatened to fire at him.

No wonder! He ought to have known that the Lammen chiefs would be furious at my snapping up a lot of their young men, as he had seen me do. I know I should not have cared to have shown myself on that islet for at least a month to come.

I watered the ship, for the last time on this voyage, at Ibo, Sandwich I. I did not go into Havannah Harbour, merely anchoring off the mouth of the North-west Passage, where I landed my Lorss boatmen, also cutting firewood—tough, twisty she-oak. Thence I sailed for Maryborough, passing north of New Caledonia, and south of the Bampton Reefs.

The revolving light on Sandy Cape, the northern extremity of Fraser I., puzzled the recruits a good deal. We were beating into the bay one night, after rounding the point of Breaksea Spit, when I happened to go forward. A dozen of our recruits were standing about, watching the distant light as it blazed out, and then disappeared for a short while, every two minutes. At last one of them—who had a fair knowledge of English, though he had never visited the colonies—turned, and seeing me, remarked, “My word, Cappen, that feller

break plenty match!" I suppose he thought the light-house keeper extinguished and relit the lamp every time it revolved.

But his astonishment was greater, when, going up the river Mary, we came round a bend, and saw two young colonials at work breaking in a young horse. One was holding the horse's head, the other being in the saddle, as we came in sight. The first let go his hold, and away went the brute, kicking and bucking all across the paddock. Suddenly, girths and surcingle gave way, and off came the rider on to the ground, with the saddle between his legs. "Cappen! Cappen! he broke!" roared out our "new chum." He must have thought horse and man were one animal.

Previous to my arrival at Maryborough, at the end of July, the schooner *Dancing Wave* had come into Sydney harbour in charge of Mr. Davis, formerly mate of the barque *Sydney*. The *Dancing Wave* had sailed from Sydney in June, commanded by Captain Harrison, her mate being James Dare, an old friend of mine, and her crew consisting of four A.B.'s. Her ultimate destination was Torres Straits, to collect pearl-shell. For the work of collecting, a gang of South Sea Islanders was indispensable; and, in order to engage them, Captain Harrison went to the Solomon Is., anchoring off Gala, one of the Florida Is. A native interpreter, named Freeman, had been engaged at Hada Bay, San Christoval I.

While the ship lay at Gala, some seventy natives offered their services, and came on board. Suddenly, without warning, every man, of the ship's company, except one, was struck down and killed. Broad, the seaman who alone escaped death, shot two or three of the savages, and then concealed himself in the cabin. After a while the murderers left the ship, leaving some nine or ten natives of Guadalcanar I. on board. Broad then came on deck, thinking all were gone; but, seeing the Guadalcanar men, and being frenzied with fear, jumped

into the sea. Harry, a Guadalcanar man, called him back, and got him on board again. The cable was slipped, Broad and the Guadalcanar men getting the vessel away, with the intention of going to Savo I., where a white trader was then residing. Broad soon discovered that Harry and his companions were just as treacherous as the Florida men. He therefore seized an opportunity of escaping from the schooner in a small boat, during a violent squall. Fortunately, he was rescued by Captain Woodhouse, of the *Sydney* barque, at Savo. The *Sydney* went in search of the *Dancing Wave*, retaking her off Wanderer's Bay, Guadalcanar I. H.M.S. *Barracouta*, Captain Stevens, was subsequently sent to the Florida Is. to apprehend or punish the murderers. Owing to missionary interference, and to Exeter Hall influence, however, she left again without doing anything. Captain Stevens had made an appointment with Ferguson—the well-known and respected trader—to meet him there, but did not wait for him. When Ferguson reached Gala, he was terribly disgusted to find Stevens gone, by whose want of action more harm than good was likely to result, the perpetrators of the massacre getting off scot-free.

I subsequently heard, from natives who were concerned in it, the reason why this massacre occurred. It appears that a number of natives of Gala had been employed on a Queensland plantation, the owner of which was in difficulties. When their term of service had nearly expired, and their wages and passage-money were about to become due, the mortgagees of the estate—a well-known Brisbane firm—took possession of it, and repudiated any liability for the wages, etc. Such was the state of the law respecting South Sea Island labour, at that time, that the boys had no legal claim on the estate; and, although such a proceeding was certain to result in outrage and murder, they were actually sent home by the ministry of that day without receiving a farthing of their hard-earned wages.

I am bound to add, however, on reliable authority, that the bill to amend the Polynesian Act—which, amongst other items, gives the Polynesian a claim on the estate for his wages and passage home—was in print before the news of the *Dancing Wave* massacre arrived.

Also, just before my arrival, news came of the murder of Captain Anderson, of the schooner *Lucy and Adelaide*, in St. Bartholomew I., New Hebrides, on the 25th of June, 1876. I had met Anderson and his G.A., Mr. McGavin, at Havannah Harbour, during my late voyage. The *Lucy and Adelaide* had put in there to repair damages to her foremast.

Close on the heels of this ill news came more of a similar sort. Luckily, it turned out to be a false report this time.

Mr. Layard, consul at Noumea, New Caledonia, sent word to Sydney that the crew of the labour schooner *May Queen*—Captain Kilgour, Mr. Lynde G.A.—had been cut off by the natives at Tanna I.

As soon as this news was received in Brisbane, a well-known tradesman, a rabid opponent of the Polynesian labour trade, exposed to view a portrait of Kilgour as the "captain of the slaver" killed in Tanna. Unfortunately for the shopkeeper, however, the *May Queen*, with Kilgour and Lynde safe on board, arrived at Brisbane a day or two after. Then the skipper made things rather warm for that tradesman, who had paid no attention to the principle—*De mortuis nil nisi bonum*.

At this time, the number of vessels employed in the labour trade amounted to less than a dozen, all rigged as schooners or brigantines, and ranging from 80 to 140 tons register. I remember the names *Stanley*, *Sibyl*, *Chance*, *Lady Darling*, *May Queen*, *Isabella*, *Bobtail Nag*, *Lucy and Adelaide*, and *Flora*. The *Jason* had been burnt, the *Lyttona* wrecked, and the *Native Lass* condemned, since I had engaged in the trade.

CHAPTER VI.

FIFTH VOYAGE OF THE *STANLEY*, 1876.

I sail in August—Worgus, Tanna I.—Natives tell us a yarn—Recruiting with “liquor”—Muna I.—Story of Naumeta—He engages with me—His treatment by the missionary—The reverend gentleman gives chase—He comes on board—He demands a surrender—“Is the boy your slave?”—I am accused of housebreaking—“Get out of the ship!”—Complaint to the Government—Result—Inspection at Maryborough—Puck’s three fingers—The inspector’s report—Letter from a member of the committee—Some Government regulations—Comments upon them—Order to discharge cabin-boys—The inspector’s revenge.

AFTER lying three weeks in harbour, waiting for the licences, I sailed again in the *Stanley*, towards the middle of August. The same G.A. who was with me before accompanied me again, but I had a different mate, whom I had engaged to fill the office of recruiter, and to do the boating work, as well as his regular duties on board.

The work of recruiting commenced at Tanna I., as on previous occasions; but there was only one circumstance connected with our stay there which is worth recording.

At Worgus Point we were informed by the natives that a schooner had been there two or three weeks previously. Her captain, they said, had landed, gone to the village, and there treated all of them to “plenty grog.” By this means he had induced a number of men to go on board his vessel; and, of these, not all had returned to the shore. The names of the captain and of the vessel were told us; but as the first is now dead, and as the latter was afterwards wrecked, and is also no more, I see no use in naming either. Besides which, I have one

good reason for doubting this story. It was notorious among us that the captain in question never had any grog on board his vessel, whilst at the islands. Not that he was a teetotaler; quite the contrary. But it was his practice to drink up all the liquor he was allowed to take out of Maryborough, on each voyage, before he even got as far as the New Hebrides. Again, too, I am certain that the G.A. who accompanied him was not the man to have sanctioned such a proceeding as that which was related to us.

I do not like to allude to this report; but as I desire to tell all I know about the trade—against as well as in favour of it—I feel bound to mention the matter. Moreover, I can honestly avouch that this was the only instance of such a practice being resorted to, for the purpose of obtaining recruits, that I ever heard of.

After watering at Havannah Harbour, I went northward. And now I must refer to a circumstance which had occurred on a previous voyage—either my third or fourth—I cannot recollect precisely which. I had then called at the small island of Muna (Three Hills I.). There, a youth named Naumeta had offered himself as a recruit. I declined to take him on that occasion, for two reasons. First, he was not a native of Muna, but of Aneiteum; and, second, he was in the employment of a missionary, at Muna. He told me a pitiful story of the treatment he had received from his employer. Calling at this island again, on the present voyage, the lad once more turned up, with what result I will now go on to relate.

I hove to off the south-eastern coast of Muna I., in what was known to us as "The Sound," on the shore of which was the mission station. The G.A. and mate, having been on shore, brought off this boy with them. The former was of opinion that the Government would make no objection to his being engaged as a recruit, since he was under no agreement now to remain with

the missionary, his term of service having expired previous to our former visit.

On my questioning Naumeta, who was able to speak a little English, he told me that sixteen or seventeen months before he had been engaged in Aneiteum, his native island. He was to accompany the missionary to Muna, and act as a house servant. His term of service was not to exceed twelve months; and, at the expiration of that time, he was to be paid—how, I could not ascertain—and to be sent home in the mission schooner, free of charge. He said he had told the missionary he wished to go home; and, latterly, that he would like to engage as a labourer and go to Queensland. Since he had preferred the first request, the mission schooner had been to Muna twice, but he had been refused a passage home in her. He also stated that he could not get any payment for the services he had rendered.

Now, it was my business to obtain recruits as quickly as possible, by lawful means. It was not my business, nor was it my desire, to assist missionaries, or any one else, in deluding natives and keeping them in servitude when they had a right to leave it if they wished. So I explained the nature of our agreement to Naumeta, and put his name on my recruit list. Then, with his pipe, tobacco, and blanket, he dived down the main hatch out of sight. For, just then, we could see the missionary coming off to the ship in his boat, which two of his teachers were rapidly pulling alongside.

Thinking that very few words would settle this matter, as far as the reverend gentleman was concerned, I went to the gangway to receive him. In fact, I wished to have as little conversation with him as was possible under the circumstances, experience having taught me that some of these holy men—of the Presbyterian denomination especially—are rather disposed to exaggerate, to use a mild term, when recounting the details of such incidents as the present one. I told my visitor as much, too, before we parted.

He wasted no words on any preliminary greeting, as he came over the gangway.

"You hae gettin' a boy o' mine aboarrrd here," said he, in an accent unmistakably Scottish.

"A boy of *yours*! Is the boy your slave, then?" I retorted.

"No, he's no ma slave, but he's ma sairvant, an' a want him ashore."

Then I said the boy had engaged himself to accompany me to Queensland, his term of service with my visitor having expired some time since. I also recounted the lad's story, which the other acknowledged was correct, even to the non-payment of his wages. For all that, he still stuck to his demand that I should send Naumeta back to the shore, threatening to appeal to the first ship of war which came that way.

Now it so happened that I had just left one of H.M. ships at anchor in Havannah Harbour. Therefore, I at once offered to await her arrival, or that of any of her officers, if he chose to communicate with her. He would have had to traverse only six or seven miles of smooth water in order to have reached her. This proposal, as I anticipated, he declined to accept. Leaving the gangway, he then walked to windward, and, planting himself against the rail on the weather quarter, poured out a string of mild abuse against "labour" seekers in general and myself in particular. He wound up his tirade with a personal accusation; to wit, that I had "bruk into Mr. Paton's hoose in Aniwa I."¹

Up to this point I had kept my temper, having been particularly careful not to make use of any "cuss" words. Now the cork came right out, and I bubbled over.

"Did Paton tell you I broke into his house?" roared I.

"Yes, he did."

"Then, next time you see him, you can tell him he's a d——d liar!"

¹ See chap. i.

"A didna come on board here to have that language addressed to me," said he.

"No, you didn't, I dare say; and you won't get any more. For if you don't get out of the ship at once, I'll bundle you out quicker than you came."

Whereat my gentleman thought it best to depart, without more ado.

I have omitted one portion of our conversation, however. In the course of it, I taxed him with not having paid the boy his wages. In reply, he said he had not done so because suitable goods—calicoes, etc.—had not been obtainable on board the *Dayspring*—the mission schooner—when she last visited Muna. I offered to sell him calico there and then, on board the *Stanley*, so that he could pay his debt; and, furthermore, to charge him no more than his own price. This proposition he declined.

This missionary afterwards laid a formal complaint before the Queensland Government, alleging that I had taken away *his servant*. Some three years later, I ascertained that a certain police magistrate had received instructions from the Government to examine the boy in regard to the manner of his engagement.

The P.M. accordingly visited the house of Naumeta's employer, near Bundaberg. The gentleman himself happened to be absent from home at the time; but the servant who received the official in his place was no other than Naumeta. Nothing more came of it.

I cannot help thinking, however, that if one of *us* had engaged a Polynesian for twelve months, had kept him sixteen, and even then had never paid him his wages, he might have seen the inside of a prison, and assuredly would have done so, if a missionary had been the prosecutor.

The remainder of this cruise was, I think, uneventful. The islands that supplied me with the greater number of my ninety-odd recruits were Marlo and Pentecost.

We arrived at Maryborough about November 20th.

As soon as the ship had been passed by the medical inspector, the immigration agent of the port set to work to examine each recruit, inquiring into the manner of his engagement, and the number of years he had agreed to serve in Queensland. Of course a good deal of the questioning was effected through interpreters.

In order to ascertain the number of years each recruit contracted to serve; he directed them to hold up their fingers. Now, if indicating numbers, a Kanaka turns *down* his fingers, instead of holding *up* the number he wishes to express. Ignorant of this, the immigration agent fancied he had discovered another "outrage," when my boys turned *down* three fingers, leaving only two upright.

Little Puck was standing by at the time, and thought he must shove *his* oar in. So he perched himself on the end of the winch, amidships, in which position he was hidden from the inspector, who was stationed abaft of the deck-house. There he commenced to instruct the recruits, who were waiting their turn, how to hold their fingers.

About a score had passed, when, suddenly, a long, lanky Pentecost man came round the house, holding up three fingers all ready, without waiting to be questioned. Up jumped the inspector, and there, behind the first man, he saw a string of others, each of them holding up three fingers, as though it was some sort of ceremony. Finally, his eye fell on Puck, amidships, industriously demonstrating to the crowd.

There was a roar of laughter among the ship's company and others present. But the great man did not join in it. He felt insulted. It was a "put up" thing! I had set the boy on to incite the recruits into deceiving him. And so forth. By degrees things were explained, and he condescended to let us appease his wrath. Puck was ordered to desist; and the examination ended satisfactorily.

This gentleman had lately volunteered a report to the Queensland Government on the Polynesian labour-traffic; which afforded then, and for many years after, one of the leading questions among politicians in the colony. The result of this report, which had been deemed of sufficient importance to warrant the appointment of a "Polynesian Labour Select Committee," to inquire into the charges brought against employers of Kanaka labour, may be gathered from the following:—

"The main cause or origin of the committee arose from the report of Mr. ———, sent to the colonial secretary, uninvited by the Government, and containing many serious charges—or at least implied charges—against, not only the employers of, but all connected with Polynesian labour. These charges were not substantiated, and the evidence given by Mr. ——— will clearly show that his report was dealing with (to use his own words) the most extreme possibilities; that it was based, not on facts, but on suspicions, and I feel certain that an impartial perusal of the mass of evidence collected will clearly show this to be the case."—*Extract from a letter in "The Brisbane Courier," Nov. 27th, 1876, signed by one of the members of the Committee.*

— In the "Government Gazette," December 23rd, 1876, a notification appeared that the Governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, had formed some new regulations with reference to the Polynesian Act of 1868, which I summarize as follows:—

1. Before a licence to recruit shall be granted, the district in which the labourer is to be employed must be specified.

This regulation was much needed. Maryborough, about this time, was a favourite place with the New Hebrideans; but frequently, after arrival there, they had been drafted off to some other district. In revenge for this, after their return home, some of them had "taken it out" of the first unsuspecting white man who had fallen into their power.

2. Agreements—*i.e.*, the final agreement, when the labourer is transferred to the employer on shore from his agent, the master of the vessel—shall be entered into on board on arrival, only with the person who has applied for and to whom the licence has been issued.

3. No transfer of a labourer from one employer to another shall be allowed until after proper inquiry shall have been made by the inspector, and then only under a bond, and only when the first employer shall have ceased to require the services of the Polynesian.

4. No transfer shall be allowed to any employer in another district until after the lapse of a reasonable time from arrival.

Unfortunately, it was not stated precisely what His Excellency and the Executive Council considered “a reasonable time,”—an omission that made the regulation valueless, in my opinion.

5. The employer shall pay wages to each labourer annually. Such wages shall be paid in current coin, and shall be paid in the presence of a Government inspector, or of a police magistrate.

From the foregoing epitome of the regulations at that date, it will be evident that Queenslanders were doing their best to regulate the Polynesian trade, and to check abuses on shore as well as afloat.

I may also state that, in the transfers of labourers from one employer to another, it was the duty of the inspector to ascertain if the labourer was willing to be so transferred. I know of one instance only in which this was not strictly carried out. In that case the offender was an officer who avowedly belonged to the political party that opposed Polynesian labour altogether. I shall refer to it later on.

The immigration inspector at Maryborough, having had a rap over the knuckles for his report, as I have shown above, took his revenge out of us skippers, since he could not reach any higher. Two of the Polynesian labour vessels—the *Stanley* and the *Sibyl*—had each, for the last year or more, carried a cabin-boy. These lads were engaged in the islands, and their names were borne on the ship's articles. Shortly after arrival in port, the crews were discharged, the cabin-boys included. However, as the Act provided that “no Polynesian shall be

introduced into this colony except under the provisions of this Act," new articles for the next voyage were signed by the cabin-boy, immediately after he had received his wages and discharge from the first.

The inspector decided that the discharge from the first articles was an infringement of the Act. He therefore notified us that our cabin-boys were to be landed at their respective homes on our ensuing voyages. That is to say, their engagement was held by him to have been illegal.

I cannot help thinking that this was nothing more than petty revenge. Scores of times I have known of Polynesian boatmen who had never visited Queensland before, being brought to Maryborough, and there discharged and shipped again, precisely in the same manner as our cabin-boys. Yet our inspector never took notice of such cases, apparently reserving "the letter of the law" for those who had offended him.

CHAPTER VII.

SIXTH VOYAGE OF THE *STANLEY*, 1876-7.

Christmas at the White Cliffs—Run to the Banks' Is.—Landing returned labourers—A dirty night—Curious weather—Running for the open—A whirlwind—Racing the swell—Out of the cyclone—The Stanley wins renown—Meralaba I.—Effects of the hurricane—Remarks on the Banks' Is.—Port Olry—Tanoa I.—Recruits from inland—Adam, the interpreter—Failure to reach Pussé—At Port Sandwich—The W. S. Fox—Sunken coral reefs—Round New Caledonia—Arrival at Maryborough—Quarantine—Red fire—Puck ordered home—Reasons for his reluctance to go—I resign command of the Stanley—How Puck evaded the authorities—An abuse—Cottons instead of woollens—A case in court—Change of officials.

I SAILED again from Maryborough towards the end of December, spending Christmas at anchor off the White Cliffs, Fraser I. On the thirtieth of the month, at night, I rounded Breaksea Spit, and thence stood to the east with a southerly breeze. This, however, soon drew round to south-east, blowing freshly, and bringing thick, dirty weather.

I had a number of Kanaka labourers on board, returning to their homes; and, as the destination of most of them was the Banks' Is., the northernmost of the New Hebrides group, I kept the ship to north-eastward, passing just to leeward of the Bampton reefs, and hauling up again sharp on the starboard tack. In the vicinity of the Torres Is.—which I sighted but did not visit—the wind fell off for a while, then hauling round to north-north-east, carried me to Mota Lava, or Saddle I., one

of the Banks' Is., where, one forenoon, I landed several of my passengers. This was on or about January 15th, 1877.

While the boats were at work landing men and women, with their huge heavy chests—the ship meanwhile dodging off and on—the breeze freshened up, with squalls of wind and rain, under a dull cloudy sky. My aneroid was falling, and, as the hurricane season was now due, I hastened the men in the boats, hoping I might be able to anchor in Port Pattison, on the west of Vanua Lava I., before dark. This was not to be, however. It was late in the afternoon before my work at Mota Lava was ended, and night began to fall before I got to the port. Being unacquainted with the anchorage, I decided to take my chance in the open sea. So, passing south of Mota I., I stood to eastward under double reefs.

The sea was still running easily, and the wind was no more than fresh, but the night drew in pitch-dark, while rain fell in torrents. The glass was going down slowly but surely, and there was every prospect of a cyclone. I therefore wore the ship in towards the land again, at about 2 a.m.

About seven we stood in between Saddle I. and Sugar-Loaf I., a hard gale blowing from the north and west. Overhead and astern of us, the sky was bright and cloudless; but before our course a dense black bank of clouds rose from the horizon almost to the zenith. The sun was shining on us, and the sea was bright and sparkling, just flecked with white driving foam. The schooner laid herself down to it, and, smothered in drift, seemed to do her level best to get to an anchorage before the worst of the hurricane caught her.

But our luck was no better in the morning than it had been overnight. I should have had to have beaten into the port, had I adhered to my original intention; and, from the outside, this looked an almost impossible feat. So I kept away for the passage between Vanua Lava

and the two small islets—Pakea and Nivula—which lie off its south-eastern shore.

When we got into the passage the wind suddenly fell ; for we were then under the high land of the main island. Then a whirlwind caught the schooner aback, dashing the booms and the fore-and-aft canvas over to the contrary side, nearly capsizing the starboard boat on the davits—in which I was standing to con the ship—and smothering us in a whirling cloud of salt drift.

This did not last more than half a minute, ceasing as quickly as it begun. Two or three similar whirlwinds passed close to the ship. I was much relieved when the schooner shot out of the passage into the open sea, and the gale once more howled through the rigging.

There was nothing for it now but to run clear away from the land. I headed the ship to the east, before the heavy swell that came rolling round the south coast of the island. The boats were got in on deck and secured, the hatches battened down, the topgallant yard sent on deck, and sail was shortened to a close-reefed topsail and inner jib.

Near the island the swell rose in long and regular rollers ; less than two miles off, we suddenly plunged into a raging broken sea, the effect of cross currents. The wind had now hauled round to north-west almost, and the aneroid was down to 29.40. The black cloud-bank appeared to be travelling in a south-easterly direction. To keep away from it as much as possible, I missed no opportunity, when the heavy seas allowed me, of steering with the wind on the port quarter.

I should have heaved to under the storm-main-trysail, if the swell had not been so dangerous. In that raging sea, however, both the mate and myself were afraid to attempt it. We thought it safer to run down east until the swell subsided, or we could haul out of it.

In the afternoon the centre of the cyclone appeared to be abeam of us, bearing S.W. to S.S.W., the wind coming

from about N.W. by W. We were then scudding under the topsail, beneath the edge of the cloud-bank. The sky to the north and east was blue and cloudless, the remainder being hidden by a uniform mass of dark cloud. Just overhead of us, the cloud-bank assumed a lumpy and rounded appearance, like a bunch of black grapes, and took a tint of indigo blue.

On one side the horizon came clearly in view whenever the ship rose on the top of the swell; on the other our prospect was bounded by a wall of driving rain, falling at a few hundred yards distance. Now and then this falling sheet drew near and enveloped the ship, pouring down upon us with pitiless force; while the tempest of wind shrieked through the rigging, and the huge seas roared alongside as they raced past us. As we rose on the wave-tops we could breathe; each time we sank into the trough between them we were half suffocated and smothered in salt drift and foam. The *Stanley* seemed to be simply running a race with a hurricane; while, on board, we were praying that she might not win!

The aneroid had now fallen to 29.10, remaining steady at that point; so—barring accidents—we knew we were safe; since the centre of the cyclone was not likely to approach any nearer. This state of things lasted until nearly sundown, when the wind began to veer towards the west and slacken in force. Very early next morning I hove the ship to, under the storm-main-trysail and such other canvas as she had been running under. After that the cyclone had the race to itself, dying away towards south-east. At 8 a.m. the *Stanley* lay on the port tack, under all ordinary sail, breasting the seas with a light south-west breeze and fine clear weather, beating back to the Banks' Is.

The manner in which she had behaved in this gale won a great name for the *Stanley* throughout the islands. My "returns" had been down below all through the gale, the only ventilation they had being through the

scuttle of the after-hatch and the battened bulkhead of the women's quarters ; so they must have had a very rough time of it. They probably thought that the ship had been in much greater danger than was the case. When they came on deck next morning, and found she had sustained no damage, they were loud in their praises. For Kanakas dread nothing so much as the "big wind."

Meralaba, or Starpeak I., was the first land I made, and there I obtained three recruits. This island is of a conical shape,—the old crater of an extinct volcano forming its summit,—having an elevation of nearly 3,000 feet above sea level. Its shores are abrupt, and there is no anchorage off them. From Meralaba I went to Santa Maria I., thence working southward through the group as far as Havannah Harbour, whence I sailed for home with ninety-eight recruits.

The hurricane we had encountered passed throughout the whole group of the New Hebrides. The beaches and forests of every island we visited bore witness to its violence. The inhabitants were fearful that a famine would result, so much damage had it done to their plantations ; frequently refusing, in consequence, to sell yams, taro, and other provisions.

Banks' Is., the northernmost division of the New Hebrides, are five or six in number. They are of volcanic formation, and are mountainous. Mota I., included with them, is, however, coralline in structure for the most part.

Santa Maria, or Gaua I., and Vanua Lava, have the only anchorages worth mentioning ; those at Lakon, fourteen fathoms, and at Losolava, twelve fathoms, both off Santa Maria I., being the best. The Admiralty plans of these, and of Port Pattison, Vanua Lava I., are excellent and reliable.

I had intended to go to the west coast of Espiritu Santo I. after leaving the Banks' Is. ; but the weather looked so threatening, when we sailed, that I ran to Port Olry, on the east coast, for shelter. After an improve-

ment had shown itself, I found it more convenient to work round to the south, trusting to get an opportunity to visit Pussé, on the western coast, for which place I had two returns. Pussé was Puck's native place, also, and I had been ordered to land him there.

North-west of Bartholomew I., and near the south coast of Espiritu Santo, there are four islets. Of these, the nearest to the main is Tanoa, divided from it only by a narrow channel. Inside this channel there are good anchorages, in eight to twelve fathoms of water. I lay there for several days, while it blew hard from the north-west.

I obtained several recruits while lying at this place, not from the islet but from the main. Some of them came down from the interior of the island. A returned labourer from Queensland, named Adam, who lived on the mainland coast near our anchorage, acted as my messenger to the inland tribes on this occasion, as well as subsequently. Some of the men who came to engage said it had taken them two days to travel down to the coast from their villages.

I hung about the south coast of Espiritu Santo for more than a fortnight, hoping that an opportunity of getting to Pussé would occur. The wind hung to the northward, sometimes light and baffling, sometimes blowing a gale of wind, regular monsoon weather. I got within three or four miles of the place once, when it fell almost calm, and a current carried me back to Cape Lisburne, the south-western extremity of the island. At last I gave it up, since I could not afford to waste more time over such a job. Then I squared away for Pentecost, giving that island a trial, with excellent results.

At Port Sandwich, Mallicolo, I lay for two days. There I was told by the natives that a French schooner had left the port just before the recent hurricane had broken over the island. They supposed she had been lost, for some inquiries had since been made for her by

white men. The vessel they spoke of may have been the *Tanna*, as she disappeared about that time. A small ketch, the *W. S. Fox*, was lying at Port Sandwich near us, but left before we did.

With a few more boys on board I sailed from Port Sandwich, getting a moderate breeze from the southward for a wonder. Off the Maskelyne islets I found the *W. S. Fox* again lying at anchor inside the reefs. Her master came off to me, and piloted the *Stanley* to an anchorage off Olunduva islet. This was a delightful as well as protected berth. It was surrounded by picturesque islets, the mountainous coast of Mallicolo, and a vast extent of coral reefs. The last prevented the heaviest sea from disturbing the surface of its waters.

Here, and on the south coast, I recruited a sufficient number of boys to make up my list to over ninety. I then sailed to Tongoa, working the west coast of Api on the way. I lay there no more than an hour or two one morning, getting under way again speedily because the barometer was falling very fast. A few hours' run took me to Havannah Harbour, where I found the settlers preparing for a hurricane—an example I thought it wise to follow. However, it blew only a hard gale, beginning in the north, as usual, and veering round to west, where it died down. In the midst of it the little *W. S. Fox* bowled in through the north-west passage, and very glad was her "Geordie" skipper to get to an anchor.

I beat out of the southern passage with the last of this breeze. Off Tukatuka, the western point of Sandwich I., the wind fell light, suddenly chopping round to the east. While standing off the land on the port tack, we unexpectedly ran by two patches of sunken coral, which were not marked on the Admiralty chart. Hat I. (off the west coast of Sandwich I.) lay north-east from this spot, being fourteen or sixteen miles distant, perhaps even less. There was a moderate sea running at the time, but no breakers were visible.

I made for home by the southern route, round New Caledonia. Notwithstanding light winds and several calms, we made a quick voyage, on the whole. We arrived at Maryborough on the morning of March 23rd, but the immigration agent considered 2 p.m. much too late an hour for him to visit the ship. So we were not released from quarantine until the following morning.

However, the quarantine laws could not prevent our host of the Melbourne Hotel from sending off to us a little "refreshment." So we had some merriment in the evening, ending by illuminating the ship with all the blue lights and red fire we had left. We made such a blaze that half the town was scared; especially as the powder magazine was hardly fifty yards from where we lay.

Touching this "red fire"—most labour vessels carried a small gun to announce their presence to the natives living in the forests, when they came to an anchor under any of the islands. I was unprovided with any such weapon, and therefore used to explode dynamite; or at night I sometimes flared off a preparation I got from a chemist in Maryborough. This burned with a brilliant red light, and was altogether more effective and not so ghostly as the ordinary blue light, besides being cheaper.

Of course I had some trouble with the immigration agent, as soon as he discovered that Puck was still on board. It ended in smoke, however, though he insinuated that I had purposely refrained from landing the boy, which was untrue.

The *Sibyl* was then lying at the wharves nearly ready for sea, and it was decreed that Puck should be taken home in her.

Now Puck, about a year before I engaged him, had run away from his home in Espiritu Santo I. in company with another youngster, the son of his chief. The latter fell ill and died soon after, in Sandwich I. Puck, who was the eldest, was afraid that, if he made his appearance at Pussé without his late companion, he would be

accused of having beguiled him away, and be himself killed for doing so. Wherefore poor Puck had no desire to go home.

In the meantime, whilst Puck's affairs were being arranged for him, I had resigned my command of the *Stanley*. This was because a slight disagreement had arisen between the owner and myself. About a week after that Puck disappeared.

He was to have gone home, as I said before, in the *Sibyl*. A few hours before she sailed the two Govern-



PUCK.

ment agents and the two skippers—Captain Kilgour having been appointed to the *Stanley* in my place—met on board the latter vessel. The *Sibyl* was lying at a wharf at some distance. The party, having started to walk from one vessel to the other, ordered Puck to follow them.

Now, across the road along the river-bank which connected the two wharves, there was a fence with a gap in it. The two skippers passed through this gap, and walked on arm-in-arm; the two G.A.'s followed them. Lastly poor Puck, weeping bitterly, came to the gap in his turn. But he did not pass through it. An idea suddenly occurred to him. He turned to the left, ran along the fence, and disappeared. Puck did not go

home in the *Sibyl*. I met him in Sydney about eight years after this.

About a month previous to my arrival, another abuse had been ferretted out and exposed by our friend the immigration agent. I venture to say that, if he and other officers holding a similar position elsewhere had but kept their eyes open, they might have discovered it long ago. For the fact was obvious to everybody else connected with labour vessels then. This abuse lay in the fact that recruits were supplied with the cheapest and worst clothing that could be obtained in the market. Thin cottons were generally given to them, in lieu of the strong woollen stuffs prescribed by the Act.

The *Sibyl* had arrived in Hervey Bay about February 26th, and, as was the custom in those days, clothing was served out to the recruits just before the vessel entered the river. As soon as she had arrived at her moorings, the immigration agent summoned the owner before the court, for not supplying a "flannel" shirt to one of the recruits.

The *Sibyl* had ninety-seven recruits on board, but only one case was tried as a test-case, the other ninety-six being withdrawn. The owner was fined five shillings and costs (£25). He ought to have been thankful to the immigration agent for withdrawing the other cases. He does not appear, however, to have been in that desirable state of mind, since he applied, by his counsel, for "prohibition."

Shortly after my arrival, the immigration agent referred to was relieved of a portion of his onerous duties by the appointment of an assistant-immigration agent and Polynesian inspector. A little later, another ship-master was appointed to the post. Our "friend," therefore, of the multifarious offices, retained only that of sub-collector of customs. No one in Maryborough was sorry for this re-division of the executive powers—unless it were the officer aforesaid!

CHAPTER VIII.

LAST VOYAGE OF THE *BOBTAIL NAG*.

I meet with an accident—I take command of the Bobtail Nag—Death of Bully Hayes, the freebooter—Sail to Fiji—At Levuka—Fijian labour system—Regulations and pay—Fitting ship—An abuse—Queensland and Fijian labourers—Paying off—In a Fijian store—Diddling the boys—I sail from Levuka—My boatmen—Hostilities at Tanna I.—Boys unwilling to land—Returns unwelcome—Scarcity of food—Beachmen plunder bushmen—I escape death—Lose my galvanic belt—Effects of the drought—Aurora and Pentecost Is.—The Charybdis ashore—I leave Havannah Harbour—Bad weather—Put back to Vila—I go ashore—Visit Roddin—The cyclone upon us—Hasty preparations—A roaring hurricane—Driven on the reef—The wreck—Cutting away the masts—The centre of the cyclone—"All hands ashore!"—Saving provisions—Encamped on the islet—Expedition to the village—Fire—The night of the wreck.

IN August, 1878, I was offered the command of the *Lady Darling*, which vessel was then lying at Brisbane. I had accepted the proposal, when an accident occurred which obliged me to withdraw from it—a fall, when out riding one evening, having laid me up for three weeks. By September, though still suffering from the effects of the accident, I was able to get to work again, and took command of the *Bobtail Nag*, a brigantine chartered by the Government of Fiji for recruiting work. I sailed in her for Levuka on the twenty-first of that month.

Just before we left Brisbane, news had been received there that "Bully" Hayes, the notorious South Sea freebooter, had been killed. This man was a native of Cleveland, Ohio, U.S. His exploits had consisted chiefly

of ship robberies and occasional abductions of women, accompanied by more or less violence. I had met him once at Kusaie, Caroline Is., in 1871. He was killed by one of his piratical crew, a Norwegian named Janssen or Johnson, during a quarrel on board the *Lotus*, a vessel he had stolen. Johnson afterwards took the *Lotus* to Jaluit, Marshall Is., and gave her up to a German trader resident there.

The *Bobtail Nag* was a very indifferent vessel compared with my late command, the *Stanley*. Let it blow high or low, the latter shipped no more water than enough to keep her bilges sweet, while the poor old "*Bob*" leaked like a sieve in heavy weather, and even in fine she gave the watch a fifteen minutes' spell at the pumps every evening. We had to keep her "wee-gee" always rigged.

Off Norfolk I. we came in for a gale, during which one of the boats was carried away. This I had to replace at Levuka. After three weeks out we sighted Matuku I., one of the Fiji group, and, next morning, the rugged peaks of Ovalau I. lay right ahead of us, the white houses of Levuka—then the capital—nestling at their base. By noon the *Bobtail Nag* lay at anchor off the town, inside the barrier reef that forms the harbour. Here we remained for nearly a month, repairing and outfitting.

The system of recruiting labourers at the islands for Fiji was similar to that under Queensland regulations, but the manner of dealing with them on arrival was different. At Levuka, recruits were inspected on board by the immigration agent and the medical officer, were then landed and housed at the Polynesian depôt at Vagadace, and thence distributed by the Government to such employers as required their services.

The boys' passage money, both to and from Levuka, was paid by the Government; the former within twenty-four hours after inspection, and the latter forty-eight hours after sailing from Levuka. Ship-owners and

agents were thus relieved from all responsibility in respect of the disposal of the recruits after their arrival in Fiji.

The owner of the *Bobtail Nag* received £8 per head for all recruits over sixteen years of age. Of such as were younger, two were paid for as one. For returns, £3 per head was allowed. Recruits were engaged for three years, at £3 per annum. Clothing on board ship consisted only of two "sulus"—loose linen waistcloths—one supplied to each man on engagement, the other on arrival in port. Sleeping mats were provided instead of blankets.

The *Bobtail Nag* was fitted with the usual fore-and-aft shelves or "bunks," two on each side of her hold, in compliance with the Queensland Government regulations. Fijian labour vessels usually dispensed with bunks, however, the recruits sleeping on mats ranged along the deck. By this plan less sleeping room was obtained than by the other; but, on the other hand, greater cleanliness could be enforced.

On board Fijian vessels the food consisted solely of yams and other native vegetables. Pipes and tobacco were supplied in addition. The full complement of passengers was fixed at the rate of three for each two tons of the vessel's registered measurement, two youngsters being reckoned and paid for as one adult.

So far, good. But in the payment of the labourers at the expiration of their term of service—three years at this time, previously five—there was abuse. This I affirm to have been the case, because I saw that the boys I took back to their homes in the *Bobtail Nag* had not received anything like the value of the money they had earned in Fiji.

Now the Queensland labourer had frequent opportunities for learning the value of money. He had his holiday on Saturday, as well as Sunday. On the former day he could visit the neighbouring town and its stores,

and thus pick up some knowledge of the money value of things, besides picking up a little English.

The Fijian labourer, on the other hand, was generally employed on some island of the group far removed from either town or store. He acquired but little English, though he quickly learnt the native Fijian. When paid off, he knew little more of the value of what he had earned than he did when he arrived.

To prevent his being cheated by the store-keeper, I suppose, his money was retained by the Government until he had completed his purchases, and a clerk from the Immigration Office accompanied him to the stores to assist him in getting what he wanted—or, as it would seem, what the storekeeper thought he ought to want.

One day, I happened to be in a general store at Levuka, when a clerk from the Immigration Office entered, followed by a score or so of boys who were being paid off. These had been at work for either three or five years on some distant island. They mostly looked as wild and scared as if they had just been imported. One only, who had been a house servant in Levuka, could talk English, and he accordingly acted as spokesman for the rest.

The storekeeper had expected their arrival, and was prepared for them. Indeed, it seemed to me that he had brought to the front all the damaged articles he was possessed of.

Conspicuously displayed was a number of three-legged iron pots, without covers, chipped round the edges, and all thickly coated with rust.

“Very good belong boil yam,” remarked the clerk to the English-speaking boy, touching one of these pots with his foot.

“Very good belonga yam,” assented the boy, as to a mere passing remark.

“Give each boy a pot,” said the clerk to the storekeeper, pretending to take the boy’s words as an expression of the general desire to buy these wares.

Accordingly, each member of the party was forthwith saddled with a rusty iron pot to take home and boil his yams in ; cooking the vegetable in such a way being a method never employed—nor considered desirable by the islanders.

“ You like calico ? ” asked the clerk, fingering a “ bolt ” of it all stained and damaged.

“ Yes, me like calico, ” mumbled the lad, looking with evident disfavour upon the sample before him. But this was considered a purchase by the clerk and the storekeeper, and the stuff was served out, the wishes of each individual being not even inquired into.

Then the clerk noticed me observing his proceedings, and the rest of the conversation was cautiously carried on in Fijian, with which language I was unacquainted.

I took these boys home in the *Bobtail Nag*, and saw what they—or the clerk for them, rather—had bought. The goods each of them had, if they had been good and new, would have cost, at the usual prices in that store, no more than six pounds, if as much. This estimate included the clothes in wear, as well as the box.

A Queensland “ return's ” box measured, on an average, 3 feet × 1 foot 6 inches, and would be chock-full and weighty. A Fijian labourer, if he possessed a box at all, had one scarcely two-thirds of that size, with, possibly, a cheap German shot-gun, almost as dangerous to fire as to stand in front of. The “ Brown-Besses ” sold to Queensland labourers were very superior weapons by comparison. Besides his chest and gun, the Queensland labourer often had a huge bundle or two.

I noticed a great difference between these Fiji “ returns ” and the majority of labourers from Queensland. The latter were vastly superior in manners, personal appearance, and intelligence. The Fijian boys, after their experience of hard work under a just and reasonable employer, no doubt presented signs of improvement on the original savage. These were noticeable, however,

to a far greater extent in the Queensland "returns," who had mingled with white labourers on comparatively familiar terms.

I have often said—and I say it still—that if I was placed on a New Hebrides beach with a hundred of the inhabitants, one half of whom had served their three years in Queensland, and returned, say, within the last twelve months, I could pick out forty-five of the fifty solely by their personal appearance. They would present a healthier aspect, possess more muscular frames, and be devoid of the furtive, "wild dog" expression which the genuine savage usually wears.

I sailed from Levuka in the beginning of November, with over a hundred and sixty "returns." I had also a Government agent on board as a passenger. I think it was on the morning of November 3rd when I took a departure from Mount Washington, Kandavu I. The first land I made after that was Fotuna I., where I landed several "returns," and obtained two fresh recruits. These came on board unsolicited, having got into the boat without a word, simply making signs that they wished to go away in the ship. They were aware of her destination, the "returns" having told them. They knew no language except their own; but, before we reached Levuka, they could converse freely in Fijian, having acquired it from my four Fijian boatmen.

These boatmen were big lusty fellows of the true Polynesian type. They were nominally Christians, and, sooth to say, as consummate rascals as one could wish to meet. They said their prayers every morning and evening. Not infrequently also, they indulged in what they believed to be hymn-singing—but cats are musical in comparison to them! Whenever recruiting was slack they were constantly advising the mate to kidnap boys, pointing out various opportunities when it might have been done.

The chief of the four, Jeremiah, told me he had been

a servant of the British Consul at Levuka, before the annexation of the Fijis by the British Government. Surely he could not have picked up his rascality in that service!

From Fotuna I went to Tanna I. There, about three miles north-west of Waisissa, the mate met with a warm reception as he approached the shore. A volley from at least a dozen muskets saluted him; the enemy lying concealed behind rocks and bushes, not twenty yards distant. Fortunately not a man was hurt, though both the boats were struck by some of the bullets. A short quick pull carried them out of range.

Tanna was generally unfavourable to us. I therefore landed some "returns" I had on board, who belonged to the island, and then sailed northwards.

There were three Tanna men that I did not put ashore, however. These had been taken, along with their goods, to a point on the north-east coast, near to which they had been engaged some years before. On reaching the shore, however, they saw a party of men belonging to a hostile tribe awaiting them, and were consequently afraid to leave the boat. The mate pulled away along the coast to another part of the beach. There they got scared again, and so, finally, begged to be taken back on board ship.

It appears they belonged to a village up among the hills inland, which they could not reach without passing through a hostile district. So they preferred to remain on board, trusting that peace would have been made by the time I should return to the island on my way back to Fiji. If not, they would rather go back to the colony, and engage for another term of service there, than risk their lives in attempting to get home.

At Erromanga I. some more "returns" were landed in Cook's Bay and in Polenia Bay. Thence I sailed to Sandwich I., where I put another batch ashore at Fareire, on the north-eastern coast. At this place the poor "re-

turns," instead of being welcomed home, were coolly told that they had better have remained in Fiji. It would seem that, owing to a prolonged and most unusual drought, the food supply of the district was running short.

I waited two or three hours at Fareire, dodging off and on, in hopes that this scarcity of food might stimulate some of the natives to leave home. None offered to recruit, however, so I squared away for Hinchinbrook I., where I anchored.

Next morning, having a fresh fair wind, I ran through the narrow but deep passage between Pele I. and the little islet of Kakula, near the Sandwich coast, and so into "the Sound." It was a short cut to Havannah Harbour, where I watered the ship.

At various islands north of Sandwich I. the work of landing "returns" and engaging recruits went on briskly. We secured many boys in consequence, I think, of the scarcity of food on the islands. The drought had not affected the yam plantations to any great extent apparently. The taro plants, however, on which root the northern islanders depend as their staple article of food, had failed miserably. The attenuated bodies of many of my recruits too plainly evidenced the extent and consequences of the drought.

I recruited two young women at Mai I., who subsequently deserted at Vila. About them I shall have more to say presently.

Touching at a part of the south coast of Espiritu Santo I., we landed three "returns," with their goods. They belonged to a "bush" tribe, and, unluckily for them, there was a village of a "beach" tribe not a mile off where they landed. A party of natives belonging to this village assembled on the beach as soon as they saw us. They received the "returns" with seeming friendliness; but, no sooner were our boats well on their way back to the ship, than they seized the boxes and bundles

and made off with them. We could see the unfortunate "returns" standing disconsolately where we had landed them. All they had left to represent their three years' labour was their guns. Probably the possession of these had alone saved their lives.

At Narovorovo our old enemies of the village near by planned another attack on us, and were again frustrated in their pleasant little game.

I was bathing in the stream, from which we had just filled our water-tanks, when the second mate chanced to observe some natives dodging behind the bushes close at hand. He gave the alarm at once. Our boys immediately charged into the scrub and drove out the lurkers—about a dozen fellows, armed with bows and arrows. They had sneaked down to try and get a shot at me, but were thus disappointed. Another five minutes, however, and my last voyage would have been concluded in a way I had not bargained for.

At this time I was in the habit of wearing one of Pulvermacher's Galvanic Belts. I had found it useful as a preventive of rheumatism, though it failed to cure me of that affliction altogether. In my hurry to get dressed, when the alarm was given, I forgot to put it on, and left it lying on the beach when we returned to the ship. Subsequently an old native woman found it, picked it up, and, the next time I returned to the place, restored it to me, to my great relief. I gave her a butcher's knife, which she appreciated as much as I did the belt.

The night after this incident I crossed over to Mallicolo I., and, next day, anchored among the Maskelyne Is. There I was obliged to lie for four days, rheumatism keeping me on my back, unable to move without acute pain. This did not stop recruiting, however, which went on merrily meanwhile.

As soon as I was able to move about I got under way, and, issuing by the south-western passage, worked

along the south coast as far as Lennurr I., between which and the mainland I came to an anchor. Here we spent Christmas Day.

The effects of the drought were very manifest at this place. Each of the inhabitants looked as if a good square meal was a thing he had not enjoyed for a long time. Of course it was impossible to purchase any native food, and the supply I had brought from Fiji was already beginning to run short. Luckily, I had brought two tons of rice with me from Brisbane, as well as a quantity of biscuit. I had also shipped five tons of yams in Fiji. But for these provisions, I must have cut my cruise short long before this.

A large crowd of natives constantly assembled on the beach of the mainland, during the three days I stayed at Lennurr. The recruit list soon rose to 135. That, however, seemed to be the limit, so I sailed on eastward, with a light southerly breeze, and tried Aurora I.

At Pentecost I. we were again successful. The provisioning of the ship now became a serious question; so the G.A. and I held council, coming to the conclusion that we must return to Fiji forthwith. So he delivered to me an official letter, notifying me to the effect that I should, if unable to obtain more provisions, return to Fiji at once. Whereupon, the boats were hoisted up and secured, and we began beating back to Havannah Harbour.

There I purchased all the provisions suitable for natives that I could find in the place. These were little enough: a few bags of small white beans, the sort grown in Fiji for Polynesian labourers, and some maize. With these additions to such rice and biscuits as I had left, we reckoned we could last out for three weeks.

When all was done, I had one hundred and forty-four recruits on board, to which number must be added the three Tanna boys I still hoped to land at their home.

There were two vessels lying in Havannah Harbour

during our visit. The cutter *New York*, last from Fiji, and the labour schooner *Charybdis*. The last-named had proved too leaky to return to Fiji. Her master had shipped the labourers she had collected—about forty in number—on board the schooner *Samoa*, and had gone with them to Fiji in that vessel, leaving the *Charybdis* at Havannah Harbour. Her crew, in order to save themselves the trouble of pumping, laid the *Charybdis* on the mud near Semma, and there the relics of her are probably still lying.

I left Havannah Harbour on the evening of January 7, 1878. Taking advantage of the smooth water under the lee of the land outside, I there pumped the ship out dry—and a long spell of work it was, too. Had there been plenty of provisions on board, I think I should not have gone to sea that day, for the weather looked dull and threatening, and the glass was falling. The last night have been only an indication that the wind was about to shift into the north-west, which would have given me a quick run across. Regarding it as such, I stood off southward on the port tack, the wind freshening up from E. by S. with a dull cloudy sky.

At four next morning I tacked to northward, heading for the coast of Sandwich I. The breeze now began to freshen, becoming squally, with almost continual rain. During the forenoon we kept an anxious look-out for the land, for it was now evident that the ship was on the verge of a cyclone, the centre of which was bearing northward of her. Plainly, the sooner we could get into a safe anchorage the better; for both pumps had to be kept going continually to free the ship from water. The sea was now running strongly, and the old craft was plunging and straining through it under her lower canvas and double topsail.

A very heavy squall of wind and dense rain compelled me to let go the topsail and throat halyards, and to haul the jib down. After this, about eleven, the rain

cleared away, and the south-east point of Sandwich I. became visible to us on the weather bow, about eight miles distant. This gave me our position. Sail was made again, the yards were checked and the sheets eased off; and then the ship's head was pointed for South-West Bay.

I anchored in Vila Harbour at 5 p.m., between the islets of Vila and Lelika. There I stowed sails, and pumped three feet of water out of the hold. We were just in time. That night it blew a hard gale, with very heavy squalls and thick rain. Had we been outside in it, I verily believe the old *Nag* would have foundered under us.

At daylight, on the 9th, when I turned out of my bunk, I found the aneroid had fallen very little during the night, and was then at 29.65. Going on deck, I thought at first the weather had improved. Just then the rain had ceased, and the wind abated considerably. This might have been due to our position under the lee of the land. Overhead the sky was dark, a thin scud now and then flying across it from the east.

I had a sick man in the forecabin—one of my white crew—for whom I wished to obtain some eggs, or a fowl or two. Our stock of poultry, purchased in the islands, had been exhausted. With this in view, therefore, I went ashore in the north-west arm of the harbour to visit John Roddin, a settler there. Him I found at home, engaged in planting maize, along with his native wife and four or five labourers from some other island.

This was his third crop that season; two previous plantings having been ruined by the drought. He scouted the idea of a hurricane, because the wind was not coming from north or north-west, but blew steadily from the east. He thought this would prove no more than a gale—not a cyclone.

No eggs were procurable, but Roddin's wife caught a couple of fowls for me, while he and I were breakfast-

ing. Just as we finished our meal the gale rose again, a terrific squall bursting over the harbour. It shook the house we were in, until I thought it would come down about our ears. Outside, the air was filled with flying leaves and twigs from the forest; while sheets of blinding rain descended, completely hiding everything more than twenty yards off.

This lasted about half an hour, when a lull allowed the air to clear sufficiently for us to see the flat top of Pango Hill, at the other end of the harbour. Seizing my fowls, I bade Roddin and his wife a hasty good-bye. Then, slipping and stumbling down the "greasy" hill, I got into my boat, and pulled energetically back to the ship. Hardly were we alongside, when another howling squall enveloped us, catching the ship nearly abeam as she swung at anchor, and heeling her over to her scuppers nearly.

One glance at the aneroid in my cabin was enough to show me that the fullest force of the cyclone was at hand. The indicator had sunk two-tenths during my absence, while the steadiness of the wind, blowing from the east, and its increasing violence, proved to me that the cyclone was moving directly towards us, and that the calm centre, round which the hurricane revolved, would pass over our anchorage.

There was but little time left us in which to make preparations. Half an hour sufficed to complete all. The maintopmast was housed, and all the bent sails were marled down to the yards, masts, or booms, with spare running gear, by the white crew. Meanwhile, the boatmen and recruits hove in some of the chain the ship was riding by, during a lull between the squalls. As soon as this chain was short enough, I let go the second anchor in twelve fathoms, the other lying in nineteen. Next, I paid out both cables, until I had only five fathoms on one side and about twenty on the other, to veer and haul upon in case of a shift of wind.

As soon as the next squall brought up the cables taut, I dropped the lead over the vessel's stern in eight fathoms, about fifty yards from the fringing reef of Vila islet. Then I got the port boat on deck, lashing the starboard one to the davits, so as to leave one side of the deck clear, as well as to have a boat ready for lowering in case it should be required.

Now, I thought, the ship would be safe if only the anchors would hold securely in the coral bottom, for the water was as smooth as the top of a table. When the starboard braces were hauled in until the yards were braced sharp up, there was as little surface as possible for the wind to take hold of.

At noon the glass had run down to 29 inches, and was still falling fast. The lulls between the squalls were of less duration. At one o'clock the wind blew steadily, but as fiercely as any squall, gradually increasing in force until it became a roaring hurricane, enveloping the ship in a thick mist of driving rain, which half choked us as we crouched under the lee of the bulwarks and the deck-house. Still the anchors held fast, and the ship kept her position pretty well.

Once I went below, and found that the aneroid had fallen to 28.40. Shortly after I had crawled back to my shelter under the deck-house, the roar of the wind suddenly rose to a perfect scream, apparently shifting a couple of points or so southward.

For a moment or two the ship lay trembling, but without leaving her position. Then her head fell off to port. A chain had parted, or an anchor had dragged. A moment she hung steady, then fell off still more, sweeping round broadside to the wind, being then instantly borne down by the force of the wind until her spars and port rail were under water.

As I held on to the weather rail aft, looking down upon the water becalmed under our lee, I saw its dull grey colour change to a light green. Then I felt a

grating and grinding sensation under my feet, and I knew that all was over with the old *Nag*.

Almost on her beam ends as she was, the vessel caught the coral first with the upper part of her port bilge. Then, as the hurricane pressed her on up the reef, she righted. So suddenly did she heel over to windward, that a dozen of us who were hanging on to the weather rail, were fairly flung on deck by the pressure of wind. The canvas cover of the deck-house, just above my head, was ripped off and carried away, my sou'wester going with it. The last was discovered some



WRECK OF THE "ROBTAIL NAG."

days after on the other side of Vila islet, impaled on the broken branch of a tree.

The rocks on shore were now dimly visible through the driving mist. That we could see them, in conjunction with the grinding and jerking we felt beneath us, too plainly intimated that the ship was being slowly driven over the reef towards the harbour mouth. Should she get into deep water, I knew she must now go down at once. What was more, we should all be drowned in that case, for no one could swim amid the churning foam.

However, she was still partly held by the anchor, and two hundred fathoms of chain hanging from the bows.

The wind had most hold upon the foremast, so our axes went to work without delay. A few cuts divided the lanyards of the weather rigging, and then, the wind helping the axe, the mast with all its yards and gear was sent into the water under the lee bow. About the same time the ship's nose stuck fast in a hollow of the reef, and her further progress was thus arrested.

The water had now risen to within two feet of the upper deck forward, while abaft it was three feet above the keelson. The recruits presently tumbled up from below in hot haste, crouching down on deck, under cover of the weather bulwark.

Two of the Fijians jumped over the lee quarter with a life buoy, taking the end of a thin line with them. Their intention was to swim ashore, and then, by means of the line, to land a warp from the ship. However, they were swept away, and, for a time, I thought they were drowned. Fortunately, I was mistaken; they got ashore all right under the lee of the island, and joined us again within half an hour.

We then lifted the boat that had been lashed on deck and launched her over the lee taffrail; the infernal roaring and shrieking of the hurricane continuing all the while with unabated vigour. Talking—even shouting—was of no use. You might have discharged a musket within a yard of a man's ear without his hearing it!

Just as the boat slipped over the rail into the water, there came a sudden change. The uproar seemed to cease all at once, and there fell a dead calm. The shore became faintly visible through the thin mist of drizzling rain. Jumping down into the cabin, I found the aneroid had fallen to 28.32. This was not very low for a hurricane, but the instrument was an old one. The time was twenty minutes past three in the afternoon.

I judged we were now within the calm centre of the cyclone. As soon as that should have passed over us, a renewal of the hurricane was to be expected, probably from an opposite quarter. Now, therefore, was the best time for seizing a chance of getting ashore.

The second boat was accordingly lowered into the water, and got round on the shoreward side of the ship. The women, over a dozen in number, were first landed, most of the men swimming. Their woolly heads, bobbing about in the water, looked like a raft of cocoa-nuts. Some of the "bushmen" were unable to swim. These were supported by others who could. All reached the land safely, at about eighty yards distance from the ship.

Our revolvers, which we kept always loaded, were buckled on; the second boat taking ashore all our guns and ammunition. There was a large village on the islet of Vila, and I knew that the inhabitants would take every advantage they could of our necessities. The ship's papers and chronometer were also put into the boat, together with all the provisions we could collect from above or below water. Amongst other things, we saved a ten-gallon keg about half full of good Ageston rum—a Queensland brand. This got put on one side, however, and was not landed till the next day.

The calm lasted fifty minutes, and then a light puff came up from the south-west. There was not a moment to lose.

"All hands ashore!" I shouted, tumbling into a boat, followed quickly by the G.A. and the Fijians. Hardly had we got half way to the shore when the hurricane once more burst upon us—right in our teeth, too. Fortunately, the trees and rocks of the islet somewhat broke its force. By leaping into the water up to our waists, we were just able to bring the boat to the beach and haul her up above high-water mark.

The vessel was now completely hidden from sight by the rain and spray. Three of the sailors and two Tanna

islanders were still on board of her, the second boat remaining alongside.

We had landed near the northern end of the beach fringing the east coast of Vila. Extending back from this beach there was level ground for some thirty yards, beyond which the land rose abruptly to a height of seventy or eighty feet. The whole of the little island was covered with dense brushwood and forest, under the lee of which we were completely sheltered.

Our first thought was bestowed on our firearms; our second concern was for our provisions. We piled up the last in a heap, placing our loaded rifles on the top, and covering the whole with a main-hatch tarpaulin.

Materials for a fire were then collected, but the only box of matches brought on shore turned out to be wet and useless. I therefore proposed to the G.A. that he and I should go to the native village and get a "fire-stick." To this he agreed, so off we set, taking a bee-line through the "bush" in the direction I thought would bring us to the village.

It was a rough journey. We had to force our way through thick underwood, matted together with vines and creepers; while, overhead, the hurricane tore and roared through the tree-tops, rending off huge branches, and occasionally prostrating trees.

At last, breathless and not without bruises, we reached the village. The first house we came to—or what remained of it rather—lay flat on the ground. The next was being blown away piecemeal, for the open "sing-sing" ground lying to windward of it gave free access to the wind. An old Kanaka was the only inhabitant to be seen. He was dancing wildly about the ruin, yelling and gesticulating.

Close by was another house, which had caught fire, and was blazing furiously. Here was what we wanted. I seized a blazing brand, part of a rafter, and made off back on our tracks with the G.A. close to my heels.

Getting into an open path leading to the beach, the wind bowled the two of us along at a great rate, till a fallen tree across the track brought us both up breathless.

After all, we had taken our trouble for nothing. My fire-stick had gone out by the time we gained the beach. Happily, during our absence, the mate had found a bottle of brandy and a box of dry matches amongst the stores. So we freshened ourselves up with a nip, turned the boat keel uppermost, lit our pipes, and laid down under it just as night fell.

As for the miserable naked recruits, they stowed themselves away in holes and corners of the rocks, or behind trees, no doubt cursing the white men for having persuaded them to leave home. Notwithstanding wet clothes and the rough stony ground, I managed to get a few hours' sleep. Waking up about midnight, I found that the hurricane was over, and only a light breeze blowing from south-west. The weather had become fair, though the sky was still overcast.

CHAPTER IX.

SHIPWRECKED ON VILA ISLAND, 1878.

After the hurricane—Changes in the landscape—The wreck—The keg of rum—Erecting a camp—How I disposed it—Our supply of provisions—I set off for Havannah Harbour—Effects of the cyclone there—The New York and the Charybdis wrecked—Return to Vila—Inspection of the wreck—The Sibyl and the Stanley—Arrangement with Captain Kilgour—The natives upon us—A Kanaka “man-o’-wee-wee”—A parley—They try to bounce me—I resort to strategy—With excellent results—Visited by a missionary—We ought to thank Providence!—My simple little plan—The missionary saves us—Hospitalities—The islanders relieve me—Discipline—Mele islanders visit us—Our women elope—Details—Vessels visit us—The islanders have no more food to spare—I meditate a raid—Return of my “boys”—The Stanley to the rescue—We sail for Fiji—I go into hospital—My certificate—Return to Queensland—Government regulations—The question of firearms—How the French and Germans step in—Affair of the Chance—Politics—Obnoxious regulations—The Premier and the Polynesians—“Big fella chief no plenty good!”—Return passage money—An unfounded accusation—“Big Massa Johnny Douglas!”

THE morning after the wreck was a bright and clear one. The harbour wore an aspect that was quite novel to us. The day before, the hills and shores around us had been sumptuously clothed with rich tropical verdure—greens of many tints and varying degrees of brilliancy, relieved by scattered patches of bright yellow, red, brown, purple or crimson.

Now, alas! a blight seemed to have passed over the landscape, leaving it as dead and forlorn as though it

had just endured a northern winter. Not a leaf was left on the trees : they stood naked, stripped bare of their foliage, bruised, gashed, and torn by their recent struggle with the hurricane. The whole land had been desolated, and now wore a dull grey aspect, streaked here and there with patches of white, where the coral rock showed out on the hill-sides.

The strips of yellow sand along the shores were strewn with broken boughs. In some places, great trees lay prone across them, their once lofty crowns half buried in the lapping waves. Alone the water smiled and sparkled in the morning sun, as though laughing at the ruin which had swept over the land.

The *Nag* lay where we had left her, though her position was somewhat altered. The main-mast had now disappeared as well as the fore, which we had cut away. The second boat was still alongside, but full of water.

Our first consideration was breakfast. A tin of meat, with some of the few dry biscuits we had saved, sufficed us, and then the G.A. and I went off to the wreck. We found the vessel lying listed over to starboard.

The hands who had been left on board, being afraid that she might be blown off the reef again, had cut away the main-mast, which was floating in the water under the quarter. Then they had got hold of the rum keg, and, after that, I suppose, the hurricane did not much trouble most of them. The boatswain was sober, but all the rest were helplessly drunk. The seamen were noisy and quarrelsome, the Kanakas almost insensible.

We set to work to fish up out of the hold everything in the shape of provisions that was worth saving. The biscuit was found to be irretrievably ruined. The sails were sent ashore and spread out to dry on the beach. Some of them were used for building tents ; upon others such rice, maize, and beans, as we could save were laid out to dry in the sun. By nightfall our temporary camp

had been fixed up, and we had got our ammunition and stores under cover.

I triced up the main-boom between two large trees, lashing it to them. Over this I spread the main-sail, extending it out on either side, tent-fashion, and securing the flaps to the nearest trees and stumps. Under the boom I fixed the topgallant-mast, spreading another sail over it and underneath the mainsail, so as to form a tent-and-fly—and a capacious one at that. This served me for headquarters.

Of course the rum keg was carefully stowed there, since it appeared to possess a strong attraction for at least two of my four seamen. I gave them the foresail, with such spars as they wanted, and marked out a spot some fifty yards away from my tent. There they erected one for themselves. The four Fijian boatmen put up a small tent close to headquarters. The recruits stripped the bunks and lower deck out of the wreck, and with the planks and scantling constructed rude huts along the beach, on either side of my tent.

All the culinary gear had been brought ashore, and the recruits' cooking pots were set up. However, when I came to overhaul the stock of provisions, I found I could afford them only one meal a day; even then there would be no more than enough to last ten days.

There was an ample supply of fishing-lines and hooks, however, as well as three or four pounds of dynamite, and some detonators. Fish of many kinds abounded in the harbour, and might be had for the trouble of getting them. Wood suitable for bows, fishing-arrows, and spears was also plentiful enough. So the boys easily managed to obtain further provision than their allowance of "crowdy"—as we termed a mixture of damaged maize, beans, and rice, all boiled together.

I left Vila on January 11th in one of the boats, with the Fijians, making for Havannah Harbour, in order to obtain news, as well as give notice of my disaster. In

passing Tukatuka, I observed that the houses belonging to Ford—a settler who resided there—had suffered severely. I could not afford time to visit him then, however.

When I arrived at Havannah Harbour, I found Mr. Young, the proprietor of Rahni plantation, taking luncheon with a visitor. They were seated under Young's roof-tree, certainly, but the walls of his house had been blown down, and the roof itself was on the ground! The mission house half-way up the harbour had been completely gutted—doors, window-frames, and most of the roof, had been carried away bodily.

At Semma, the house formerly inhabited by the late Mr. Hebblewhite, which was now occupied by Captain Brown, had escaped uninjured, though the large store at the back of it had been levelled to the ground. "Black Harry" Palmer's houses had disappeared altogether, and so had Salisbury's new iron store. The little cutter *New York* had sunk while at anchor, and the *Charybdis* had lost her masts and was a total wreck.

There being no other vessel in the port, it was useless for me to remain there. So, next day, I started on my way back to Vila, taking with me Messrs. Brown and Salisbury, also the skipper and owner of the *New York*. These gentlemen came, at my suggestion, to survey the wreck of the *Bobtail Nag*. We stayed overnight with Ford, at Tukatuka, reaching my camp at Vila on the following day.

During my absence the Rev. Mr. Mackenzie, of Errakova—a mission on the south coast about two miles distant—had paid a visit to Vila. He had left word for me that he would come over again when I returned.

Our survey of the old *Nag* was a brief one, for it was too plainly evident that she could never float again. Her "back" was broken and hogged up; the stump of the main-mast had risen through the deck, tearing its "coat" adrift; while the main-beam was in two pieces,

and several butts had started above water. In the hold some of the floor-planks were protruding through the stone ballast, and her bottom had completely given way to the weight of the ship. She was a complete wreck, and a report was drawn up accordingly.

A day or two after this I was informed that the *Stanley* and the *Sibyl* were at anchor in Havannah Harbour, so off I went again to seek assistance from one or other of them. The *Sibyl* was homeward bound with recruits. Her master, Captain Turner, offered to call at Vila and take my white crew on board, giving them a passage to Maryborough.

The *Stanley* had "returns" on board, whom she was taking to their homes. Not without a great deal of bargaining I induced Captain Kilgour to come to an agreement. He was to take my recruits to Fiji for the sum of £4 10s. per adult head. The boatmen, my three Tanna "returns," the G.A. and myself were to have free passages granted to us in addition. Finally, he was to have three weeks' grace in order to land the returns he then had on board.

This agreement was formally drawn up in duplicate, and I then went on board the *Sibyl*. That vessel presently got under way, and in due course we arrived at Vila. Captain Turner then took on board my white seamen, six in number, and sailed with them. I must say I was glad to get rid of these fellows. One or two of them were only a source of trouble to me, quarrelling and squabbling continually, and, I was afraid, might occasion trouble with the natives of the island.

As I had expected, it was not long before the islanders sought to make profit out of our mishap. Fortunately, my knowledge of one of their superstitions enabled me to choke them off easily enough.

But I must go back in my narrative to relate this. During the afternoon of the day after the wreck, when we were all at work fixing up our camp, one of the

Fijians—who seemed to keep their eyes all round them—said to me :—

“Cappen! man Vila, he come!”

About a score of the natives of the islet presently hove in sight, coming towards us in single file along the beach. Each man of them carried some weapon or another, and all were more or less painted and feathered. The leader was a great swell. He sported a bunch of cock’s tail-feathers stuck in his wool; he had red paint daubed on his face; and his waist-mat and ample body-cloth were stained a bright turmeric-yellow. As I soon discovered, this genius had served a term in New Caledonia. He presented, consequently, a burlesque imitation of his former employers. In particular, he had learned how to jabber and gesticulate as well as any Frenchman.

Now, I had rather a large quantity of tobacco, beads, and other “trade” wares, lying about loose in my tent. As it was decidedly inadvisable, under our circumstances, to let these gentlemen see what I was possessed of, I advanced to meet them.

“What do you want?” asked I.

“Me want to speak you,” replied the imitation “man-o’-wee-wee.” And he tried to walk past me to the tent. I brought him quickly to a halt by seizing his arm.

“What you want?” I again asked.

“Very good you go look chief belonga me; he like speak you.”

“Suppose chief he want to speak me, very good he come here.” But this did not suit our swell. Every cock fights best on his own dunghill!

“Chief, he old man. No savey walk good.”

This was a lie, and I knew it.

“Me Cappen,” I objected, with an assumption of dignity.

“Suppose chief he want speak me, very good he come here. What he want?”

Seeing that there was little chance of persuading me to accompany him to the village, the "noble savage" folded his arms, struck an attitude, and said :—

"Chief, he speak—how much you pay belong stop along Vila."

I had expected this, knowing their cheerful little ways, and was ready for him.

"Me no pay chief belong stop along Vila."

At this my lord stamped his foot and frowned. I continued :—

"You been broke ship belonga me!"

The frown now gave way to a look of surprise.

"By-an-by, man-o'-war come; me speak Cappen belong man-o'-war—Man Sandwich make big wind, big wind broke ship belonga me!"

Consternation and surprise appeared in his face at this, a total abandonment of the defiant attitude showing how it had impressed him.

"Man Sandwich no make big wind," he blurted out.

"Yes, man Sandwich make him. All atime, big wind he come along here," said I, pointing to north-west.

"This fellow no all the same; he come along here,"—pointing easterly towards the mainland of Sandwich; "that fellow big wind, man Sandwich make him; he broke ship alonga island belonga you. Me speak Cappen belong man-o'-war, suppose you no look out."

It was such an absurd idea to me that I was rather surprised at the effect of my words.

There was a little muttering, after which the whole party turned round and walked away; and that was the last I heard of the matter.

On the first Sunday after the wreck, Mr. Mackenzie visited me for the second time. I was in camp, but he only stayed long enough to hold service. In his discourse he endeavoured to impress upon our minds that we ought to be thankful to Providence for our preservation. By the same rule, I suppose, we ought to

have thanked Providence for the loss of the ship! I was more disposed to attribute our escape from drowning to the fact that I had put back into Vila Harbour, than to consider it due to a special interposition in our favour. Next day Mr. Mackenzie appeared again, and this time inquired into my resources. I told him briefly what they were, specifying the number of days for which I had rations, and what "trade" I had to barter for more; finally hinting that we were well armed, and that food must be procured somehow.

"But surely you would not fight to obtain it?" he inquired, if I remember aright.

My answer was short, but very much to the point. I fancy it rather fluttered the reverend gentleman. I merely intimated that, if the natives possessed any store of food at all, I meant to have some of it, by whatever means I could, when my own supplies gave out.

"I will speak to the chiefs of my villages of 'worshippers'—I call them *worshippers*, for I cannot say they are Christians. I shall endeavour to make some arrangement for your people;" and away he went back to his home.

He was as good as his word, and better. I am glad I have it in my power to express my sense of gratitude to this good man and to his "worshippers."

On the morrow he appeared again, accompanied by the chief men of three villages—Pango, Errakova, and Erratapa. After very little parleying, these chiefs walked off with ninety of my recruits, promising to keep them as long as they had any food to spare, till the *Stanley* should arrive to take us away. The boys were divided into three parties, numbering respectively thirty-five, thirty, and twenty-five. One party was told off to each village; the one comprising thirty men going to Errakova, I remember.

At the same time another contingent, six in number, went to stay with Roddin, on similar terms. All Jack's

houses and fences had been blown down. He had begun to rebuild, and was sowing corn, so he was glad to have some assistance.

A day or two later a bush chief who lived a few miles distant from Roddin's place, took away ten more. This potentate had a neighbour who was likewise smitten with the desire to do a charitable action. Perhaps he was not unwilling to seize the chance of entertaining strangers who could teach his tribe dances and songs new to them, and relate stories. He visited my camp accordingly, and walked off with another batch of ten boys.

I had now only twenty-eight recruits, the three Tanna "returns," and the four Fijians to feed. The G.A. and I had plenty for ourselves, the cabin stores having been saved almost uninjured.

The recruits left in camp included all the women, the married men, and those who were accustomed to the use of firearms. Yet even this small complement gave me trouble occasionally. They were still on a short allowance of food, and sometimes, when they had not been fortunate in catching fish, they were apt to steal from the Vila people whenever a chance offered. Trouble naturally arose in consequence. Whenever an offence of the kind was proved, I always made restitution; then I triced the offender up to a tree, and gave him a sound thrashing.

One day a native of Mai I., who was then residing in the islet of Mele, in Pango Bay, two miles from us, visited the camp along with several Mele men. They got into conversation with the two women I had recruited at Mai, and about whom I mentioned I should have something to relate. The night after these women deserted us, stealing a Vila canoe, and crossing over in it to the other side of the harbour-mouth.

They were missed next morning, and the canoe could be seen lying on the opposite beach. The boys who went over to fetch it back reported that the women's

footmarks were plainly discernible on the sand, pointing in the direction of Mele. In the afternoon I visited the islet, but was unable to recover the fair deserters. They were subsequently removed from Mele and taken back to their own island in one of Her Majesty's schooners.

Once or twice a week two of the Fijian boatmen and half a dozen of the boys got a Vila man to guide them, and went inland to the bush villages. There they would pass the night and come back next day. The Fijians took tobacco and pipes along with them, and the whole party would return laden with food, chiefly consisting of bananas. While on these visits they would be sure to have enjoyed two or three good meals to boot.

Another cyclone passed over about three weeks after the wreck. We felt only the north-eastern quadrant of it. The camp was so well sheltered that we suffered no injury. An earthquake of short duration also occurred about the same time. The G.A. happened to be bathing, and his head was under water when the first shock came. It gave him a good scare, as may be supposed. He said he thought the bottom of the harbour was giving way under him.

Three vessels visited the harbour before the *Stanley* arrived to take us away. These were the *Daphne*, Captain Mackay, from Fiji; the *Chance*, Captain Satini, from Maryborough; and the *Aurora*, a French schooner, from Noumea. Each of the British masters visited us, and offered me all the assistance that lay in their power, Captain Satini purchasing one of my boats. The French skipper, on the contrary, never came near us.

Nearly a month slowly elapsed after the departure of the *Stanley* from Havannah Harbour. I looked out anxiously for her day after day. The natives who had befriended us were finding it a serious drain on their resources to support my recruits, and at last matters came to a climax.

One day some Errakova men came down to our camp, and told me they had no more food to spare for my recruits. So, the next day, the whole ninety were to be returned on my hands.

Here was a pretty go ! I had no more than sufficient damaged rice to furnish five or six meals all round. The question arose, therefore, what was to be done when that small supply had been exhausted ? The only solution of the problem that I could see, lay in this :—The Mele men had taken advantage of my situation, and evinced some hostility. They had persuaded the two Mai women to desert, and were keeping them from me. The plantations belonging to these Mele people were upon the main island. I could certainly obtain food by blockading the islet of Mele, and so prevent the inhabitants from crossing over to the main, while I took their yams. I should afterwards have paid them in "trade," of course. It would have been rather a rough way of driving a bargain, no doubt ; but, had it been necessary to obtain a further supply of provisions for my people, I believe I must have adopted such an expedient.

But where was the *Stanley* all this time ?

In order to get news of her, I started off in the boat next morning, taking the Fijian crew, intending to run for Havannah Harbour. Just after leaving the shore, I saw a long string of half-starved boys, carrying their bundles of sleeping mats, slowly crawling along the beach towards the camp. They comprised the first batch of recruits returned on my hands. Long before I got back to Vila, the whole ninety had come in.

With a fresh fair wind I ran the boat across the bay, and past the "devil" country. When we were nearing Tukatuka Point, a boatman sang out, "Sail ho !" and, right ahead of us, there appeared a schooner, standing towards us close-hauled. It proved to be the *Stanley* at last.

On boarding her, I found that all the settlers of

Havannah Harbour had come in her. I had given out that, before leaving Vila, I intended to sell the wreck, with all the remaining stores. So these gentlemen had come along to attend the sale. Captain Kilgour had some of his "returns" on board still, which was contrary to our agreement. However, I could sooner put up with that than that he should have delayed any longer, in order to land them.

The *Stanley* anchored in Vila Harbour during the afternoon, and my recruits were shipped at once, together with such provisions as remained. For Captain Kilgour had not a great stock on board, so he said, though he had contracted to feed my boys on the passage to Fiji.

Next day the wreck and gear were sold, as also some of the "trade." A considerable quantity of this, however, I gave away to the chiefs who had entertained my men at their villages, not forgetting the two "bush" chiefs, to whom I sent off messengers as soon as the *Stanley* had anchored.

Captain Kilgour purchased the wreck, leaving a man in charge of her when we sailed for Fiji. The hull was afterwards burned, for the sake of obtaining the copper fastenings; the anchors and chains were recovered also.

Our passage to Levuka in the *Stanley* occupied about ten days. Lucky it was that it took no longer; for, when we anchored, we had only one day's food and two days' water remaining on board.

The medical inspector passed all the boys as fit for service—after a little good feeding. Four of them were pronounced to be under age, however; so I received payment for a hundred and forty adults only.

While I remained at Levuka, a huge ulcer developed on the inside of my right thigh. It was a result of the accident that had befallen me at Maryborough, previous to this voyage, no doubt accelerated by chronic rheumatism. I was obliged to become an inmate of the

hospital, where I lay for three weeks under the care of Dr.—now Sir William—MacGregor, subsequently Administrator of British New Guinea.

On my arrival, I had made out a report of the wreck for the collector of customs, and had enclosed with it my master's certificate, pending an inquiry. No inquiry was held, however, but my certificate was not returned. As the time drew nigh when the monthly steamer was due to leave for Sydney, in which I wished to return, I was obliged to threaten the collector with legal proceedings if he retained my certificate any longer. Then I got it back. No inquiry was made by the Fijian authorities; but I believe the evidence of my crew was taken at Maryborough, when the *Sibyl* arrived there.

I left Fiji in the beginning of May, taking passage in the Australian Steam Navigation Company's s.s. *Wentworth*, Captain Saunders. On reaching Sydney I remained there about a week, when, in consequence of a telegram from Maryborough, I went on thither in the s.s. *Balclutha*, Captain Beel.

We arrived at Maryborough in the evening of May 24. Next day I accepted the command of the brigantine *Stormbird*, 160 tons register, which was then lying in the river. She was owned by a Maryborough firm.

During my absence from Queensland, a *Regulation* had been passed forbidding the export of firearms from the colony to the South Sea Islands. Another *Regulation*, passed about the same time, forbade the giving of "trade" to the friends of recruits.

These two *Regulations* were passed as "party" measures, I think, not from merely humane motives. If, however, they *were* so intended, then the ministry of that day must have been extremely short-sighted.

Luckily for us, they were not enforced for some time after. When they were, the immediate and only result was to transfer the firearms trade from British Colonial hands into those of German and French traders.

At the present time the principal article of trade in the New Hebrides and Solomon Is., with the French and German traders, consists of British-made Snider carbines. A large proportion of these bear the "TOWER" mark upon the locks—whether forged or not, I cannot say. Had the Queensland ministries which enacted these *Regulations* been wide awake, or, perhaps, not wilfully blind, they might have foreseen this.

It has materially conduced to transfer the South Sea Island trade out of British and into German hands.

Since the date of these *Regulations*, Polynesians, when leaving Queensland, have acquired the habit of taking home with them small sums of money—say two to five pounds—in order to purchase firearms and ammunition from French and German traders. Previously, they had always spent every farthing of their wages before leaving the colony.

The iron schooner *Chance* was one of the first labour vessels which sailed after the *Firearms Regulation* became law. In the beginning of January she was cleared at the custom house, at Maryborough, for a recruiting voyage. She had a long list of "returns" on board, with their baggage, which latter, as usual, included a number of muskets.

In the afternoon of the day she was cleared, the harbour-master made a raid on her, and confiscated all the firearms and ammunition to be found on board, except such as was provided for the vessel's protection. Most of the confiscated firearms owned by the "boys" had been purchased by them prior to the publication of the new *Regulation*. The vessel's owner, or agent, at once wired to Brisbane, complaining of this most unjust proceeding. Eventually, the arms were returned to the boys; but the minister of the day added, as a rider to his licence, that the restitution was "not to be taken as a precedent."

On January 21, a deputation of gentlemen, interested in the Polynesian labour trade, waited upon the Hon.

John Douglas, who was then the Premier, to make representations against the new *Regulations*. The Premier refused to sanction the giving of "trade," but said he would consult with his colleagues respecting firearms. When I sailed in the *Stormbird*, in June, the G.A. who accompanied me was instructed not to enforce these obnoxious *Regulations*.

The Premier was afterwards obliged to receive another deputation on this subject. In March, when at Maryborough, he paid a visit to the Magnolia sugar plantation. The Kanaka labourers there, hearing that the "big fella chief," who would not allow them to take their firearms to the islands, was then in the manager's house, rolled up and demanded an audience. The manager, Mr. Boughey, refused to allow his guest to be troubled by them. However, the boys forced their way in, and spoke their minds to the Premier pretty freely. They felt they had been deceived by the Government, which, when they arrived in the colony, allowed them to purchase firearms, but now prohibited them from taking their property home with them.

They got no satisfactory answer, and, in a very bad humour, they left the "big fella chief," whom they characterized as being "no plenty good."

Of course, Boughey did his best to pacify them. When they were leaving, he happened to propose that they should give three cheers for the Queen. This, however, they flatly refused to do.

On March 11, a meeting of employers of Polynesian labour was held at Mackay, to consider a recent demand that had been made by the Government, through the sub-immigration agent of the port, for the quarterly payment of fifteen shillings on account of each Polynesian labourer, as a provision for his return passage. This, at the end of a boy's three years' service, would amount to nine pounds, whereas three to five pounds was the ruling rate for a "return's" passage money.

Hitherto it had been left to the option of an employer to make these payments, or else to provide two sureties in ten pounds apiece, to guarantee the cost of each Polynesian's return passage. Planters usually preferred the latter alternative.

The minister now demanded both payments and bonds as well. In one of his speeches or reports, he gave as his reason for this that three employers had become insolvent, and, the bonds and sureties having been neglected, their labourers' return home had not been provided for.

That this accusation was an unfounded one, was shown by Mr. Paxton, of Mackay, in a letter published in "The Brisbane Courier" of April 3. He showed that the labourers on the estates of the three insolvents referred to, had been paid their wages, and had been provided with their passages home by the mortgagees, in each instance.

But then, politicians are apt to "embroider" a little, when election times draw nigh; which puts me in mind of some verses that appeared about this time in a Mackay newspaper, and, I think, in a Maryborough one also. We often roared them out over our evening grog, on board the *Stormbird*.

Some stories of alleged ill-treatment of Polynesian labourers, in the Mackay district, having been circulated by interested parties, the recently appointed immigration agent at Maryborough was instructed by the Government to proceed to Mackay, and to investigate these charges. This he did, and made his report with the usual result—none at all!

Here are the verses, with which I shall close this chapter.

(Air—*The fine old English Gentleman.*)

Severe and grave of aspect, from Maryborough town
 He came, with book and pencil, and with dark official frown.
 He shuddered as he dwelt upon the horrors of Mackay,
 And when he met a coloured gent, in dulcet tones would say—

(Air—*Up in a Balloon.*)

“Have you got your ki-ki? Do you like him tea?
Suppose him overseer fight, just talk alonga me.
Do you like him hard work, or plenty walk about;
Big Massa Johnny Douglas, he plenty good, look out.”

He wandered through plantations, and he fossicked through the cane,
With tales of dread atrocities still flitting through his brain.
At last he met a sable youth from Tongoa's sunny isle,
Who greeted the inspector with a mild fraternal smile—

“Yes, me got me ki-ki. What for you no can see?
Overseer bery good; no fight alonga me.
But wine, blancmange, and oyster sauce me nebber yet enjoy;
Big Massa Johnny Douglas, plenty gammon, longa boy.”

That stern official closed his book and shed a silent tear,
And thought of rosy billets with six hundred pounds a year.
Then, rolling up his humble swag, he quickly sped away,
And standing on the steamer's deck he warbled forth this lay—

“Yes, they've got their ki-ki, as I can plainly see;
Election times are drawing nigh—the game is up with me.
From the Logan to the Pioneer the cry is still the same—
Big Massa Johnny Douglas must try some other game!”

CHAPTER X.

FIRST VOYAGE OF THE *STORMBIRD*, 1878.

I sail for the New Hebrides—Tom Tamoan—His story—Black Beach, Tanna I.—Battle between Ibet and Worgus tribes—Fugitive women recruited—Dinah—The conquerors demand the runaways—I decline to surrender them—Boat swamped at Verigo—The mate chases a thief—Fotuna I.—“The Baby”—Aniwa I.—I visit Mr. Paton—Explanations and promises—A lunatic recruited—At Batnapni Bay—Story of Tabbiseisei—Murders committed by him—Mota I.—Urepapara I.—Towing the ship out of the lagoon—At Valua I.—Recovering an anchor with dynamite—How another skipper tried the dodge—Espiritu Santo I.—Pentecost I.—How Tabbiseisei murdered Mr. Brown—Tabbisangvul’s tale—Commander De Houghton takes vengeance—Trivial punishment occasions more murders—Respective action of British and French naval officers—Why British subjects naturalize as French citizens—Ford’s runaways—How I adjusted matters—A squall off Cato Reef—Nearly lost—Arrival at Maryborough—Bankruptcy of owner—Reappointment—The Rev. George Brown—His expedition—Chastisement of the savages—Reflections upon this incident.

I SAILED from Maryborough in command of the *Stormbird*, on June 12, 1878, bound first for the New Hebrides with “returns.”

Among the Kanaka boatmen I had shipped for the voyage was one ordinarily called Tom—an abbreviation of his real name—Tamoan. He had been a long time in Queensland, ever since he was a child, and could neither remember the name of the vessel that had brought him there nor that of her master. Soon after his arrival, he had run off from his employer with some

others, stolen a boat with them, and gone north along the coast. They came to grief on Wide Bay bar, and all were drowned except Tom. He was found by some lumberers in a half-crazy state, and had been taken to Maryborough by them, where he had worked for various employers during ten or twelve years.

I had known this youth for a couple of years, and he constantly asked me to find his island and take him home. All he knew about it was that its native name was Mungigi, and that it was near other islands, of which one was called Mungava. I had searched all my charts and "directories" in vain—I could not locate his home. At last he had fastened himself upon me, persuading me to engage him as a boatman; in the hope that, while cruising with me, he might some day come to his native island.

After a rather long passage, the *Stormbird* reached Tanna I., where I anchored off Black Beach one morning. The boats were soon down, and off looking for recruits, but without success. Towards evening the sound of firing was heard in the direction of Ibet, a bay and islet about half a mile away from our anchorage. It speedily became evident that a battle was going on. As we learned eventually, the Worgus people had attacked the Ibet tribe, and defeated them. Ere long the various sounds of conflict died away, while thick smoke rising above the trees proclaimed that the victors had set fire to the houses of the village.

Shortly afterwards a faint "coo-ee" was heard from the shore. Away went the boats in the direction of the hail, presently returning with five Ibet women. The eldest of these, a woman of about thirty-five, gave her name as Nuswoiu or Dinah, the latter name having been bestowed upon her in Queensland, where she had been in service. Speaking good English, she told us that the village had been destroyed, many of its people killed, and the survivors driven into the forest. She and her

companions desired to ship as recruits, and had swum off to the boats with that object. She also stated that she had been a widow for years, and that the Ibet chief who had been killed in the recent action was her brother. The youngest of the fugitives—a slip of a girl—just old enough to be recruited, was the chief's daughter, and consequently Dinah's niece. The husbands of the other women had also been killed in the battle. This story seeming probable enough, I accepted the party as recruits.

Just before sunset, the boats went off to Black Beach again, in response to another "coo-ee." They brought back one more Ibet runaway, a man this time. These were the only individuals of the Ibet tribe we came in contact with.

Before I left Black Beach, which I did the following morning, a party of the Worgus invaders hailed the boats near Ibet. They had witnessed the escape of the women the previous evening, and now demanded that we should give them up. They claimed the poor things as their property, acquired by the fortune of war. As an alternative, they insisted on being paid an exorbitant price in "trade."

It seemed likely that, if their demands were not complied with, they would fire on the boats; so the mate who was in charge of them, and the G.A., were wise enough to temporize. Pretending they must consult me, and promising to return to the shore with either the women or the goods, they were allowed to depart without hostilities.

If these Worgus men had been content to ask no more than the usual amount of trade, I should have sent it to them. As it was, however, they got nothing, and the women went to Queensland with me. But the reader may rest assured that my boats did not go near Worgus again on that voyage.

The day after this we landed some "returns" at Verigo, on the south-western coast. This proved a

difficult job, and came very near being a disastrous one to boot.

Tanna men's boxes were almost always exceedingly heavy, on account of the quantity of bullets, and lead for slugs, that they collected to take home with them. The coast was rocky and broken; a considerable swell rolling in to make matters worse.

One boat had discharged her load, not without difficulty, and had shoved off a little way whilst the other backed in. As they were lugging the last chest over the stern, a small line from the shore being attached to it, the boat's keel grounded on a sunken boulder between two seas. She immediately canted over; the top of the succeeding wave rolled right upon her, filling her up to the gunwale, luckily without capsizing or injuring her. The chest was saved, I believe, but everything in it and in the boat was swamped.

A native who was standing in the water, close to the boat, seized the opportunity and grabbed the mate's Snider rifle, with which he incontinently bolted up the rocks and made for the bush. The mate was after him instantly, although he was barefooted, and his feet were terribly cut by the sharp stones. The chase extended over a quarter of a mile or so, till the Tanna man, close pressed and covered by the mate's revolver, came to a halt and delivered up his prize. Had he been aware that the rifle was loaded, he might have turned on his pursuer and made it rough for him. Happily, he did *not* know it.

Next day I visited Fotuna I., landing a boy there, who had been house servant to the manager of Magnolia plantation, near Maryborough. He had been a great favourite with his late employer, and, in consequence thereof, had been nicknamed "Baby."

It was generally supposed that the "Baby" would persuade half the inhabitants of the little island to engage; and that after a few hours' visit to his relatives

he would accompany us back to Maryborough. But though I kept the vessel dodging about under the lee of the island, from daylight until late in the afternoon, we saw nothing more of him. Moreover, other natives informed us that "missionary no let man go away!"

Tired of waiting, I hoisted in the boats, and squared away for Tanna I., where I proposed to anchor for the night. However, the wind fell light, and by sunset I had got no further than Aniwa or Niua I. This was the scene of the burglary I had been accused of committing on the missionary's house, in 1875, when I was here with the *Stanley*.

I had often wished for an opportunity of paying the author of this calumny a visit, so that I might demand an explanation from him. So I now proposed to the G.A. that we should go on shore, late as it was, and interview the gentleman. To this he at once assented.

Leaving the ship hove to, about a quarter of a mile distant from the rocky coast of the island, we pulled ashore in the gloaming. There was some difficulty in finding a convenient landing-place. Guided by the voice of a native, who could see us though we could not discern him, I steered into a nook among the rocks which afforded the only fair landing-place on the island, and which was directly opposite to the mission house. Here we landed, and a little further back, under the shadow of the trees, found the missionary, Mr. Paton, waiting to receive us.

The customary greetings having been got over, the reverend gentleman invited us to walk up to his house. This I at first declined to do, and then entered into the subject which had brought me there. I told him that I wished to hear his explanation of the report—emanating from himself—that I had broken into his house on a certain occasion three years previous to this.

Of course he had his excuse ready. He also said he had done and would do all that lay in his power to

contradict the report and dispel the false impression it had created. His excuse was satisfactory enough. As to his promise, I feel bound to say that I take quite a different view. Since this interview, I many times made careful inquiry; and though at least a dozen men informed me that this "gentleman" had accused me of robbing his house, not one ever said he had heard him contradict it.

Mr. Paton explained that the Aniwa boy I had recruited at the time of the alleged burglary, had left some clothes locked up in his kitchen, a building detached from the dwelling-house. Immediately after the *Stanley* sailed, certain natives, friends of my recruit, had broken into the kitchen and abstracted the boy's clothes, afterwards laying the blame on me. He said he had been misled by the statements made to him by these natives; he furthermore tendered an apology, and renewed his invitation to us to enter his house and spend an hour with him and his wife.

We did spend an hour—perhaps two—in his house; and very sorry I was, subsequently, that I ever went near it. Out of the occasion there arose another scandal, one that was just as false as the first, and which might have proved much more injurious to me.

In the course of conversation, the incident at Black Beach was mentioned. I described the tribal fight we had heard going on, and how we recruited the five fugitive women. The reverend gentleman then expressed his satisfaction that we had saved the women from being enslaved or murdered by the conquerors of their tribe.

I shall have to refer to this unpleasant topic later in my narrative. It will be enough to record now that sometime after our visit to him, this gentleman actually reported to the Government—either the Imperial or the Queensland Government—that I had *kidnapped* certain women, and that in his house, in his own presence and in that of his wife, I had "boasted of my exploits!"

Now, I think that if I *had* boasted of any kidnapping in his presence that evening, he would scarcely have accompanied us down to the boat as he did, with a boy in front carrying a lantern, and have almost affectionately shaken hands with us and bidden us a hearty "good-night and good-bye."

I think I visited nearly every one of the islands of the New Hebrides this voyage, not even omitting the Torres Is., a small cluster north-west of the Banks' Is., though I obtained no recruits there.

On the south-western coast of Api I., the recruiter and the G.A. brought off a dirty, hairy, wild-looking specimen of humanity. He was a native of Ambrym I., had been a labourer in Fiji, and on his return had been persuaded by some Api men to land with them. Of course their tribe reaped the benefit of his stock of "trade," and then very likely ill-treated him. He had run away from them into the bush, and now offered himself once more as a recruit. He seemed rather scared at first, but we did not suppose he was deranged, as it turned out that he was.

Soon after this man's engagement, he was missed one morning, and was supposed to have gone overboard. By-and-by, however, he was discovered in concealment under the bunks, amongst the firewood. A day or two later I had anchored among the Maskelyne Is. There, some Mallicolo men came on board in the evening, making their canoe fast alongside, and being allowed to sleep on board at their own request. This was a frequent incident; intending recruits often liking to ascertain a vessel's character in that way. In the night our "cranky" recruit disappeared with the canoe, and so I saw the last of him, though the canoe was found on one of the adjacent islets.

At Batnapni, Pentecost I., the natives were friendly for the most part. One party, however, headed by a chief called Tabbiseisei (or Tarisisi), appeared to be rather

sulky. Judging by what afterwards happened here, this chief was no doubt looking out for a chance to murder some white man.

A short time before, the French schooner *Aurora* had had a "difficulty" with the natives here. Her people had burnt a small hut, which belonged to Tabbiseisei, serving him as a temporary shelter when he came down to the beach from his village, Manbon. No other mischief was done besides the destruction of this hut—a trumpery roof of leaf-thatch set on bare poles—yet Tabbiseisei wanted the life of a white man to pay for it. Eventually, he succeeded in taking one. Then H.M.S. *Beagle* came, and her crew burnt his village. For that he took another white man's life.

A native of another village warned us against the chief, so my people kept on their guard, giving him no favourable opportunity for attacking them. The G.A. even had a long conversation with him on the beach.

Proceeding northward, I next visited Aoba and Aurora Is., whence I went on to Banks' Is. At Sugar-loaf I. (Mota) some "returns" were landed one morning. While the ship was lying off shore there, drifting along close in to the western coast, several youngsters—apparently belonging to the Rev. Mr. Selwyn's flock—paddled their little canoes under our stern. There they laid awhile, spelling out the ship's name and port of registry. Probably they had been sent off for that purpose. The name *Stormbird* they made out easily, as also *Mary*. The pronunciation of *borough* was too much for them, though I dare say they would be able to report the letters composing it accurately enough.

Arrived at Ureparapara I., I attempted to enter the bay, round which the island extends in a horseshoe form. Hardly were we within the "Heads," when the wind dropped, and I saw the landlocked waters lying calm and still, scarcely creased by occasional catspaws of wind.

The ship was rounded to immediately, the boats lowered and got ahead to tow her out again. However, the swell rolled in so heavily that we had nearly two hours' towing before we could get the ship far enough out to feel the trade-wind, and so beat to sea again.

This island is about three miles across at its widest point, and rises 2,000 feet above sea level. The bay I had intended to anchor in appears to have once been the crater of an immense volcano, the eastern wall of which has given way and admitted the sea.

Here I landed the last returns I had on board ; thence going on and visiting the Torres Is., but without any success.

At Motolava, or Valua I., I lay for one night recruiting. The day following, the wind dropped, the glass falling steadily ; so I loosened the sails and hove up the anchor, letting the ship swing stern on to the kedge, which I had also down, hauling in the warp as she drifted off the land. I expected the kedge to trip easily, but, to my dismay, it held firmly and refused to come home. Several times the warp was slackened and then hauled upon, yet still the kedge held firmly. I began to think I was going to lose it, along with thirty fathoms of warp ; for, when I sounded, I got bottom at thirty-three fathoms.

In this dilemma I got a wrinkle from the G.A. We rove an iron hoop—taken off a beef cask—along the warp from its inboard end, until it came to the taffrail. Then we attached to the hoop a package containing four charges of dynamite, with a detonator and fuse in the middle of it.

The warp holding taut perpendicularly, we lit the fuse, and let the hoop and package slip down over it right on top of the kedge. Less than a minute after the dynamite exploded. We felt it as though a sledge-hammer had struck the vessel's bottom. A mound-like wave of discoloured water rose up at about two fathoms distance

from the stern, and numerous dead fish, with other curious objects, presently floated on the surface.

The warp was slackened a little, and then hauled on. Then, much to my relief, up came the kedge, neither it nor the warp proving to be any the worse for the unusual treatment accorded them.

Since then, I have several times tried this plan of freeing an anchor which has hooked fast in the coral, and with a like result.

Not everybody has had the same luck as mine, though. There was a skipper, I remember, who tried it, and got results he did not desire. While lying at Mau I., his anchor got jammed in the coral. He slackened away the cable until his vessel was well clear of the spot. Then he went in his boat and dropped down a tremendous charge of dynamite, in five fathoms of water. His boys got confused at the critical moment, some pulling away, others backing their oars. The charge exploded before they had made a fathom, smashing the stern of the boat, and swamping it. He got his anchor, however.

Sailing southward from Ureparapara, I worked the western coast of Espiritu Santo I. There I anchored first in Barrai Inlet; a nook so small that I had to moor with both anchors. At this place the natives kept us "on a string" for three days, promising recruits and then disappearing, which did not tend to the improvement of our tempers. Thence we worked leisurely along south with fair success, anchoring off Pali, opposite the village, at Tasselmana, and at Pai.

I then paid another visit to Pentecost I., anchoring as before in Batnapni Bay. The broad, sandy beach, on which a crowd of natives had loitered during my last visit, was now deserted. Only two or three men appeared on the other side of the watering-place, coming from Verramatmat. One of them came off to the ship with the G.A.

This man, whose name was Tabbisangwul, had a sad

story to relate. He told us that the Queensland labour schooner, *May Queen*, had anchored here since our last visit. Tabbiseisei, the chief of Manbon village, came down to the beach with a number of his men, still bent on having a white man's blood, to avenge the burning of his hut by the crew of the *Aurora*.

Brown, the mate of the *May Queen*, had gone to the beach in one of the boats, with a crew of four Kanakas. He was standing in the stern of the boat, talking to the Manbon men, when the chief got his opportunity. Coming stealthily behind Brown, he struck him on the back of the neck with his tomahawk, killing him instantly. Two of the boat's crew were simultaneously slain by Tabbiseisei's men, and then the whole party made for the bush and got off scot-free.

Tabbisangwul had witnessed the whole affair from a little distance. He was a returned labourer, and spoke very fair English. I entered his story in my official log, making two copies of it. One of these I left with him, to hand to the commander of the first British ship of war that should call at the island. The second copy I took to Havannah Harbour on my return homeward, leaving it there with similar instructions.

Some time after this, H.M.S. *Beagle*, Commander De Houghton, arrived in Batnapni Bay. The *Sibyl*—Captain Satini, Mr. Lynde G.A.—was then lying at anchor there. A party of blue-jackets was landed, and, reinforced by the crew of the labour vessel, they made a raid upon Tabbiseisei's village in the interior. They destroyed the village, but, I think, did little harm to the inhabitants beyond that.

The boatswain of the *Sibyl* was the only member of the force who was hurt. While they were on the march, a native suddenly sprang out from behind some bushes and struck him on the head with a tomahawk, inflicting a severe wound. This plucky fellow got away, though he left a thick trail of blood behind him.

I am aware that Commander De Houghton was acting under instructions, and that he could do neither more nor less than his orders permitted. Still, I maintain that it would have been much better if he had never come near the island under the circumstances.

The very trivial punishment inflicted only served to exasperate Tabbiseisei, instead of deterring him from further outrages. Before three months had passed after the destruction of his village, he took his revenge for that by killing another white man—the mate of a Fijian vessel, which had visited Batnapni Bay.

I could cite a dozen instances in which the insufficient punishment meted out by our ships of war, has but led to reprisals, instead of cowing the savages into good behaviour. In nine cases out of ten, owing to the way the home authorities have hampered their action, the commanders of British warships have done more harm than good for the interests they have been supposed to protect.

Commanders of French ships of war enjoy much more freedom of action in these waters. This is the reason why so many British-born traders, in the New Hebrides and elsewhere, have transferred their allegiance from Great Britain to France.

Calling next at Api I., I there boarded the *Onward*, of Sydney, a whaling barque, which was soon after wrecked off New Caledonia. Thence I proceeded to Havannah Harbour, Sandwich I., where I took in wood and water. There I heard that the natives of South-West Bay, Mallicolo I., had fired on the boats of the *Janet Stewart*, of Maryborough, and the *Daphne*, of Fiji. One white man had been killed, and some Kanakas wounded.

The evening before I left Havannah Harbour, a canoe came alongside bringing off a dozen men, natives of islands further north. They had run away from their employer—Ford, of Tukatuka—and now wished to go to Queensland with me.

Though I had a good shiplot of recruits already, my full complement was not yet made up. Still, it would not do for me to sail away with another man's labourers, as these boys proposed. On the other hand, if I refused to engage them, they would most likely make off into the bush, and remain there until some more compliant recruiter should happen along. So, in the meanwhile, I sent them down below with a pipe and plug of tobacco apiece.

Next day I anchored off Tukatuka, and went on shore to have a talk with Ford. I got him to promise that he would not punish the boys for their escapade, and then, returning on board, I sent them on shore to him.

I returned to Queensland by the north of New Caledonia. The wind being due east, I entered Balade Pass early in the day, getting through the reefs before dark, and coming out by Iande Pass. The wind then went round to north a little, the glass falling, and I was carried into the vicinity of Cato Reef and Islet, about 160 miles from Breaksea Spit.

It was a dull, cloudy morning, when the breeze hauled into the north, soon becoming squally, so that I had to take in the light sails. As the men were doing this, a heavy squall came up from windward, travelling rapidly down on the ship. Then a vivid flash of lightning seemed to split the dense rain-clouds right across.

"Hard up!" I shouted to the man at the wheel, but, unluckily, without waiting to see that he executed the order.

The topgallant-sail was clewed up smartly, and then, just as the wind caught the ship, down came the topsail, whilst I let go the main throat halyards myself.

But the helm was only half up! Whether the man at the wheel had been frightened by the appearance of the lightning, or what, I cannot say. The tremendous force of the wind, as it struck the ship, caused her to broach to, though I seized the wheel myself, letting the

main sheet rip out to the clinch. Over went the ship, until her lee side, fore and aft, was buried in the water, the boat and davits in the waist being submerged, and the seas pouring over the lee-combings of the main hatch into the hold below. For a moment, I thought the *Stormbird* must founder under us.

Happily, the squall passed off as quickly as it came, and the ship righted herself. We had just begun cutting at the weather rigging, hoping the foremast would go over the side and relieve her.

We encountered other squalls during that day; then the wind gradually hauled round to west-south-west, freshening into a steady fine-weather gale, which, in three days, carried the *Stormbird* about a hundred miles; for she was like a bladder on the water, being very lightly ballasted. The first land I made was the Australian coast, about twenty miles south of Wide Bay.

I crossed the bar and anchored off the pilot station at the southern end of Fraser I. Strait, on September 24. There I received news that the owner of the *Stormbird* had become insolvent. However, as the vessel was safe under our feet, with a shipload of recruits on board, this did not affect me much. The late owner still continued to act as agent for the vessel.

Owing to the northerly wind, which still continued blowing stiffly, a week elapsed after my arrival before I could get the vessel up to town. During this week one of the Australian Steam Navigation Co.'s steamers, the *Tinonee*, made an attempt to tow us up the river alongside of her, but had to abandon it.

On the third day after our arrival at Maryborough, I was legally bound to pay my crew off. I had considerable difficulty in procuring the necessary sum for this purpose. In fact, I had to go to the lawyers. Seeing, I suppose, that I "knew the ropes," the Bank of New South Wales, which held the mortgages upon the ship, advanced the money required, paid my lawyer, and then

took possession of her, retaining my services as master and agent. This was a very nice billet for me, for a month, at the end of which time the *Stormbird* was sold. The late owner was re-appointed agent for her, while I was again installed as master.

About this time news had arrived in Queensland of some stirring scenes on the island of New Britain, now called Neu Pommern. I took especial interest in this because one John Nash and I had been the first two white men who had ventured to form trading stations on that island, namely, in 1873. We were both then employed by the South Sea trading firm of J. C. Godeffroy & Sons, of Hamburg.

A missionary, the Rev. George Brown, had since located himself on Duke of York I., now called Neu Lauenburg, the largest of a group situated in St. George's Channel, between New Britain and New Ireland. Thence he had sent Polynesian teachers and their wives into the two great islands.

Some of these had been murdered by the natives of New Britain, the news reaching Mr. Brown at Duke of York I. about April 8. To prevent further murders, he had immediately organized an expedition, by which some fifty of the natives had been killed, and several villages and plantations destroyed.

No doubt, as Commander De Houghton remarked to me, Brown's promptitude had punished the natives and checked further outrages. I feel certain, however, that if such reprisals had been undertaken by a layman, a howl of indignation would have arisen from Exeter Hall. Likely enough, too, the leader of the expedition would have been hanged when he got home. At any rate, he would have been sharply informed that, instead of taking the law into his own hands, he should have withdrawn his remaining followers out of danger, and have waited for the arrival of a man-of-war. When one came, her commander would make believe to punish the murderers

by promiscuous firing away of powder and shell, cutting down cocoanut trees, and killing pigs. This, too, after having first warned the murderers to get clear away out of danger!

Mr. Brown evidently failed to appreciate the quality of the public feeling which extricated him from this scrape. When speaking in his own defence, at a public meeting, held in Albert Street Church, Brisbane, in aid of the Australian Wesleyan Foreign Mission, May 19, 1879, he said :—

“ I claim to be a man first, and then to be a missionary—above all an Englishman !” He ought rather to have said :—

“ I claim to be a missionary first, a man next, and last of all an Englishman !” It would have fitted the facts more accurately, perhaps.

CHAPTER XI.

SECOND VOYAGE OF THE *STORMBIRD*, 1878-9.

I sail for the New Hebrides—Fresh instructions—News at Havannah Harbour—Renton and Muir murdered—A cannibal feast—Christmas at Tongoa I.—Bad weather—The hurricane season—Port Sandwich—Dodging the weather—Tanna islet.—A visit in the night—"Me go Mallybulla"—Betarri—Matrimonial customs—Inquiries—A warning—The attack—A bath interrupted—Dangerous quarters—Shokki declines an amnesty—I capture the island fleet—A battle in the dark—A lucky mistake—Getting to sea—How a story grows—Tabbisangwul and Tabbiseisei—Sam's mishap—Ship surgery—Visit of a missionary—Altercation and argument—My Bible—The missionary retreats—The Astrolabe Reef—Arrive at Maryborough—Allotment of recruits—Official blundering—A few hard words—Slavery!—I lose my command—Murders at Brooker I.—Mr. McFarlane's report—My opinion of the savage nature.

I LEFT Maryborough about November 18, and, having taken in wood and water at the White Cliffs, as usual, I ran through Fraser I. Strait with a northerly wind, across Wide Bay bar, bound for the New Hebrides.

I had a large number of "returns" on board; also a passenger in the cabin. This was a young gentleman who was taking the trip with us for the sake of his health. The G.A. who had accompanied me on my last voyage had been reappointed. A fresh proviso had been added to his instructions this time, however. He was ordered to act in conjunction with the master, and to assign the recruits to the various employers they were to serve, before the ship should have arrived in port on her return.

Moderate weather prevailed until I had rounded the

reefs off the southern end of New Caledonia. A stiff breeze then came up from south-west, bringing with it heavy squalls of wind and rain. The sky, when visible between the squalls, showed a dull leaden tint, streaked and spotted with small white clouds. Its general appearance was far from pleasant, a low barometer also seeming to indicate the proximity of a cyclone. As I ran north-eastward, however, the weather gradually improved.

I had nothing to delay me at the southern islands of the New Hebrides, so I pressed on at once to Sandwich I. There I anchored off Semma, in Havannah Harbour, where I received rather startling news.

On November 9, the natives of Aoba, or Lepers' I., had captured a recruiting boat belonging to the *Mystery* labour schooner. They had killed her crew—four native boatmen, and two white men, Thomas Muir, mate, and John Renton, G.A. The last was the man Captain Murray had rescued from Malayta I., as I have previously mentioned.

The motive for these murders was not revenge, but simply cannibalism. A great feast had been arranged to take place, to which all the surrounding tribes were invited. The chief of the tribe that gave it desired to show hospitality on a grand scale, and accordingly provided the rare dainty of white man's flesh, to do honour to his guests on the occasion. So I was told, at any rate, by a man who said he had been present at the feast.

The captured boat was hauled up far above high-water mark, and lay there some time, exposed to view from the sea. It was eventually recovered by Captain Kilgour, during the next voyage of the *Mystery*.

The area of my recruiting work during this voyage was almost entirely limited to Sandwich I. and Espiritu Santo I., with the smaller islands near them. The hurricane season had begun, and it was therefore advisable to keep such a light-ballasted craft as mine was within safe anchorages.

We ate our Christmas pudding at Tongoa I. This dainty we had brought from Maryborough, it being the gift of a kind lady friend of mine. Then, working a northerly course from one anchorage to another, we were off the western coast of Ambrym I. by New Year's Day.

The weather was now generally fine, though very hot, with light northerly winds, and, occasionally, a dead calm of short duration. While these lasted, circular masses of cloud-bank were sometimes seen moving slowly eastward. Such as passed over the ship precipitated a tremendous downpour of rain, with sometimes a flash or two of lightning, and a crackle of thunder. Five minutes after the cloud had passed over, the ship would be out in the blazing sun again, her canvas soaked with rain, and her decks steaming. In weather like this, the smell from the hold was always very powerful, and anything but pleasant; though it was not so pungent, perhaps, as it would have been if we had had negroes on board instead of Kanakas.

On January 1, as it looked like a hurricane, and the glass was down to 29.7 and falling, I struck the royals, top-gallant-yards and mast, and rove a heel rope to the main-top-mast. The indications being still more threatening next day, I brought the ship to an anchor in Port Sandwich, Mallicolo I. I was just in time, for the cloud-bank rose rapidly. By next morning, early, a hard gale was blowing from the north-west, coming over the land in heavy squalls, accompanied by dense blinding rain.

Three days I lay here. Then, as the wind fell light again, though still blowing from the west, I towed and sailed out of the harbour. Before morning it came on to blow again, and I was glad to get back into Port Sandwich and safety once more. Next day, I left the harbour a second time, getting as far as Merrabwei, where I anchored for one night. Much the same game went on next day, and the next after that. In fact, I

spent a whole week dodging the weather, before I could get well away. At length the sky cleared, and a light southerly breeze enabled us to get to work, recruiting along the coast northward.

One Saturday evening I trailed into the bay on the eastern extremity of Tanna islet, off Espiritu Santo I., anchoring there for the night. One or two canoes had met the ship as she entered the bay, and, returning to the islet, spread the news of our arrival. About nine o'clock, I was walking my half-poop, enjoying a pipe, when I heard a splash in the water below, followed by a sound like something rubbing against the side. Looking over, I was just able to make out a small canoe, such as we generally called a one-horse gig, alongside; while a figure was standing on the lowest step of the side ladder, hanging on by the man-ropes, and in the act of shoving the canoe away, which quickly vanished into the night.

The figure then climbed on deck, coming into the light shining from the cabin sky-light and the deckhouse amidships. It proved to be that of a rather small young woman, plump and good-looking. A glance at her open countenance was sufficient to assure me that this was certainly not her first experience of civilization.

She had brought off all her "plunder" with her, apparently. She had donned two if not three dresses, and wore about a couple of pounds of beads strung as necklaces and bracelets. She carried in her arms a bundle nearly as big as herself, consisting of shawls and other clothes.

"Me want to go Mallybulla," said this young lady, not a whit abashed at the crowd that quickly gathered round her.

"You gimme pipe; me want to smoke," was her next demand, which was quickly complied with by one of my crew.

This girl proved to be a native of Marlo, or St.

Bartholomew I. She had been to Fiji, in service; returning whence she had been landed on Tanna I. with some "boys" who belonged to it; and now she wanted to go to Queensland. Her name was Mary Betarri, which was put on the recruit list accordingly. Then, having received her blanket, pipe, and tobacco, she was consigned to the women's quarters for the night.

It was afterwards said that the trouble we presently experienced here arose out of our having abducted a married woman. There is no doubt Betarri had been living with a man since she came to the islet, though



MARY BETARRI.

not before. No matrimonial ceremony is observed, however, on these islands. When a man takes a wife unto himself, he makes some present or payment to her father, or nearest male relative, and that is all. If no such payment has been made, the woman is free to leave her "husband" whenever she may think fit to do so—if his club should not be at hand!

The next day being Sunday, we lay quiet, doing no work besides landing three men. Several canoes came off from the shore, and about a dozen natives visited the ship. Some of them came on deck and prowled about, one or two asking if Betarri was on board—for she kept close

down below. The inquirers were told she was in the ship, and they went away without making any further remarks.

Early next morning, I sent the boats ashore to fill the casks with water at a small stream on the main island, and by breakfast-time our tanks had all been replenished. As they were coming off for the last time, I noticed Tanna canoes going over to the main from the islet.

Now, it is a daily custom among these people to visit their plantations on the mainland, for the purpose of getting thence such food as they require. The women generally perform this task, guarded by a few of the men. The canoes I saw this time held no women, being full of men only. I therefore warned the mate and the G.A. to be careful, and to keep well on their guard when they landed to cut firewood.

After breakfast the boats went ashore again. Notwithstanding my warning, the G.A. thought it would be a good opportunity to treat himself to a fresh-water bath. About half an hour after they were gone, a couple of shots rang out near the boats. Looking in their direction, I saw our boatmen, guns in hand, searching the edge of the forest for the concealed enemy; and I could also see the G.A., lightly attired in a pair of blucher boots, and nothing else, with his Snider rifle in readiness, standing near the water-hole, out of which he had just emerged. Two or three more shots presently came from the point, aimed at the ship; the bullets falling near us, or passing over our heads. I need hardly say no more firewood was cut, the boats returning to the ship without delay.

Just before the firing began, the G.A. had taken a plunge into the water-hole—a pool banked up by the sea across the mouth of the little stream. One bullet struck the water close in front of him, as he rose up from a dip; another splintered a log the mate was chopping, right under his foot.

Fighting was not our business, so I thought the best

thing to be done was to clear out of that, and go to a friendlier spot. The windlass was manned accordingly, and the anchor got up, while the sails were set. With the light air we had, the quickest way of getting out to sea was to run through the channel between the main island and Tanna. This I attempted, therefore. Unluckily the wind dropped, and I was obliged to anchor again, at not much more than a hundred yards distance from the western end of the islet.

Most of the fighting men of Tanna seem to have been on the mainland. They gave us a few shots from the point, but the range was too great for their



A BATH INTERRUPTED.

bullets to reach us. They did not dare to show themselves, our Snider bullets going unpleasantly close to them. Had they been on the islet, though, they might have given us a nice peppering, taking cover under the trees and rocks during the daytime. One canoe attempted to cross from the main island to the islet, but a bullet from the ship sent it back in a hurry.

The weather remained calm and dull all day, so I had to lie quietly at anchor, trusting a land breeze would spring up after nightfall and help us out to sea. Towards evening the G.A. and I took the two boats in towards the point, as the enemy had ceased firing. We did not

venture very close, however, not knowing whether our foes might not be lurking in ambush still.

Opening communications, we did our best to bring Shokki, the chief, to a parley, but without success. Neither he nor his men would venture near us. They knew they could get back to Tanna as soon as night fell; and then, when morning came, they would have us cheap—if I was fool enough to stay there.

Since Shokki seemed indisposed to come to terms, we rowed to Tanna, where twenty or thirty canoes of various sizes lay drawn up on the beach. A nice little fleet indeed, to beat off, if the enemy should try to board us! One of these canoes—a very large one—I damaged, so that it could not be made use of without considerable repairing. Most of the remainder I towed off to the ship, thus lessening the possible naval force we might have to deal with. I had no immediate intention of destroying the canoes, however.

Night fell without any further disturbance, while we took care not to expose ourselves to chance shots. About midnight a light air came off the land, but as it would have been hardly enough to help us out, I did not then weigh anchor. Besides, I remembered that men generally sleep soundest just before daylight. I waited until four o'clock, therefore, and then called all hands on deck, without noise, to man the windlass.

When this was done, there was noise enough to waken up the entire islet, of course. The clanking of the pauls, and the rattle of the chain cable, rang out clear through the morning air. For some ten or fifteen minutes my fellows worked with a will, undisturbed. Then, suddenly, "bang!" "bang!" "bang!" came from the islet. Not a bullet touched the ship, apparently, though we could hear the "ping" as they flew overhead. The G.A. and I went aft with our Sniders, and lying down on the half-poop, watched for the next shots through the quarter-rails.

A few minutes passed quietly. Then we saw the flash and heard the report of guns again, the bullets whistling high above our heads. This time we replied to them, though the only mark we had to aim at in the darkness was the flash of the enemy's guns.

This amusement was kept up on both sides for heaven only knows how long. Men do not take much account of time under such circumstances. The enemy had a better mark to shoot at than we had, but all their shots flew high, some striking the mast-heads. The sound indicated that they were using rifles; while the long intervals elapsing between the shots proved there could hardly be more than three of them at work. We surmised, therefore, and correctly as it turned out, that the weapons they were using were the muzzle-loading Enfields our three "returns" had taken on shore with them on Sunday.

Subsequently, we heard that the firing party were under the impression that the "long sights" on the Enfields were designed to make the rifles shoot *harder*. Hence they elevated the sights, and their bullets flew too high in consequence. It was a lucky mistake for us!

The sails had remained loose all night, so there was no necessity to expose any of the hands by sending them aloft. When the chain had been hove short, the boats were sent ahead with tow-lines, and as soon as the anchor was up, they fetched the ship round with the assistance of the jibs. Then the square canvas was set, and, amid a din of yelling and firing on both sides, we slowly crept away from the anchorage, and were soon out of range. Not a moment too soon, either, for the last bullet dropped near our stern just as daylight dawned!

I still had the canoes alongside. But, since the owners of them had prevented us from collecting firewood, I chopped our captures up to serve as such; and very poor material for the purpose did they yield. Shokki and his men must have fancied they had us cheap.

both ashore and afloat, since they resorted to open hostilities. Had the chief simply spoken to me on the subject, he would have received the usual "pay" for Betarri, and would have saved his canoes into the bargain.

Now for an illustration of how a story will grow as it flies.

About three weeks later I anchored off St. Bartholomew I. There the natives informed us that a schooner's crew had recently attacked Tanna I. That, having landed, they had destroyed all the canoes, burnt the village, killed a score of men, and had driven the remainder of the inhabitants away from the islet.

Luckily for us there was no missionary in the neighbourhood of Tanna, to exaggerate the story, and make another blood-curdling atrocity out of it.

At Batnapni, Pentecost I., very few natives appeared. Those who did venture near the boats, came from the village of Verramatmat, on the bluff. They told us that Tabbisangwul—the man to whom I had given a statement of Brown's murder for the next "man-of-war" that touched there—had been obliged to leave home and go to Queensland as a "recruit." Tabbiseisei, the murderer, had sworn vengeance against him for giving information to the captain of the *Beagle*, and acting as interpreter.

A sad mishap overtook one of my boatmen on the south coast of Mallicolo I. While he and others were cleaning their guns, one of them, being loaded, went off accidentally. The ball seriously wounded poor Sam—a native of Errakova, Sandwich I.—severing the great tendon of his heel; that which is called the *tendo Achilles*. No artery seemed to be damaged, as far as I could tell, but the wound had an ugly look. A large flap of skin and flesh hung down from the heel. This was replaced, and the limb was bound up by the G.A., who acted as surgeon. He relied principally on cold water and carbolic acid to keep the wound sweet while it healed; but of course the severed tendon would never unite again.

A swing cot was slung "between decks" near the fore hatch, and there our patient did fairly well. I wished to take him on to Maryborough for proper surgical treatment; but, as he begged to be landed at Vila, before my final departure for Queensland, I left him there.

Having watered at Semma, in Havannah Harbour, I got under way one fine morning, with a very light air from south-east. While the ship was moving slowly down the harbour, I saw a boat from the mission settlement coming off to meet her. As this approached us, I discerned the missionary who resided in Muna, or Montague I., sitting in the stern. This was the gentleman who had opposed my recruiting the boy Naumeta, when I commanded the *Stanley*, as I have related in a previous chapter. It was just as well for him, perhaps, that I was not then aware he had communicated with the Queensland Government on the subject.

His present object in visiting the vessel was to see Sam, the wounded boatman, and he went down below forward for that purpose. Meanwhile I walked the deck aft, as I had no desire for his society. He came on deck again in a few minutes, and walked aft, where he was decidedly not wanted.

"Now, Captain," he commenced, "ye've been a lang time in this trade, can ye conscientiously say ye consider it consistent wi' the Christian releeigion?"

I knew what he would be at, before he even opened his mouth. There were only two subjects on which he could, or would, converse—Christianity and the "Labour Trade." As my views on both of these topics did not coincide with his, I "smelt fire."

"Not being a Christian, Mr. —, I cannot say," was my reply.

"No! ye're no' a Christian, but ye're nominally a Christian, are ye no'?"

I told him what my opinion was about religious matters in general. Then, at it we went, hammer and tongs. I

flatter myself he found me a tougher nut to crack than the ignorant, superstitious savages he lived among. Not that he had effected much satisfactory result even amongst them, according to his own showing. For, on a former occasion, he told me that he had lived two years in Muna I., and had not converted a single soul.

At last, just as the vessel arrived close off the mission station, he made an assertion with regard to the two genealogies in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, that I was uncertain whether to take with contempt or with anger. For it appeared to me that he was either telling a lie, supposing me not to have read the Bible, or that he must be grossly ignorant of the subject himself.

Now, I *had* read the Bible. Some years before, I had been a trader in one of the Caroline Is. There I lived for six months without seeing a white man's face or a ship's sail. Only one man on the island could speak a little broken English, and I was ignorant of the native language. Falling short of reading matter, I set to work on the Bible, and read it through from Genesis to Revelation. A considerable part of it I perused carefully three times. When I began, I was an orthodox Christian ; when I left off, a Deist.

"Wait till I get my Bible," said I, diving down into the cabin. But the book required a little searching for ; and, when I got on deck again with it in my hand, as red hot for argument as any Cromwellian Independent, my gentleman had gone, his boat being already half-way to the shore.

Having called at Vila and landed my wounded boatman, Sam, I stood to the south-west, intending to round the northern promontory of New Caledonia. But this time I was not favoured with the trade-wind. Light and variable breezes from north-east prevailed, varied with occasional calms or thunderstorms. As we slowly approached the Astrolabe Reefs, a good look-out was kept from the mast-head. In fact, I spent two hours there

myself about midnight. At last I saw the breakers on the weather bow. By daybreak we were some ten miles off Tuo.

It took me nearly a week to get clear of this island, owing to frequent calms and light winds. The nights we passed lying at anchor inside the barrier reefs. One day was spent at anchor off Mr. Morgan's station on Paaba I., at the extreme north of the reef. There I got a supply of rather muddy fresh water, from a water-hole near the station. Then, issuing by Yande Pass, I sailed once more for Queensland. On March 23, I anchored in Hewey Bay, off Woody I., reaching Maryborough two days later.

In compliance with the instructions given to the G.A. before we sailed, respecting the allotment of recruits to employers, we had divided the boys into batches proportioned to the numbers specified on the several licences. I had 105 men and 6 women on board, not quite my full complement, which was 125. Consequently, each of the employers would get one or two boys less than he was entitled to.

There was a good deal of swapping and changing from one employer's name to another among the recruits. For the old hands were well acquainted with the characters of the different Maryborough planters. At length all were satisfied with the arrangement made for them by the G.A. and myself. Of course, they naturally expected to be assigned to the several employers according to our list.

The day after our arrival at Maryborough, the immigration agent of the port came on board with the owner's agent, and made out a fresh allotment of the recruits to the licensed employers. By their plan some of the boys were consigned to plantations they decidedly objected to serve upon.

I was on deck, and the first information I had of this was brought me by a boy who came up crying, and com-

plained to me that he had been assigned to an employer whom he objected to serve. Then another and another followed, each of them grieving or wrathful at a like indignity.

Such an arbitrary proceeding as this could only lead to trouble, of course, and that not merely to the employers in Queensland. After these men returned home to their islands, they would hardly fail of having their revenge for the deceit, as they would deem it, that the Government was responsible for.

One "boy," a native of Api I., actually refused to go to the employer he was now assigned to—Mr. Cran, of Mengarie—under whom he had formerly served. We had allotted him to Mr. McPherson. Ultimately, a compromise was effected in his case, and he was employed on Magnolia plantation, to which he made no objection.

The G.A. and I interfered when we saw how the boys were being treated. We were told, in response, to mind our own business, as the Kanakas had now been taken out of our hands. All we could then do was to express our opinion regarding this high-handed proceeding, which we did without fear or favour. I began :—

"Well, sir, I have seen some rough things, and have heard a good deal about slavery in the South Seas; but the nearest attempt at slavery I have ever witnessed has been enacted on board here to-day. You are the biggest slaver in Queensland!"

To which the G.A. added hotly,—

"I quite agree with you, Captain Wawn."

"You, sir, have nothing to do with it," said the immigration agent.

"I beg your pardon," retorted the G.A. "These men, while on board, are in my care, although, when on shore, they will be in yours."

As might be expected, I had a powerful enemy henceforth among the Government officers connected with the labour trade. Twenty-four hours after this, I was in-

formed that my services as master of the *Stormbird* were no longer required.*

During the short subsequent period when recruiting vessels visited the neighbourhood of New Guinea, native attacks on white men occurred. It was often said, then, that these had resulted from actions ascribed to the crews of such vessels. The public was carefully kept in entire ignorance of the fact that the grossest of such incidents transpired long before any labour vessel tried to recruit along those shores!

During 1878, Captain Redlich was murdered by the natives of Brooker I., in the Louisiade Archipelago. Mr. Ingham went in his steamer, the *Voura*, to investigate the affair, and to try and recover some of Redlich's property. The natives, to dispel any suspicion, received Ingham in a friendly manner, giving up to him some of Redlich's arms and other property; thus managing to throw him off his guard. About November 23, the second day after they had arrived at Brooker I., Ingham, with seven others, was killed by the natives. Billy, a native of Torres Strait, was the ringleader in this affair.

According to a report from the Rev. Mr. McFarlane, a missionary, which was published in "The Brisbane Courier" of December 23, 1879, Ingham and his men constituted the sixth party of shipwrecked sailors or *bêche-de-mer* fishers who had been massacred in these islands. The last outrage, however, might have been averted, had not the leader of the victims allowed himself to be deluded by the apparent friendliness of the natives, and so failed to guard against treachery. An acquaintance of his, in a letter published in a later issue of the same paper, said:—

"His one great failing was an unvarying trust that savages would not harm one unless in retaliation for injuries or insults received."

* The registers of the Polynesian Immigration Office have been found to be incomplete as regards the details relating to this voyage !!

It was belief in this theory, so often preached by men who have had no practical experience of savage character—especially of the Papuan—that led to the assassination of Mr. Obbard G.A., in 1874. The murders of Captain Ferguson and of Commodore Goodenough, as well as of scores of less noted white men, were attributable to the same cause.

My own opinion is that these Papuan savages will slay any stranger, white or coloured, if they think they can do so safely, and with profit to themselves.

Later this year, 1879, two other men, Irons and Willis, were murdered at Cloudy Bay, New Guinea.

CHAPTER XII

VOYAGES OF THE *LUCY AND ADELAIDE*, 1879.

Arrival of the Mystery—Captain Kilgour at Lepers' I.—Recovering a stolen boat—Affray with the natives—Captain Kilgour brought to trial—My work at Mallicolo I.—My boats menaced—The Mary Anderson—German recruiting work—Facts in my experience—The "weather side" of Pentecost I.—The Aoba—A trial of seamanship—A gale—Heavy seas off Breaksea Spit—Arrival at Bundaberg—Second voyage—My illness—I resign command—Captain Satini wrecked—The Chevert.

THE schooner *Mystery* arrived at Mackay from the New Hebrides in May. Her master, Captain Kilgour, had visited Lannawut, Aoba I., the scene of the murder of Renton and Muir. The boat captured by the natives on that occasion was plainly visible from the sea, lying hauled up above high-water mark at the edge of the forest.

As Captain Kilgour approached the beach in his own boat, a crowd of natives collected. Being interrogated, they denied that the boat on the beach was the stolen one, pretending it had been given to the chief by Mr. Bice, a missionary who lived on the other side of the island. Captain Kilgour then returned to the *Mystery* and fetched Buckley, a seaman who had been in the ship during her last voyage. This man at once identified the boat.

Next, some of the natives hauled the boat down to the water's edge, but refused to shove her off, telling Captain Kilgour to come in and take her, if he dared.

Nothing daunted, he mustered all hands he could bring from the ship in his two boats, and pulled in.

Before his boat had touched the shore, however, the natives opened on him with muskets and arrows. He told me that he had two arrows sticking in his legs when he landed. The boat was then shoved off and brought away, without further injuries being received. Apparently no natives were slain, though a few of their huts were set on fire, and three or four pigs were slaughtered by the boatmen.

Now this boat was the property of Mr. Hewitt, the owner of the *Mystery*, who had given strict orders to Captain Kilgour to recover it. The latter had endeavoured to get it back by peaceable means, after the natives had told him to come on shore and take it. It was the natives who began the affray, Kilgour's party fighting only in self-defence. The boat had been lying there for months, and no ship of war had offered to recover it. I am sure no fair-thinking Englishman would blame Captain Kilgour for his plucky deed.

However, many of those good people who had commended the Rev. George Brown for his slaughtering raid into New Britain, now blamed Captain Kilgour for simply recovering his owner's property, merely fighting in self-defence, and that without occasioning any loss of life! The missionary at Lepers' I. was one such, apparently. He took upon himself to send a garbled account of the affair to the Governor of Fiji, who was also High Commissioner for the Western Pacific.

Captain Kilgour sailed on another voyage in the *Mystery*. While in the New Hebrides, he met one of Her Majesty's ships which had come to look for him. Her captain offered him the alternative of going to Fiji as a prisoner on board the man-of-war, or of proceeding there in his own vessel. Captain Kilgour decided to take the latter course.

When he arrived in Fiji, he was tried before Judge

Gorry for his offence (!), and, having been found guilty, was fined £100. His "owner" paid the fine, besides having to bear the expense occasioned by the delay of the *Mystery* on her voyage. Judge Gorry wound up his closing speech with these words :—

"If I had proof of your having killed a native, I would have hanged you, sir—hanged you!"

My next command was the *Lucy and Adelaide*, a schooner of less tonnage than any of my former vessels, but smart and handy to work. I sailed from Brisbane on May 28, bound to the New Hebrides to recruit "boys" for the Bundaberg district. I worked all the islands from Tanna I. to the Banks' Is., with varying success:

On the north-eastern coast of Mallicolo I., particularly at Port Stanley and north of it, the inhabitants showed some hostility, and our recruiting work grew very slack in consequence.

One afternoon I had allowed the boats to get ahead of the ship. I followed them into a narrow channel between the mainland and two long narrow islets, a few miles north-west of Port Stanley. As luck would have it, I brought the vessel round Tararno islet just in time to avert a catastrophe. I could see about a hundred natives lurking among the trees, and they were already poisoning their spears and drawing their bows for an attack on the boats, which were lying to at a narrow little strip of beach, about fifty yards further along the shores of the islet.

The appearance of the ship checked the intended discharge of weapons. Then, hauling down the jibs, I shot the vessel's nose through the calm water right in towards the steep beach, backing the topsail and letting go the anchor on the very edge of the narrow fringe-reef, so close in shore that the jib-boom nearly touched the branches of the trees. The anchor, together with the light wind coming over the tree-tops, brought her up. The threaten-

ing mob of natives cleared out instantly, without discharging a single spear or arrow ; but the recruiter had had a narrow escape from being riddled. I weighed again almost immediately and stood on.

There was another schooner a mile or two astern of us at the time. This was the *Mary Anderson*, Captain Schultze. She followed us, and, though no one appeared on the first islet as she passed it, her boat had a narrow escape off the second, a shower of arrows falling around it.

I anchored that evening between the main island and one of the islets off its northern point. Shortly after I had done so, the *Mary Anderson* brought up in company.

This proved to be a British vessel, commanded by a master of German nationality. He held a recruiting licence from the British Consul in Samoa, and carried no Government agent. He was recruiting labourers for German employers in the Samoa Is.

A partnership of nationalities, such as this, applied to the system of recruiting, *may* be to the advantage of the Polynesian, as some have said, though *how* it is I cannot say. It rather suggests to me a concealed system of slavery. I also call to mind the free and easy way in which skippers of German vessels were wont to treat savages, when I was in Godeffroy's employment during previous years, as I have mentioned. Very, very small is the number of islanders I have met, who have *returned* from Samoa, in spite of the many taken there. Frequent, too, have been the reports of kidnapping by Samoan vessels that I have heard from natives, not only then, but through all the years I have been in the trade!

From these islets I sailed to Aoba, or Lepers' I. There I purchased, chiefly with tobacco, a considerable stock of water-taro. This consisted of the largest and finest specimens of the root that I have ever seen in the Pacific

When I was off the northern coast of Mallicolo I. one morning, the weather and the barometer alike indicated wind from the west, which soon freshened into a fine gale from that quarter. I had often wished for an opportunity of visiting the "weather side," that is, the southern and eastern coasts, of Pentecost and Aurora Is., and now the opportunity had come.

Squaring away before the breeze, I ran to the southern point of Pentecost I., and, after dodging about off it for a night, I got a whole day's work on the eastern coast of that island.

It is not often that the natives on this side have a chance of communicating with a vessel, or even of seeing one. They came down in great numbers, therefore, to the few strips of beach scattered along the mostly precipitous coast. A wild-looking lot they were, feathered and painted for the most part, and fully armed with clubs, spears, bows, and poisoned arrows. We saw no guns in their possession, and very few iron tomahawks or knives. On the western coasts nearly every man would be possessed of either one or the other.

The French schooner *Aoba*, Captain Peter Tamsen, was in company with us, recruiting labourers for Noumea. During the forenoon she obtained three or four boys—children, in fact—far too young to be engaged by me for Queensland. We had no good luck at all.

About noon, near the middle of the island, we came to a small indentation in the coast line—hardly to be termed a bay—overhung by steep cliffs and precipitous hills. Here there were some boys who evidently wished to leave home, but were doubtful which boat they should trust themselves to.

To encourage them, Tamsen and I both stood in to the rocks as close as we dared. Then we tacked, lying so as to head off shore, until, drifting to leeward, each of us had to make a tack to windward again to get near our respective boats. This was done two or three times,

each schooner trying to cut in closer than the other, while the recruits on board shouted and yelled to the natives on shore.

At last I spied a patch of sunken coral, distant two or three ship-lengths from the rocks, on which the sea was breaking. Standing closer in, I let go my anchor on it. So near to the shore were we then that I had to get my kedge out ahead, with a warp, to stop the ship's stern-way.

I did not remain there long, more especially as the wind, now very moderate, had hauled round into the south, and gave tokens of veering easterly. I stayed only long enough to get seven good recruits, and then got under way. This was the only occasion on which I found a chance of working that coast.

As I came round the south-eastern point of the island that morning, I saw the bottom at about eight fathoms depth, for some distance, a quarter of a mile from the shore. It appeared to be of coral.

The homeward passage was a quick one, though rough, before a strong trade-wind. As we were nearing the Queensland coast, this increased to a gale.

It was a bright, sunshiny day when I drew near Breaksea Spit. The schooner was tearing along before the heaviest sea I have ever witnessed in these latitudes. She was under her lower topsail, fore trysail, inner jib and stay foresail, with the wind a little on the port quarter. Every now and then she rolled heavily as her stern rose to the seas, the port boat skimming the "comber," and once nearly filling. The horizon was all mist and drift; it was only from the main rigging that I could get a "sight," and that only now and then, to give me an approximate position as to latitude.

About three p.m. I sighted the sand hills on Sandy Cape, Fraser I., a little forward of the port beam. At the same moment, I saw a huge breaker bearing down on us, about three points on the port bow.

The schooner was then close on to the end of the Spit. Suddenly a huge sea, with a roaring broken crest, swept past and ahead of her, followed by another and yet another.

"Five fathoms!" sung out the boatswain, who was handing in the lead amidships.

The next sea was a "boomer." A long, swiftly moving mountain of undulating blue water swept on. Its crest towered up like a ridge, threatening to break, but as yet only showing a sputter of foam here and there. For a few seconds I thought it would come right over us, but gradually the schooner's stern rose to it, then toppled down again behind the crest, which broke under the bows into a driving cloud of foam and mist.

The sea had taken hold of the schooner, however. In those few minutes I think the little craft travelled faster than she ever did before since she was launched. She beat the wind. Her topsail was for a few seconds flat-back, and her fore-and-aft canvas swung amidships.

But that sea had evidently taken her over the tail of the Spit. The next one broke astern of her, and gradually I got into smoother water and hauled up for the head of Hervey Bay. There I passed the following night, not liking to make for the Burnett River, on which Bundaberg is situated, in such weather.

Next morning I entered the river, the breeze having dropped, getting up to the town the same day. This was, I think, the twentieth of August, 1879.

I lay at Bundaberg nearly a month, waiting for stores and licences from Brisbane. I then sailed again for the New Hebrides. This second voyage in the *Lucy and Adelaide* was the most uneventful one I made while engaged in the labour trade, and also the shortest.

I recruited for the Brisbane district this time. My northernmost point in the group—the New Hebrides—was Dip Point, Ambrym I.

Unfortunately, when off Tanna I., I was seized with a

bad attack of fever and ague, together with a determination of blood to the head. The last symptom affected my eyesight. My illness, in conjunction with the frequent wet weather, obliged me to keep below, except when it was absolutely necessary for me to go on deck.

Notwithstanding this, recruiting work went on quickly and without accident. After a smart passage home, I arrived at Brisbane on November 18, having been only two months out. I brought with me eighty-eight recruits—the full number my vessel was licensed to carry.

The fever had now left me, and I had recovered from my other ailment. Still, I was weak, and therefore disinclined to risk another attack by going to the islands in the coming hurricane season. So I resigned command of the *Lucy and Adelaide*, and Captain Satini took charge of her in my place. She was wrecked in a cyclone, in Havannah Harbour, on January 23, during her next voyage. She was subsequently got off, was repaired, and is still afloat.

The barque *Chevert*, which had been formerly a French transport, then employed in Macleay's exploring expedition to New Guinea, and finally fitted out as an island trader, was dismantled in the New Hebrides about the same time. Her people managed to bring her to Havannah Harbour, where she was purchased by Captain McLeod, the Noumea trader. He made use of her as a hulk at Semma.

CHAPTER XIII.

FIRST VOYAGE OF THE *JABBERWOCK*, 1880.

The Jabberwock, auxiliary screw steamer—Great anticipations—An inexperienced G.A.—Port Resolution—Steamers—A Fijian kidnapper—The black brigantine—Distrust—A runaway mother—Reed, the trader—A storm—Peril of the Lady Darling—Port Olry—Failure of firewood—Sau and Nina—An instance of missionary rancour—French recruiters—Their system and its results—Coasting Ambrym and Paama Is.—I fall in with the Dayspring—The Dauntless—Attack on her recruiting boats—Her mate and G.A. killed—Wreck of the Mystery—Visit from a French skipper—I stand on my dignity—Vila—A walk overland—My wounded boatman, Sam—A rough scramble—Captain Kilgour's camp—Its drawbacks—I return to Mackay—My disgust and resignation—Attack on the s.s. Ripple,—Chinamen killed in New Guinea—Views of missionaries regarding the massacre—Murder of Lieut. Bowers—Mandolianna I.—The Borealis massacre—A series of outrages—The Esperanza—The Zephyr—The Borough Belle—H.M.S. Emerald sent to chastise the perpetrators—Her proceedings a farce—The natives enjoy the "fireworks"—Massacres go on—Missionaries, traders, and "Exeter Hall"—Why naval officers dare not act—Traders' lives of no account.

AFTER spending some months ashore, I was offered the command of the *Jabberwock*, and I took charge of her at Brisbane, in May, 1880. This vessel was an auxiliary screw steamer rigged as a barquentine, but carrying only a "stump" foretopmast. Great hopes were entertained by her owners that she would prove a success in the labour trade. Others, perhaps the more experienced in such matters, felt grave doubts of her, even predicting that she would prove a dead failure.

It was expected that the *Jabberwock's* steam power would enable her to go into bays and inlets under the lee of the islands, at times when sailing ships could only lie motionless outside. These anticipations were no doubt realized on one or two occasions. When there was a fresh head breeze, however, the auxiliary screw was not powerful enough to propel her against the wind. Again, when it fell calm under an island, the boats could tow her two or three miles before steam could be got up, by which time, probably, it would no longer be required. She carried sufficient coals and coke to last her about thirty days.

The G.A. appointed to her was new to the work. He had been previously a schoolmaster somewhere in "the bush," in Queensland. I think, on the whole, that a more unfit person could scarcely have been selected to fill such a responsible situation. He had a vast idea of his importance as a Government officer, combined with gross ignorance of the duties and want of tact. He had had no previous experience of savages, and possessed little capacity for dealing with them.

I afterwards had another G.A. with me who was new to the work. Both times I failed to make the trip a remunerative one, returning with far less than my proper complement of recruits.

The *Jabberwock* left Brisbane on May 22, bound for the New Hebrides. Steaming down the river, as there was no wind, I found that the greatest speed she could make was barely six knots an hour.

The passage to the New Hebrides was made under sail alone. When close to Tanna I., I got up steam to take the vessel into Port Resolution. The anchorage there had been much contracted by the effect of an earthquake, towards the end of 1877.

The impression made upon the natives by their first sight of the *Jabberwock*, moving along with bare poles, with smoke issuing from her funnel, was that she was a

ship of war. They were shy of coming near my boats in consequence. When they were told that we were seeking for recruits, the effect was worse still. For the steam and the vessel's green paint combined caused them to set her down as a Samoan.

Only two other steamers had previously visited these islands to recruit labourers. One of these hailed from Fiji, the other from Samoa. Both had left a very bad record behind them. The stories told of the Fijian's doings were now seven or eight years old, and had been well-nigh forgotten. The cruise of the Samoan was only of recent date, however. Further north, the natives frequently refused to believe that we were recruiting for Queensland, expressing their belief that, if they were engaged by us, they would be taken to Samoa.

At Tanna I., luckily, in the neighbourhood of Port Resolution and Waisissa, the inhabitants of the coast were acquainted with me; so we obtained some recruits in those localities. Between these two places some natives complained bitterly of the conduct of a certain black-painted vessel from Fiji, which, from their description, appeared to have been a brigantine. She had sent a boat to their beach, and had engaged several men, but gave a very small amount of "pay" to the recruits' friends. Her recruiter told them he had very little "trade" then in his boat, but that he would fetch more from the ship; with which he took the men away. Three muskets, with some other articles, had been promised. However, the boat never returned to the shore—in *that* neighbourhood, at any rate. My informants were very indignant about this. Little more would have been needed to induce them to take their revenge out of the next whites who came along that way.

It may have been the same vessel that I heard of a little later at Merrabwei, Mallicolo I., where I passed a night at anchor. There, a man who was commonly known as "Brisbane"—a returned labourer, whom I had

landed during a former voyage—came off to the *Jabberwock*. He told us that a black "schooner" (they apply the name to any sailing vessel, no matter what may be her rig), hailing from Fiji, rigged "all the same, *Stormbird*" (a brigantine), had appeared off his village. A canoe, with five men and boys in her, had gone off with bananas and yams to trade. About half an hour



TATTOOED WOMAN—TANNA I.

after they got alongside the brigantine, the canoe drifted away empty, and the boys were taken away to Fiji.

Though this man averred that his friends had been kidnapped, we must recollect that islanders who wish to go away contrary to the wishes of their friends, often adopt some such plan of escaping. Certain Lammen islanders did so during my fourth voyage in the *Stanley*, as I have related. Moreover, such a party, visiting a vessel to trade, would be sure to include one or two

“old hands” who could speak English or Fijian. These would certainly make the fact of their having been kidnapped known to the authorities, on their arrival in the colony.

At Port Stanley the inhabitants declined to come near the boats, and one man called out from a little distance, “You go away! You no belong Brisbane! You no good! Me savez you!”

One woman only was engaged here. She had “made a bolt,” and came alongside at night in a small canoe. Next morning another canoe came off to the ship, containing a man and—a baby!

The inhuman mother had deserted her child. She was packed off ashore again to rear it, or to be clubbed, as her friends might decide.

Here and there we picked up a few recruits, but it was slow work. At last, one morning, when it was almost calm, I steamed round to the west end of Motalava, one of the Banks' Is. Seeing the smoke rising from the funnel, the natives at first supposed the ship to be a man-of-war. Her small size, perceptible as she got nearer, next led them to think she was a missionary packet—the *Southern Cross*. Finally, when they could make out the green-painted hull, they concluded she was from Samoa, and were excited accordingly.

This false impression was soon dissipated, however. Charlie Reed, a white trader who was an old acquaintance of mine, came on board. When he went ashore again, he vouched for us, satisfying the natives that our destination was Brisbane. The same afternoon I steamed over to Ureparapara. Entering the bay, I found an anchorage close to the head of it.

At this place, too, the natives were very doubtful about us and our destination, notwithstanding that Reed had come over with us, and that he asserted we were bound for Queensland. Another schooner, said to be the *Lady Darling*, may have caused this impression.

Some of the natives said her recruiter, who had been visiting the outer coast of the island, had told them we were from Samoa.

I drew a blank altogether at Ureparapara. So, after spending two nights there, I steamed out of the bay and beat back to Motalava under sail alone. There I anchored, as before, on the north-western coast of the island. I obtained a few recruits there, though not without difficulty. Many of the natives put no faith in us, but believed we were deceiving their friend Charlie. Those who wished to engage were mostly restrained by force from doing so.

I worked southward after leaving Motalava. While we were at anchor off Lakon, the *Lady Darling* arrived and brought up about a mile from us. That evening my glass began to fall, and there were signs of a coming change in the weather. I therefore gave orders to the anchor watch to call me, should there be any alteration during the night. At daylight, when I came on deck, I saw that the sooner I got away out of that anchorage the better. In fact, I ought to have been called up before. The sky was overcast, a heavy black cloud-bank rising in the west.

All hands were summoned on deck, and then, while the recruits hove in the cable, the crew made sail. Just as the anchor was tripped, the squall caught us, and, throwing her head off to port, canted the ship over to her covering board. But the anchor came up cheerily, while the yards were trimmed, and the vessel stood along the land—which was barely visible through the thick rain, close as it was—until we had cleared the south-western point of the island, and had got sea-room to leeward.

The *Lady Darling* was caught at her anchor, and had to ride out the squall, having no room to get under way. Her stern was all the time in unpleasant proximity to the rocks. Luckily for her, the wind only lasted an hour

or two, so that the sea did not rise much. Had it been otherwise, little more would have been seen of the *Lady Darling*!

From this island I went to the northern coast of Espiritu Santo I., anchoring in Port Olry. There the *Jabberwock* lay for three days, while she was given a fresh coating of paint to hide her unfortunate green. This time I painted her black, with a narrow red ribbon. After that she was no more mistaken for a Samoan.

While we lay at Port Olry, we were informed by the natives that, shortly before, a black "schooner" had put in there. They said her people had "stolen" two men and three women, who had been engaged cutting a path through the scrub between the village and the shore.

I paid a visit to this village, accompanied by the G.A., the recruiter, and a boat's crew. We found it deserted by all but one man, who was asleep in a hut. How astonished he looked when he woke up to find us gazing in at him! His terror was so great, that, as we blocked up the doorway, he just rushed at the thatched wall of the hut, burst through it, and went off like the wind. No doubt he spread the news of our visit, for we heard some yelling after this, though we saw no more natives on our return to the boats.

Frequent steaming had now reduced my stock of coal to a very low ebb. By way of experiment, therefore, I collected several boatloads of good firewood for the engine furnace. It proved of little use, however, when we came to try it. One fine, calm evening, when the fresh paint had dried, the engineer made up his fire with this wood. It took just four hours to raise sufficient steam with it to propel the vessel out of the harbour and so to sea, at the slow rate of one and a half miles an hour.

Next morning, when we were well away from the land, the fires were drawn, and then all the wood we did not want for the galley was "dumped" overboard.

As soon as steam had been got up again with coal, I stood over to Lepers' I., passing the *Chance* becalmed on the way. There I anchored westward of Walurigi mission station, on the north coast.

At this place I received a visit from two old acquaintances—Sau, and his wife, Nina. When I had last seen them, they were employed at the house of an old friend



SAU AND NINA.

of mine—Mr. Rawson, of Kirkgubbin plantation, near Maryborough. Sau was just as quiet, even dull, as he always had been, while Nina was correspondingly lively. But now, no "Dolly Varden" cap surmounted Nina's woolly head. The neat short dress she had worn in Queensland had made way for a not too decent waist-cloth, and, altogether, the pair looked as if their stock of soap had been long exhausted.

They inquired about the welfare of their old employers, especially about the children. Then Mrs. Nina indulged in a dance round the decks, kissed two or three of the crew who took her fancy, and finally passed some very uncomplimentary remarks upon our G.A.

I tried to persuade them to re-engage and return with me to Queensland. But Nina, who still "bossed" her husband, as she always had done, was not yet tired of her liberty. Having obtained a pipe and some tobacco, she volunteered to act as interpreter in the recruiting boat, in which capacity she actually brought back four boys to the ship, as recruits.

A teacher from the mission station came on board here, and requested me to take him and some others over to Lakarere, Aurora I. He told me that the Rev. Mr. Bice had gone thither from Walurigi, in order to form another mission station there. I declined to take them on board, however, not being then certain as to my next movements.

The following day a light wind from south-east took me to Lakarere, after all. There the natives told us that they were ordered by the missionary to have no communication with any labour vessel, not even to sell food to one. I therefore sailed again, working the western coasts of Aurora I. and Pentecost I., and making southward.

Near the southern extremity of Aurora I., a fore-and-aft schooner passed us one evening, going northward. Next day we were close to the village of Melsisi, Pentecost I. When the boats came back from the shore, my recruiter reported that the natives were in a dangerous state of mind. One who could speak English had told him that the French schooner *Aurora* had been there the day before, and that her boat, manned exclusively by coloured men, had visited their beach.

A few natives had gone to meet them, one man offering a bunch of bananas for sale. The steersman of the

boat, finding no boys disposed to go to New Caledonia, attempted to kidnap one of them; but his intended prisoner got away. Then, as all the natives ran off, the steersman, a Lifu man, known as "Black Tom," fired his revolver after them, mortally wounding the unfortunate vendor of bananas. This poor fellow lay at the point of death when my boat left the beach.

So much I gathered from my recruiter. When I spoke to the G.A. about it, he said that *he* had paid no attention to the native's story, as it did not concern him. It is hardly surprising that such outrages should have been committed, when it is remembered that the French Government officers were not in the habit of going ashore with the boats. They were, therefore, not at hand to superintend the actual engagement of recruits. Their boats were usually manned and officered by uncivilized Polynesians.

Off Malvat I fell in with a black-painted brigantine. The *Jabberwock* was under steam at the time, and at a distance might have been mistaken for a man-of-war. As soon as we were sighted, the brigantine—which had been lying off Malvat, with a crowd of canoes round her—squared away, and did not communicate with us. The Malvat people said she was the *Au Revoir*, of Fiji.

About this time, the wind enabled me to get to the southward without using any more coal. The boats meanwhile coasted along the shores of Ambrym and Paama Is., looking for recruits and keeping in company with the vessel. Then the wind shifted into the west, began to freshen, and at last settled down into a stiff south-west breeze, which lasted about two days. During this I lay at anchor off Tautari, on the extreme north of Api I.

At the same time, the mission-packet *Dayspring*, Captain Braithwaite, experienced a rough time of it. She was on the north side of the Foreland, exposed to

the full force of wind and sea, and was too close to the land to venture to get under way.

At Tautari we heard that two white men had been lately killed near the Foreland. We supposed that they must have belonged to the *Dayspring*.

As soon as the breeze had blown itself out, the wind chopped round to south-east. I then got under way and "spoke" the mission vessel, which was still at anchor. She was landing building material for a new mission station, a mile or two south of the Foreland. I found all well on board of her; but the report we had heard was not without foundation.

It appeared that on July 20th, the fore-and-aft schooner *Dauntless*, of Fiji, Captain Jones, had sent her boat ashore a little distance north of the Foreland. As the boat approached the beach, some natives, who were ambushed in the scrub which fringed the shore, fired a volley into her. Fraser, the second mate, was shot dead. Nicholl, the G.A., was struck by no less than seven bullets, and mortally wounded. He afterwards died in Levuka hospital. One boatman was shot through the loins, while another, a Fijian, was wounded, but managed to scull the boat off towards the vessel. The other boatmen jumped overboard and swam off.

The natives of the adjoining villages attempted to excuse the perpetrators of these murders. They stated that the deed was done in retaliation for an outrage committed by the boatmen belonging to the French schooner *Aurora*. These had taken away a chief's son, and had shot his father, who had attempted to prevent the boy from going away.

At Mau, where I got two or three recruits, a report was in circulation that a vessel had lately been wrecked on the east coast of Sandwich I. We were unable to obtain particulars, even as to her name. At Havannah Harbour this report was verified. The unlucky vessel proved to have been the *Mystery*, Captain Kilgour,

from Mackay, Mr. A. Macdonald G.A. All hands had been saved, and were now camped near the wreck. While I lay at Havannah, the *Aurora*, the French schooner just mentioned, came to an anchor near us.

Having "swung" the *Jabberwock*, in order to adjust my compasses, I sailed next day for Vila, intending to anchor there, and then to travel overland and ascertain if I could be of any assistance to the crew of the *Mystery*. Meanwhile, the recruiter could be doing his best to obtain some more recruits, pending our return home.

The weather was now too boisterous for me to attempt communication with the shipwrecked party on the weather coast.

When off Tukatuka Point, the wind blew so strongly that I was unable to beat up to Vila, so I brought up under the lee of the Point, off Ford's plantation. The *Aurora* came in just behind me, and anchored near. Her skipper said she had sustained some damage in one of the heavy puffs of wind, while passing through the main entrance of Havannah Harbour.

The French captain and his Government officer paid us a visit. Having been told by my G.A. of the reports we had heard about them, they were profuse in their explanations and denials. They left us in a bad humour, for I declined to dine on board the *Aurora* that evening. I knew enough French to understand what the skipper meant, when I overheard him remarking to his companion that my refusal was *diplomatique*. I think he apprehended mischief from me.

Next day I got round to Vila, and anchored there. The day after, with a couple of boatmen and a Vila guide, I landed and walked to Pango village. There another guide was procured, with a canoe, to take me to Errakova. I found Mr. Mackenzie and his family absent from the mission station.

Then I met Sam, the boatman who was accidentally wounded while with me in the *Stormbird*. His wound

had never healed properly, very likely the consequence of neglect. There was now a running sore in his foot. It would have been better for him if he had accepted my offer and gone on in the *Stormbird* to Maryborough. He would have been properly treated in hospital there, and would have had a fair chance of recovery.

We canoed some little distance from Errakova, which is an islet, situated in a large and deep lagoon, between the main island and the barrier reef. The rest of the way we walked. It was hard travelling along that native track. In some places it was rough and stony, in others we were over our ankles in wet bog. We had to traverse loose sandy beaches, to wade through creeks, and to climb up the steep faces of lofty coral plateaux, only to tumble and slide down again a few hundred yards further on.

At length, when the sun was getting low, and I was thoroughly fagged out, and hungry as well, we arrived on the bank of a creek, beyond which was a village. A canoe took us across. Then, with two or three sticks of tobacco, I purchased a meal of yam and banana. This we washed down with the *water* of young cocoanuts, not the *milk*, which is a preparation.

Just beyond the village there was a long and deep inlet of the sea. On the further shore of this lay Kilgour's second camp, some miles away from the wreck. The spot we were at was somewhere near the middle of the southern coast of Sandwich I.

The only canoes available here were small and frail. The owners were indisposed to lend them; for a strong swell was running into the inlet from the ocean. Fortunately, the *Mystery's* boat chanced to come within hail. In her my boatmen and I crossed over to the camp, leaving my guides where they were.

A sail converted into a tent, with a "humpy" or two of boughs, constituted this camp. It was situated on a low stony strip of beach facing the inlet, and was backed

by thick forest and jungle. The place was swarming with mosquitos and sandflies, an occasional scorpion or centipede creating an unwelcome diversion.

The camp was in charge of two of the white crew of the *Mystery*, with three or four Polynesians, Kilgour and Macdonald being then absent. About sundown they appeared, coming from the wreck, with a train of boatmen and "returns," all laden with provisions, stores, trade, and so forth, part of their salvage.

I did not fancy passing a night here, for the mosquitos and sandflies were terrible. So I was glad when Kilgour announced his intention of starting immediately for Vila in his boat, whence he would afterwards go on to Havannah Harbour. He seemed to think that he and his G.A. could pull through their difficulties all right. He did not care to send his white crew home with me, being unable to spare them then. Some other vessel would be sure to take them later on, and one would be found eventually to take his "returns" home. All I could do for him was to execute some commissions in Mackay, whither I was now bound.

We issued out of the inlet into the open sea, just as the last red glow of sunset was fading from the western sky. Running before a fresh breeze, with a regular sea, we reached Vila, getting on board the *Jabberwock* about midnight.

Next day, I sailed for Mackay with sixty-four recruits. I arrived there on August 31, having just enough coal left on board to take the ship into the Pioneer River the day after, and thence up to the town. There she was moored, alongside the river bank, and her recruits were landed.

Disgusted with the result of the late voyage, my number of recruits being far short of the ship's full complement, as well as with the vessel herself, her "jury" rig and trumpery steam power, I threw up my command—foolishly, I acknowledge.

The vessel soon after went to Brisbane, where her

engine was taken out of her. Though she still continued in the labour trade, it was as a sailing vessel only. Her rig remained unaltered, until, when sold to another owner, I again commanded her in 1882.

In August of this year (1880) the s.s. *Ripple* was nearly captured by natives in Bougainville Strait, Solomon Is. On board of her were Captain Ferguson, a crew of three whites and sixteen Kanakas, and two passengers—a German and an island woman. The captain, two Kanakas, and the woman were killed; Mr. Spence, a passenger, and thirteen Kanakas were wounded, the first seriously. About fifty of the savages were killed before they were beaten off.

The inhabitants of the Louisiade Archipelago, and those of the mainland of New Guinea, still continued to make things lively for strangers who visited them.

A letter in "The Brisbane Courier," October 6, 1880, written by the Revs. J. Chalmers and T. Beswick, and dated from New Guinea, related how at Aroma village, on the mainland, seven heads of Chinamen had then recently been paraded in triumph by the natives. These unfortunates had formed part, or the whole, of the crew of a Chinese junk, and had been engaged in collecting and curing *bêche-de-mer*. On account of their "acting in an excessively free and indecent manner towards the native women," they were desired by the natives to leave that neighbourhood. The Chinamen refused to comply with this demand, and then other troubles arose, until, at last, the natives assembled—most probably—to attack the intruders.

The Chinese took the initiative, and fired first on the natives. In the end they were worsted.

Had this happened at any considerable distance from where the missionaries were residing, even had the victims been Europeans, so long as they were merely traders or recruiters, we might have expected that little notice would have been taken of it. Possibly in such a case, it

would have been said that the massacre was only the natural result of the usual conduct of "brutal scoundrels." But Aroma was too near home. Messieurs Chalmers and Beswick acknowledged the justice of the natives' action, but suggested that this slaughter of Chinese, who had abused women and fired first on their relatives and friends, would afford a good opportunity—"excuse" would have been a better word—for the infliction of a salutary and exemplary punishment, and thus, in the long run, be the means of saving the lives of both foreigners and natives. Surely this was an adoption of the Jesuitical doctrine that the end justifies the means!

About September 8, Captain Foreman and his crew, consisting of seven Europeans and as many Chinese, of the schooner *Annie Brookes*, were murdered by natives of Brooker I., in the Louisiade Archipelago.

A month or two later, Captain Frier, of the *Vibilia*, which had been wrecked in that group, brought to Cooktown intelligence of the murder of a party of French naturalists, at James Bay, Moresby I., off the south-eastern point of New Guinea.

During the latter part of this year H.M.S. *Sandfly* was cruising among the Solomon Is., and anchored at Mboli, on the north-east coast of one of the Florida Is. Her commander, Lieutenant Bowers, deluded by the friendly attitude of the natives, and probably imagining that the fact of his vessel being a "man-of-war" was sufficient to command respect, left the *Sandfly* at anchor, and started on a boat-cruise round the southernmost of these islands.

Not suspecting that any savages were watching for a good opportunity to attack him, he landed on the little uninhabited islet of Mandolianna, and strolled away from his boat, unarmed. His men, equally off their guard, were bathing, when a party of natives, who had landed on the other side of the islet, rushed on them and slaughtered all but one. The exception was a man named Savage, who escaped by swimming to the main

island. There he was protected by the chief of Baranago village until rescued.

The bodies of Lieutenant Bowers, and of the four men murdered with him, were found on the islet a few days after, by a party sent to look for them, and were buried there. So also was the body of another seaman, named Buckley, one of the search party, who was shot dead in the boat, which was also attacked.

On December 7, the schooner *Chance* arrived at Brisbane, bringing news of the capture of the *Borealis*, brigantine, in the Solomon group, and the massacre of most of her crew. This vessel had been on a recruiting voyage from Fiji, and was owned and commanded by Captain Mackenzie, whose son accompanied him as mate. She had anchored off the islet of Kwai, on the north-eastern coast of Malayta I. Mackenzie and his G.A. had left the vessel there, while they went in the boats along the coast to recruit labourers. The mate and the rest of the crew were engaged on board, setting up the rigging.

The natives, being allowed to come on board unrestrainedly, attacked the crew, killing all hands except the cook.

The captain and the G.A., on their return, were obliged to abandon the vessel and coast round the north of the island, where they found the labour schooners *Stanley*, *Flirt*, and *Dauntless*, at anchor.

These vessels immediately weighed anchor and beat round to Kwai. They recaptured the *Borealis*, taking summary vengeance on such of the natives as they caught in the act of plundering her.

The *Borealis* was then taken back to Fiji by the mate of the *Stanley*, with a volunteer crew from her and the other vessels.

Other outrages committed by Kanakas during the same year were the murder of the crew of the *Esperanza*, Captain McIntosh, at Kulambangra I., of part of

the crew of the *Zephyr*, at Choiseul I., both in the Solomon group, and of boatmen of the *Borough Belle*, at Gaua, Banks' Is.

In consequence of these affairs, and especially on account of the murder of Lieutenant Bowers, H.M.S. *Emerald*—Captain Maxwell—was sent to the islands; but, as usual, she did little or nothing. She returned to Sydney at the end of January, 1881, her cruise having been a mere farce.

It would seem that she visited Bougainville I., where Captain Ferguson and others had been murdered. There she burned some villages and canoes, and destroyed cocoanut trees, but no natives were hurt.

At Choiseul I., where the crew of the *Zephyr* had been slaughtered, property was destroyed, and one woman was wounded, but no one was killed. At Kulambangra I., where the crew of the *Esperanza* had been killed, nobody was hurt, merely the usual destruction of property. At the Florida Is. much the same programme was carried out, and "one small nigger" captured.

What may have been done at Kwai, Malayta I., where the *Borealis* had been seized, I cannot say. I heard that a man-of-war had anchored there, and that her captain sent word ashore that he intended to bombard the islet. Thus warned, the natives transported all their valuables to the mainland, a quarter of a mile off. Then they sat down on the beach there, and enjoyed the "fireworks!"

At Brooker I., in the Louisiade Archipelago, one prisoner was made, and two witnesses were brought away. At Mewstone I. one man was taken prisoner, but afterwards released, and a woman was hurt. I think one man was killed, somewhere in the Archipelago, at a place where they captured a canoe with a white man's skull in it.

The paper that reported the events of this cruise also stated that the French war steamer, *D'Estrées*, had recently visited Brooker I., where her people killed nine of the natives.

So little did their punishment (?) affect the natives of Kwai, that, scarcely a year later, they cut off the brig *Janet Stewart*, massacring all hands on board, save one who managed to conceal himself.

In February, 1881, Captain Schwartz, of the *Leslie*, a Sydney schooner, was murdered near Cape Marsh. This was the same place where Captain Murray, of the *Lælia*, had been killed some little time previously.

The *Lady Darling*, labour schooner, Captain McDougall, was wrecked near Port Sandwich, New Hebrides, in March. Fortunately, three vessels were close at hand at the time—the schooners *Io*, and *Stanley*, and the *Lady Belmore*, brig. The crew of the *Lady Darling* escaped on board the *Io*.

Outrages still continued on the coasts of New Guinea and on neighbouring islands, in districts never yet visited by the trader.

Two teachers, with their wives and children, were murdered at Kalo, New Guinea.

The Rev. Mr. Beswick, and an anonymous writer, addressed letters to the colonial papers, in which they demanded that the murderers should be punished. It was stated that within the last two and a half years, eight massacres had taken place on the south-eastern coast of New Guinea; that hitherto, ships of the British navy had done no good there; and that the natives freely expressed such opinions as, "Man-o'-war like one big woman!" I may add that I have often heard much the same contempt expressed in the Solomon group.

The influence in Great Britain, and, in a lesser degree, in the Southern Australian colonies, of "*Exeter Hall*" philanthropy,—of men, who, although well meaning, have never travelled outside of civilized countries; who have lived all their lives in a state of comparative security; who cannot possibly conceive the feelings of others who live, day by day, with their lives in their hands,—is to be blamed for the majority of these murders in the South

Sea Islands. Were sufficient punishment meted out to the natives for a first offence, it would effectually prevent the commission of others.

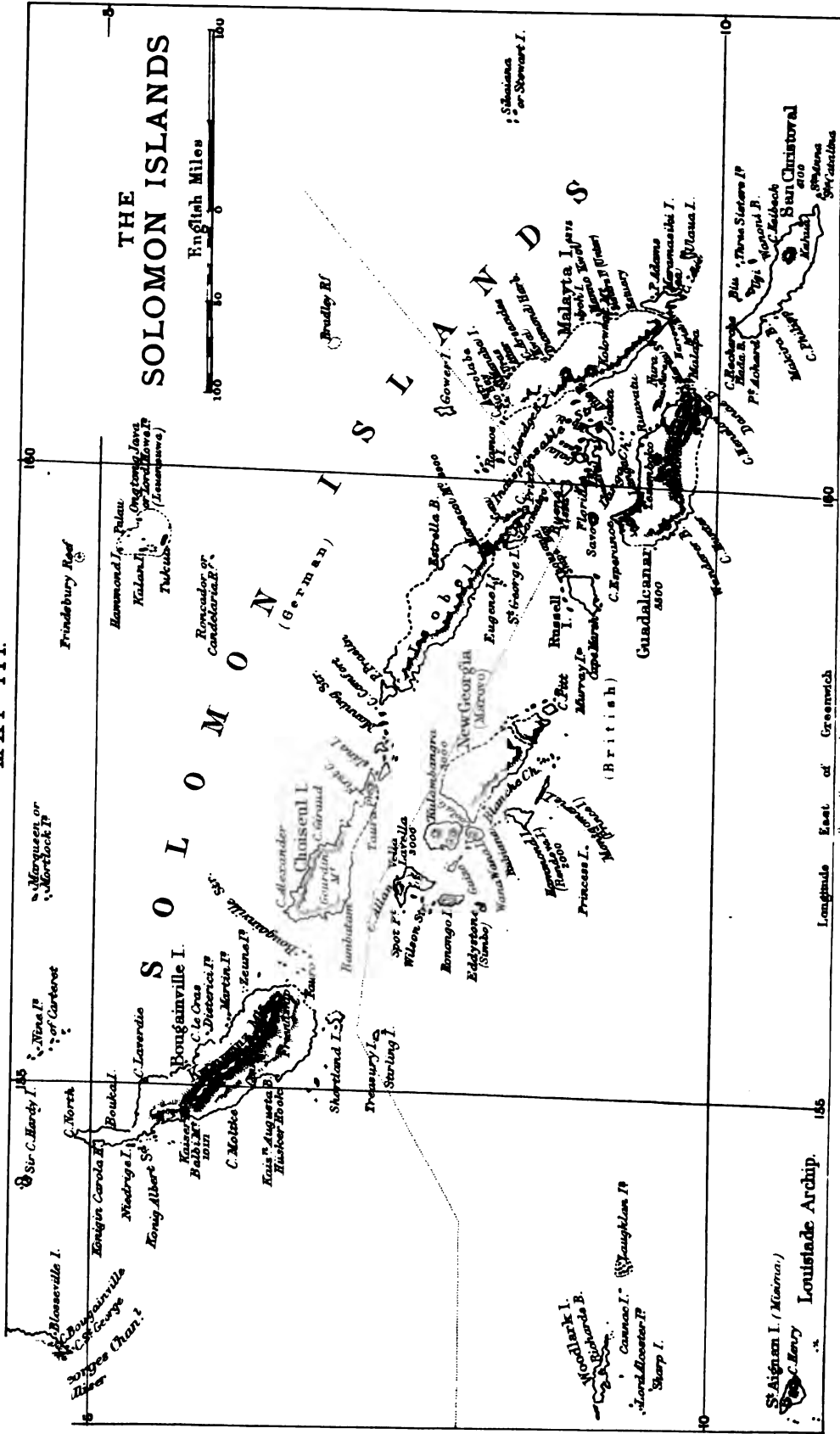
Our naval officers know that, were they to shed a "poor savage's" blood, a howl of indignation would be raised, and then "good-bye" to their chance of advancement in the service.

As we have seen, missionaries are not backward in demanding, and even in *taking* vengeance, when their own interests or lives are threatened. But traders' lives are of small account to them ; and some are not so good but what they will poison the minds of natives against the traders, through jealous envy of their influence.

Traders may be good or bad, as in civilized countries ; but it ought not to be forgotten that it is to the trader's interest to be friendly with, and to behave fairly towards, the islanders.

MAP III.

THE SOLOMON ISLANDS



Longitude East of Greenwich

Louisiade Archip.

St. Aignan I. (Minima)

St. Mary

Wm. Sims & Co. London

CHAPTER XIV.

SEVENTH VOYAGE OF THE *STANLEY*, 1881.

I take charge of the Stanley—Sail for the Solomon Is.—Tom Tamoan—The Santa Cruz Is.—No interpreters—Santa Anna I.—San Christoval I.—Massacre of bush natives by a coast tribe—A cannibal feast—Drifting ashore—Maramasiki I.—Aio I.—I meet King Berry—Mode of preparing copra—Cocoanut oil—Collecting and curing bêche-de-mer—The north-eastern coast of Isabel I.—No inhabitants—King Berry's raids—Burning coral for lime—Exploring—A broken anchor—Searching for Port Praslin—Invaders from Choiseul I.—A native sepulchre—Its contents—Relics—The missing boats—Return of the wanderers—Finding a strange derelict—Blockade of the Floridas by British cruisers—Results of their action—The coast of Malayta I.—Desertion of a recruit—Back to the Floridas—Tom Tamoan recognized—His island discovered—The coast of Guadalcanar—Story of Wanderer Bay—Bellona I.—Poor Tom landed—His reception by his people—Their gratitude to me—Touching noses with a chief—Tom prevents recruits from joining—An inquisitive native and a loaded rifle—Kanaka ideas of justice—Remarks on the Solomon Islanders—The Papuan character—Massacre of French priests—I return to Maryborough.

IN April, 1881, I was once more appointed master of the *Stanley*. I took charge of her at Maryborough, and sailed with the intention of going direct to the Solomon Is.

Tom Tamoan, the islander who had accompanied me in the *Stormbird*, and who, in South Sea vernacular, "had been lose him island," went with me again as a boatman.

Tom still had hopes that I would find out what island he belonged to, so he brought all his property with him. For he was to be landed if our search should prove successful.

I left Hervey Bay with a nice fair wind and stood to northward through the Coral Sea, until I had reached the vicinity of Indispensable Reef, in 13° south latitude. There the wind drew rapidly round from south-east to north, freshening up into a gale. Three days of this drove me back about seventy miles. Then the breeze moderated a little, and I stood eastward on an easy bow-line, under the lower canvas, until Santo Espiritu I. was sighted ahead; soon after which the wind died away to a dead calm.

After that came three weeks' "doldrums"—horrible weather—calms under a blazing sun, alternating with variable puffs of wind, generally from north-west, and deluges of rain. I managed to get as far as Nitendi I. and the Duff Is. in the Santa Cruz group, but was unable to secure a single recruit.

At the Reef islets, in the northern part of the group, I think I might have recruited some men. Several came alongside in canoes and boarded us, making signs that they would go in the ship. But, as luck would have it, I was without an interpreter, and not one of the islanders knew a word of English.

One day, while a light breeze was blowing, I found myself to windward of a canoe, which was crossing from the Reef islets to Nitendi. The half-dozen men in her were awfully scared when we ran down to her, hove to, and lowered a boat, in which I went alongside her. She was a well-built craft, but her huge mat sail was a very clumsy affair.

I traded for some taro, which they were willing to part with, and so left them to continue their voyage.

At last, early one morning, a breeze sprang up from south-eastward. I was then off the south-east coast of Nitendi I. It was in a bay on the northern coast of this island that Bishop Patteson was killed, in 1871. The breeze freshened up into a steady "trade," which carried me to the small island of Santa Anna, at the south-

eastern extremity of the Solomon group. There I anchored in a small bay, named Port Mary, where the anchorage is protected on the west by a long spit of coral reef. It is a good harbour for small vessels.

Captain McDonald's chief trading station was situated at Port Mary, near a large native village. My stay there was a short one, there being no prospect of recruits. Having shipped such water as was necessary to fill up my tanks, I commenced recruiting at Cape Keibeck, on the northern coast of San Christoval I. I succeeded in getting three recruits from a village named Makira.

The same evening I stood into a bay with a broad sandy beach, a few miles west of the cape; but, finding the water too deep to anchor in, I was obliged to stand out to sea again for the night.

Only a year before this, a party of bushmen, some forty in number, had come down to this bay, intending to ship on board the *Borealis* for service in Fiji. They arrived in the evening, and camped for the night on the beach, meaning to engage next morning.

A mile or two away, there is a large village belonging to a tribe of "beach" men, the hereditary enemies of the "bushmen," or natives of the interior. After it was dark, these beach natives mustered all their strength, and attacked the bush party unawares. They massacred all of them, and, for the rest of the night, fires blazed all along the beach. The crew of the *Borealis* could hear the cannibals shouting and laughing, as they danced and feasted around them.

On the south-east side of Ugi I., the *Stanley* had a narrow escape from shipwreck. It was about one o'clock in the morning, the sky being dark and gloomy and the sea dead calm, when the mate roused me up. He told me that the ship appeared to be drifting on shore, and there was no wind to help her off. When I got on deck, the breakers seemed by the sound to be not more than a hundred yards away, while the swell, rolling in from

south-east, was lifting the ship further and further in towards them. This coast of the island is "steep to," so that to let go an anchor would have simply been to lose it, as our cables would not have reached bottom a hundred yards away from the breakers.

Both boats were accordingly sent ahead to tow the ship off; but with no avail. The swell prevented her from gathering headway; so there she hung for a good hour or more, with her stern sometimes not more than ten yards from the breakers. The boatmen were becoming thoroughly tired out, when a light puff came over the island and filled the upper sails. Then, a smart squall struck the ship and ran her out of danger, the boats hanging on alongside while it lasted.

The next day was dull and cloudy, with a strong breeze from the west, which carried the ship to Port Adams, on the eastern coast of Maramasiki I.

This island was formerly represented on the charts as merely a part of its greater neighbour, Malayta I. They are really separated by a narrow channel, about twenty-five miles in length, and, in some places, not more than two cables (400 yards) in width. The southern mouth of it lies about fifteen miles north-west of Cape Zéléé, the south-easternmost point of Maramasiki I.

I worked this side of Maramasiki and Malayta Is. as far as Iyoh or Aio I., and obtained a few recruits. One of these, who was engaged on the Malayta side of the north or "estuary" end of the channel, afterwards deserted at Alite Bay.

I anchored on the south-west side of Aio I., in a shallow bay, on the shore of which were some huts, a spit of reef projecting from its southern point. At the end of the spit and close to it, there is a dangerous smooth rock, just under the surface.

Our recruiting was not successful here, for the natives were very shy of approaching the boats. They probably expected reprisals on our part; for my recruiter—an

“old hand” here—recognized several Kwai men in the neighbourhood. These had probably fled hither to escape the consequences of participation in the *Borealis* massacre.

It was evening when I left Aio. That night I ran down to the north end of Malayta I., and there tried the coast about Sio Bay, but without much luck. I then crossed over to Isabel I., anchoring at first in Cockatoo Harbour, east of the entrance to Thousand Ships Bay.

There I found the brigantine *Venture*, Captain Walsche, at anchor. On board of her I made the acquaintance of an Isabel I. potentate, known as King



KING BERRY.

Berry. His capital, a collection of huts built upon piles, which crowns the summit of a small rocky peninsula, is situated not far from Cape Prieto.

King Berry was then much dreaded by the inhabitants of Isabel I., along half the length of the south-western coast, and on the opposite side as far as Mt. Marescot. Many a ruined village attested the devastating energy of his forays. When I met him, Captain Walsche was sorting out a large quantity of “trade,” to barter with him for copra, bêche-de-mer, tortoise-shell, and other island produce.

As I have occasionally mentioned these articles—copra and bêche-de-mer—a short description of them may not come amiss.

When I first visited the South Sea Islands, in 1868, the cocoanut was chiefly used for the manufacture of cocoanut oil. Owing to the rude appliances used, there was a great waste of the oil during its preparation. The German firms, whose headquarters were in the Navigator's or Samoa Is., then conceived the idea of drying the nuts, and so sending them to Europe. There, powerful machinery could be employed to express the oil, thus effecting a saving of about one-third of it. The refuse, I have heard, is made into a cake as food for cattle.



A COPRA STATION.

The drying process is now all that the nut undergoes in the islands.

The mode of preparing copra is a simple one. The nut is first split into halves with an axe, after which it is exposed to the sun. The heat soon loosens the kernel, which is then picked out, broken into fragments, and yet further dried. Sun-drying affords the best results. The islanders seldom take so much trouble with it. They hang it up over their fires instead, where it soon loses all moisture and becomes hard and brown.

Occasionally, the oil itself is required in the islands, and then this is the plan I have seen adopted in the New

Hebrides for its extraction. The nut is first husked, by driving it down upon a sharp-pointed stake, or bar of iron, set firmly upright in the ground. This penetrates the tough husk—care being taken not to break the shell within it—and a strong wrench or two with both hands suffices to tear it off. Next, a deft blow on the side splits the shell and its contents into two cup-shaped halves. The white “meat,” or kernel, is then scraped out.

The scraper employed is generally a piece of stout hoop iron, about nine inches long, fixed on and projecting from the end of a plank or bench, which the



HUSKING AND SCRAPING COCOANUTS.

operator sits upon to steady it. He holds the split nut with both hands, and works the hollow inner side over the end of the scraper, the shredded kernel falling into a basket below.

Formerly, on the Tanna oil-stations, a practised islander would husk, break, and scrape from 200 to 250 nuts per diem.

The scraped kernel is kept for a day or two in the “rotting” cask, a little salt water being sprinkled through it to assist decomposition. It is then mixed and pounded into a pulp—generally by the feet of the “boys”—and placed in the upper part of canoes or hollowed logs,

which are tilted up at one end. The heat of the sun acting on the pulp, causes the oil to exude from it and flow down to the lower end of the canoes. It is finally collected, strained, and then run into casks.

Sometimes, instead of this "sweating" process, the shredded kernel is boiled in water in large iron pots, the oil being skimmed off the surface. This is considered the most cleanly and saving process; but pots are not always available on these islands.

Bèche-de-mer—the Malayan "tripang"—is a marine slug found on coral reefs. Imagine a tough flexible mass, not unlike india-rubber, from eight to twelve inches long, and three to five inches thick, the ends rounded, some-



COCONUT-OIL STATION.

times rather pointed, with a hole in each; colour black, dull red, or yellow. Within this there is a stomach, which seems to hold nothing but sand, with a little soft yellow fat. The creature possesses neither eyes, nose, nor means of locomotion, so far as I can judge. It is simply gathered by hand off the tops of the reefs, or out of the shallows at low water.

This "fish" must be boiled very soon after it has been gathered, then cleaned and dried. So prepared, it is ready for market. It requires to be stored with great care, as the slightest damp will cause it to rot. The boiling must be carefully attended to, since either too long

or too short a period would be equally detrimental. The average time allowed is between fifteen and twenty minutes.

When I was "fishing" *bèche-de-mer* on the coast of Queensland, in 1867, we used to ascertain whether the fish was properly cooked by taking one out of the boiling-pot and throwing it up in the air. If it rebounded sharply when it fell—"stotted," as we called it—then it was not cooked enough. If it fell "squash," it was spoiled by too much cooking. But when it fell pretty dead, hard, without rebounding, the pot was emptied immediately; as that indicated it was just done enough.

The next process is to cut open the "fish" lengthwise, and to take out the entrails and sand contained in it. The more valuable, large, thick fish are then distended by small pieces of wood, to promote drying. The final operation of curing is performed in a smoke-house. Sometimes, chiefly in equatorial latitudes, the Chinese complete the curing by sun-drying only.

In the smoke-houses the fish are arranged on raised floors of cane-work, sometimes of wire netting; a fire of green wood burning on the ground beneath the frames. Smoking takes from ten to sixteen hours; after which the "fish" ought to be thoroughly cured and fit for market.

I was unable to obtain any recruits from Isabel I. King Berry would not allow any of his people to leave home. I dare say Captain Walsche's influence may have been unfavourable to me also. Copra traders are generally opposed to the labour trade. The more men there are on the islands, to make copra and buy tobacco with it, the better for them. Besides—like the missionaries—they cannot bamboozle the "returned" labourers so easily as they do the unsophisticated savage.

Having filled up my water-tanks, the boats made the circuit of Thousand Ships Bay. They obtained nothing more valuable, however, than half a boat-load of huge

oysters, which the men gathered off the roots of the mangrove trees at the head of the bay.

Leaving Cockatoo Harbour, I beat round Cape Prieto to the eastern coast of the island. There I got a few recruits at a large village about a couple of miles beyond Ortega or Mahiji islet. The natives told me a vessel had been wrecked there some two years before this. A little further north are three islets—not marked on the chart. Between the largest of these and the main island, I anchored in eighteen fathoms, much to the bewilderment of a huge alligator, which paid us a visit of inspection, quickly disappearing when my boatmen made a target of it.

This coast is very imperfectly laid down on the Admiralty charts. I was much surprised to find a large land-locked harbour, eastward of a remarkable hill called the Mahagga Saddle. This harbour is some miles in extent, and has two entrances. The southernmost of these is narrow but deep, while the northern one is apparently a good channel for any ship. The navigation inside is, I think, rather intricate; extensive reefs projecting from the shore and occupying half the enclosed space. I noticed no villages along the shores, but numerous fishing stages had been erected on the reefs, in different places.

The absence of any village is easily accounted for. The natives of this group are pre-eminently treacherous and bloodthirsty, and they dread their nearest neighbours quite as much as they do strangers. Two or three villages could be made out in the distance, perched, like crows' nests, on peaks high up among the mountains.

The trade-wind had now become very unsteady and fitful; not nice weather for this coast, where the anchorages were few and small, while reefs and islets constantly appeared when least expected. At Gau, a village some miles beyond the harbour above-mentioned, I engaged a man, who informed me that there were no

inhabitants for a great distance along the coast, and, in fact, very few at all on that side of Isabel I. However, I placed little reliance at the time on what he said. Now that I know that coast, which I did not then, I may safely assert that, for a hundred miles, from Gau to Port Praslin, there are not as many natives living near it. Just a few small families reside at Estrella Bay, and that is all.

East of Mt. Marescot I passed a bay, or lagoon, with a barrier reef and two islets on its seaward side. I should have sent my boats in, but my Gau man said it would be of no use. He said that King Berry had lately made a foray there, during which that truculent savage had destroyed the villages on the islets, slaughtered the whole of the inhabitants, and wound up his victory with a great cannibal feast.

That evening I stood close in shore, seeking for an anchorage. Finding none, I was obliged to put to sea again. During the night I drifted to leeward, past Estrella Bay, and next day coasted slowly along, with a light south-easterly air. By evening again, I was in an unpleasant position. The wind, light and puffy, was coming from north-east, while a heavy roll was drifting the ship in towards the land. About two miles to leeward, there was a long sandy beach, and, between the ship and it, were several patches of coral, over which the sea was breaking. The beach swept round ahead of our course, forming a large bay, protected on its northerly side by a cluster of islets.

It being absolutely necessary to find an anchorage before dark, I sent the mate ahead in the boat to take soundings. There was a narrow but straight channel between two of the islets, about a mile off on the lee bow. To this we directed our attention, and, just as the sun disappeared, succeeded in getting the ship safely anchored there.

One important article of our outfit had been forgotten,

when we left Maryborough. This was a bag of lime for whitewashing the hold of the ship. So, as wind and weather continued unaltered, and as the place appeared to be devoid of inhabitants to disturb our peace, I allowed the ship to remain where she was for the next two days. During this time, the recruits and some of the crew were sent ashore to collect loose coral blocks and burn them in rough kilns. By this means sufficient lime was collected to answer the purpose of whitewashing.

Meanwhile, the G.A. and I penetrated through the channel in a north-westerly direction, until we came to a long low wooded point on the main island. Between it and the principal islet there was a narrow channel, with four fathoms of water, opening into a large bay facing north-west, with more islets and reefs on the seaward side. On the south-eastern side of this was a point, close to an islet, enclosing a snug little harbour with good anchorage.

We examined the beach in several places, but were unable to discover any signs of man or beast, with the exception of the ashes of an old camp fire, probably made by some party of travellers or castaways.

At sunrise, on the third morning, the windlass was manned, the cable hove short, and sail made. For some time, the anchor refused to come home, being hooked in the coral. At last, after a hearty strain at the windlass, the vessel paid off under the weight of her head canvas, while the pawls rattled cheerily. However, when the anchor had been got up to the hawse-pipe, we found that one of the flukes was gone, having been broken short off at the crown.

Instead of beating out the same way I came in, I now ran through the narrow channel, between the islets and the point on the main, coasting along all the forenoon without seeing a sign of any inhabitants. A barrier reef was now discerned running along the coast. It lay at a gradually increasing distance from the shore, as that extended northward.

In the afternoon I ran the ship inside this reef, through a channel between two small islets. I then stood in towards the main, distant about a mile from the reef at this point. I anchored in a deep inlet that was well sheltered from wind and sea. Less than a mile beyond, the lagoon within the reef was studded with islets and surface-coral.

I anchored here, because I concluded we must have got into the vicinity of Port Praslin, where there was a native village. I was afraid I might run by without observing it, the entrance being reported to be a rather narrow one. Besides, I could see bananas and palm-trees, certain indications of inhabitants.

Shortly after we had anchored, two canoes, containing eight men, came alongside. One of these natives could speak a little English. He told me that their village lay not far off, on the main island; and that it was the only one then existing on this part of the coast.

In former years this end of Isabel I. was fairly populous. Then the people of Choiseul I., a larger and much more powerful race than the Isabel tribes, made frequent raids, killing and eating, or driving away nearly all the inhabitants. Such as survived these onslaughts sought refuge on the south-western coast, or in the interior.

The following morning, after breakfast, the mate and G.A. went off in the boats. Shortly after their departure, I got under way, and, passing through the barrier again, ran down the coast, to look for Port Praslin. I failed to find the entrance to it, as described on the chart, and, towards evening, found myself off the extremity of the island. I then worked back to pick up my boats, but could not see them; so, being unable to make an anchorage, I passed the night at sea.

Next morning I re-entered the lagoon, anchoring about two miles north-west of my last anchorage. I then made "smokes" on the neighbouring islets, and fired guns as signals, to apprise the boat party of our whereabouts.

On one of the islets in the outer reef, whereon I had made a large fire on the ocean side, in case the missing men should have gone out to look for the ship, the recruits, who paddled my boat, found a native sepulchre. Before I knew what they were about, two or three "old hands"—whose superstitions had been civilized away—violated it, in order to obtain the shell and stone armlets, and such other native treasures as it contained.

This erection was a receptacle for the bones of the dead, after the flesh had disappeared from them in ordinary graves. It was a square enclosure on the surface of the ground, surrounded by a wall of loose coral



NATIVE SEPULCHRE—ISABEL I.

blocks. It measured about eight feet in length and breadth, by five feet in height. It was completely filled with human bones, above which a layer of stones had been piled. Apparently it had not been disturbed for years. Within it the number of skulls seemed to be proportionate to the other bones; while outside, on the ground at the base of the wall, there were thirty or forty more skulls, each of which had been broken or fissured, as though from the blow of a club.

I made my boys rebuild the small portion of the wall they had pulled down, leaving it pretty much as we found it. I must admit, though, that several stone and shell

armlets found their way on board the ship. Some other relics were also carried off. Among these there was a piece of thick inferior glass, measuring about five inches by four inches. It had probably been, at one time, part of a mirror. There was also the large bowl of a tobacco pipe, apparently of a Dutch kind.

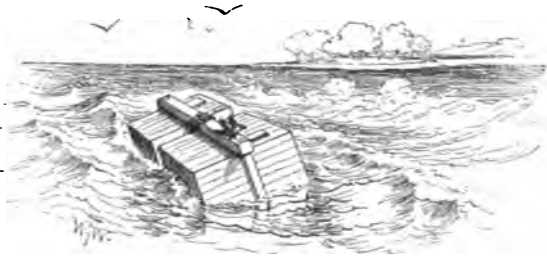
During the past night, and all that day, I had felt very uneasy on account of the absence of the mate and G.A. When the sun set, and no sign of their return was yet evident, I began to be afraid they had fallen into the hands of the savages. A lantern was lit and hung high up in the rigging; while every now and then, a rifle was discharged. I had no larger gun, or I should have used it. Not until eight in the evening were our minds relieved. Then, a gun-shot was heard, in under the land, and ten minutes later the wanderers were alongside, tired and hungry.

They had not understood that it was my intention to remove the ship to a fresh anchorage, but had expected me to return to the old place, if I failed to discover Port Praslin. Not finding us there, they had camped on a small islet for the night. Then they had returned to the village and bought some yams and other food. After that they pulled outside the barrier-reef to sea, just too late to sight us before we got inside again, and also to see my signal fires. There was a canoe with them containing four or five natives, who slept on board the *Stanley* that night, and sold us a few yams and other things.

Next morning the anchor was weighed, and, with three recruits I had obtained here, I stood out from the land, purposing to work back against the "trade" to Malayta I. About a mile to windward of the opening in the barrier reef, through which I issued from the lagoon, a peculiar object was seen, floating, as if moored, just outside the breakers. What this was, we could not make out. So, to solve the mystery, I made a tack to wind-

ward, stood in close, and then, leaving the ship hove to, went off in the boat to it.

On coming up to it, we found the object consisted of a couple of square wooden tanks, fastened together by two twenty-inch baulks of timber, one on top, the other below. These baulks were bound to the tanks and to each other by iron bars, with nuts and screws. Each tank was ten or eleven feet square, and about eight feet deep. They had been constructed of four-inch pine, caulked and pitched, but not metallated. There was a two-foot hatch in each of them, fitted with a lid nailed down securely over it. In the space between them, a huge chain cable, composed of stud links branded WOOD, hung down from



A STRANGE DERELICT.

the upper baulk, to which one end of it was shackled, the other end being held merely by a "round turn." The bight of the chain, as it hung down far below, had caught the coral, and held this strange derelict anchored about twenty yards from the breakers. At one end of the upper baulk were a few composition nails, with one of copper, holding some remnants of cotton canvas. One tank was dry and empty, the other contained only about eight inches of water, which had apparently leaked into it.

The crew of this craft consisted of an old booby, which refused to budge, even when I climbed on to the tanks, disputing possession vigorously with his sharp bill when disturbed. I could never ascertain what this affair had

been designed for. It may have been part of a pontoon, employed to support the outer end of a wharf over deep water, and have floated from one of the guano islands near the equator.

After beating back to the south-east for a few days, I dropped anchor in North Alite Bay, on the lee side of Malayta I. There, one morning, I fell in with the schooner *Sea Breeze*, Captain Williams, from Fiji.

At this time, H.M.S.S. *Cormorant* and *Renard* were blockading the Florida Is., and hunting after the murderers of Lieutenant Bowers and his men. Captain Williams, being unaware of their presence and intentions, hove to there on the previous evening. After dark a man-of-war's boat paid him a visit. The officer in command of her gave him orders to leave the Floridas, all communication with the natives being forbidden until the murderers should have been secured.

The result of this blockade was, that, after a lot of time and trouble, one man was captured and hanged. Another of the culprits was pardoned, on the intercession of Bishop Selwyn, who considered he was too young to comprehend the enormity of his crime, though old enough to wield a tomahawk, and be considered a warrior among his own people. As though the death of only one of them was sufficient atonement for the slaughter of six unoffending white men, or would deter the savages from committing fresh outrages in the future! Little wonder, that, immediately after the execution, the natives at Saaranna village should have said to my mate—"Man-o'-war all the same old woman!"

There was one bit of Captain Williams' news, however, that I deemed worthy of consideration. This was, that, in ten days' time, it was the intention of the naval force to go to Ugi I., in order to take in a supply of coal that was awaiting them there.

From Alite Bay I worked down the coast of Malayta I., but with little success. About half-way between Alite

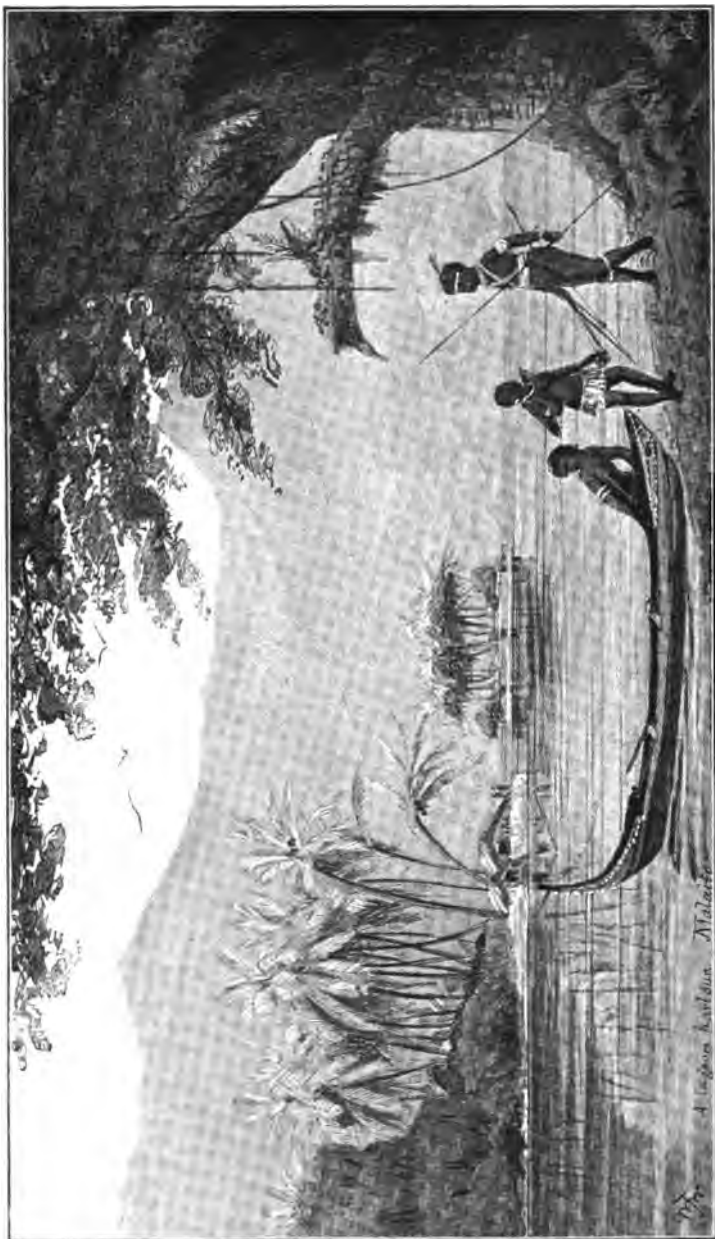
and Maramasiki Passage, I found a safe land-locked harbour called Fulafau. There, a chain of low, narrow coral islets runs parallel to the coast. They are the elevated top of a barrier-reef, which encloses a lagoon some miles in extent, comprehending several bays on the main island, and a few inner islets. I lost one of my recruits by desertion there.

I left the ship one day with the G.A. and some of the recruits, taking one of the boats. As the "boys" had not yet learned how to use oars, they *paddled* us to the southern end of the lagoon, where I visited another vessel that was lying there. On our return we landed on a low point of the main, to obtain young cocoanuts from some trees there, to quench our thirst. As there were no habitations near, and no natives were visible, we helped ourselves. To get the young nuts, some of the boys climbed up the trees and dropped the fruit down.

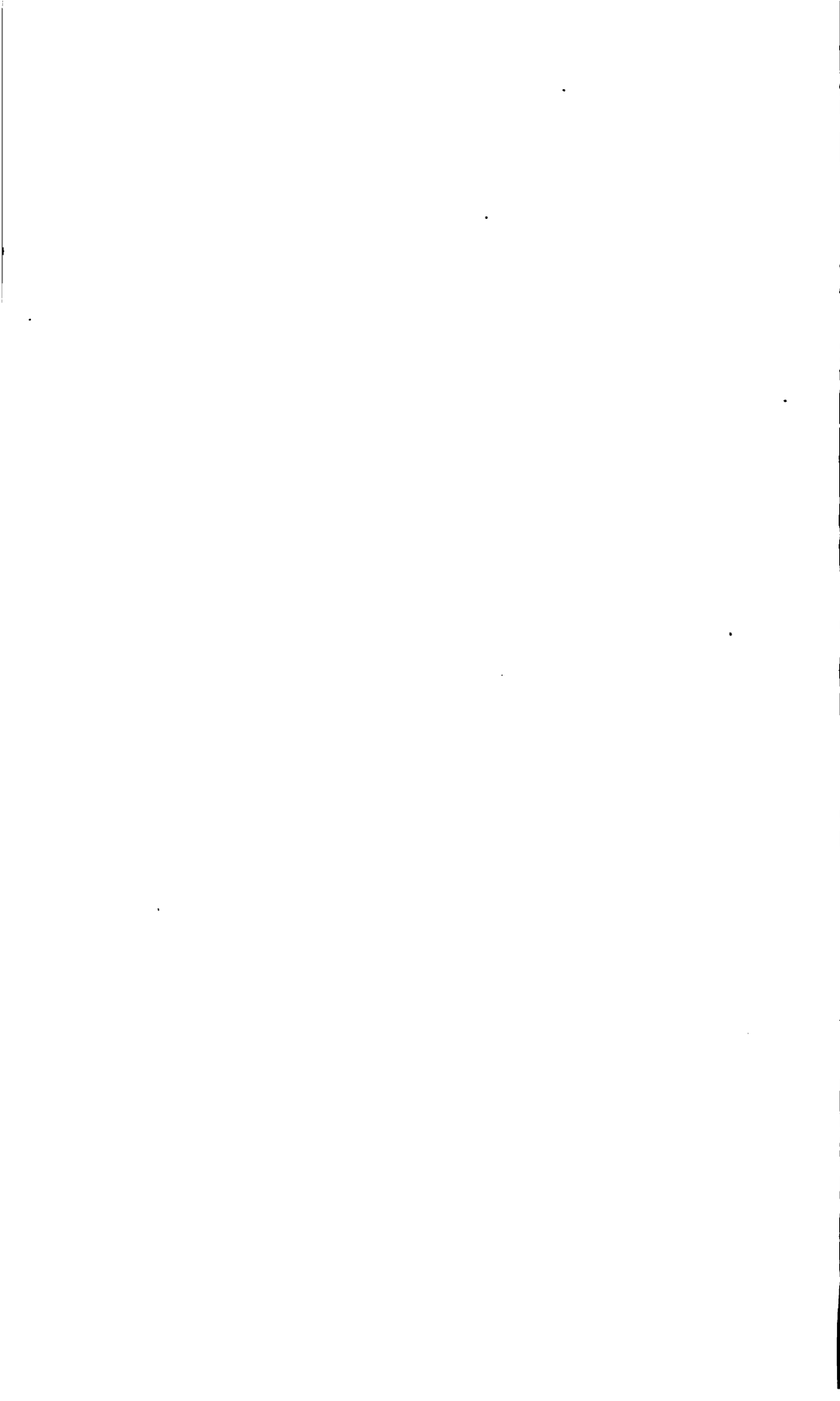
When all were mustered for the resumption of our cruise, one boy was missing—he whom I had recruited on the Malayta side of the estuary, a month or so previously. I did not see him again until I visited the other side of the island, on my next voyage. His dodge had been a very simple one. He had climbed a tree whilst no one was taking notice of him, and hidden amongst the branches. When searching for him, we never thought of looking upward, or probably somebody would have discovered him. He quietly watched our movements until we had departed. Then he descended, going back to his native village, next day, across the island, a distance of twelve miles on a bee-line.

I went but little further down the coast, after leaving Fulafau. I then crossed over to Guadalcanar I., where I watered the ship at a stream about eight miles west of Marau Sound, whence I proceeded to Langa.

Ten days had now elapsed since I spoke the *Sea Breeze*, and the time mentioned by Captain Williams,



A LAGOON HARBOUR—MALAYTA I.



when the *Cormorant* was to go to Ugi I., had now arrived. So, with a fair wind, I ran over to the Floridas next morning, where I found a snug anchorage near the south-western point of the southern island, not far from the village of Saaranna.

There I lay undisturbed for two or three days, to the advantage of my owner. I then spent a night in Port Purvis, the western end of the narrow channel which separates the southern and middle islands of the Florida group. Recruiting now went on gaily, probably owing to the visit of the ships of war. My list soon began to grow satisfactorily long.

Sandfly Passage was my next anchorage, between the middle and northern of the Florida Is. There, poor Tom Tamoan, who had almost given up all hopes of ever seeing his long-lost home again, at last discovered where his native island lay, although he was still some distance from it.

The boats were at the beach on the northern island, Gala, when a native, who had been gazing at Tom for some time, suddenly accosted him in English, "Hullo, Tom."

Tom stared, but failed to recognize him. Then the Gala man told the recruiter how, years ago—probably ten or twelve—the barque *Woodlark*, of Sydney, had come to Gala; how her captain had engaged and taken away "plenty boy" to work on plantations in Queensland; how, on her return to that colony, she passed close to Bellona, the smallest of the two Rennell Is., and how a canoe came off to her with two men and a boy. The men returned to the island, but the boy, Tamoan, elected to remain on board, and went to Queensland in the *Woodlark*.

At last, then, Tom knew the white man's name for his island. Nothing less would serve him than my getting under way at once, to take him there. For the Gala man had described the island as being close at hand.

I was not disinclined to go there, either. During the first morning of our stay at Gala, the three masts of a ship of war, and the smoke from her funnel, had been descried on the eastern horizon, going southward. It was therefore possible that, at any moment, one of the cruisers might arrive, to make trouble touching my infraction of the blockade. So, having my recruit list more than two-thirds filled up, I weighed anchor and left the Floridas. I made for Savo I., proceeding thence to the coast of Guadalcanar I., on the west of Cape Esperance, where I got three men.

Coasting along the western shores of Guadalcanar I., we spent a day at Boyd Creek, Wanderer Bay, taking in water and firewood. This bay derives its name from the yacht *Wanderer*, in which vessel the well-known old Australian colonist, Benjamin Boyd, visited the place in 1851. Boyd was murdered by the natives there, while on shore pigeon-shooting.

From Wanderer Bay, one "board" on the port tack took the *Stanley* over to Bellona I., which Tom recognized at once as his long-lost home. The native name of this island, as given me by its inhabitants at the time of my visit, was Muighi, though Tom pronounced it Mungigi. The largest of the Rennell group is called Muava.

Standing close in under the lee of the island, which is hardly more than a mile in length, and about two hundred feet in height, I sought for an anchorage without success, the shores all round being "steep to." Off the eastern end I neared the rocks in the boat, but the sea would not allow us to land. Tom, however, was impatient, and, seeing a party of his countrymen at hand watching us, he stripped off his clothing and swam ashore through the breakers. He landed on the rocks at the cost of a bruise or two, then slowly climbed up to the outskirts of the dense forest which covers the island. There a dozen natives had gathered together, watching his every movement.

The noise of the waves breaking on the rocks prevented our hearing any of the conversation, which, it was evident, was passing between them. Presently one man walked cautiously up to Tom, and felt him all over, as though to ascertain if he was really flesh and blood, and not a ghost. This examination having proved satisfactory, the whole party clustered round Tom with loud cries and laughter, and began handling him, jabbering and gesticulating like a lot of excited monkeys.

Next, a small light canoe was lugged down from amongst the trees, and launched clean over the breakers, off the top of a huge boulder. Two fellows took a



TOUCHING NOSES.

header, and so scrambled into her. They then came alongside our boat, stripping off their rude beads and other ornaments, and forcing them upon me, jabbering away all the while like a couple of maniacs.

I then pulled back to the lee end of the island, in search of a safe landing-place. There I managed to get on shore dryshod, with the G.A. Then, accompanied by about a score of the islanders, men and women, we walked to a scattered village near the centre of the island. Arrived there, we touched noses with the old chief, a ceremony which is peculiar to islanders of the true Polynesian race.

These people are apparently pure Polynesians. They are large-framed, fleshy, with brown skins and frizzly hair. Some of the women were very light in colour. They practise tattooing to some extent. Their houses are of the same pattern as those of the Equatorial islands—a roof supported by posts, the sides being left open.

I remained on shore a few hours, but could do nothing in the way of recruiting. Tom seemed half-dazed—he was always a little “daft”—and was either unwilling or too stupid to interpret. Towards evening, however, he let me know that no recruits were to be obtained at present. By-and-by, in the course of weeks, some might be induced to engage.

I was much disappointed. Tom had assured me that he would do all he could to assist me in return for my taking him home. Now, I saw that, having got all he wanted, he was indisposed to fulfil his promises. On a subsequent visit, I discovered that Tom had really acted in opposition to me, dissuading those of his countrymen who wished to engage.

I remained near Muighi I. until late on the second day, when I returned to the Solomons, weathering Guadalcanar, and then steering for the east of the Floridas, hoping that by this time the blockade would have been raised.

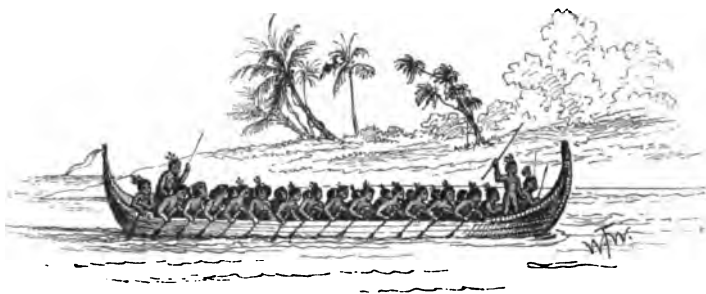
It proved to be so. Off the south-eastern point of these islands, I met a barque-rigged ship of war, steaming southward. I supposed her to be the *Cormorant* on her way back to Australia. Mightily pleased I was when I saw her pass by without troubling me. I was as fortunate on the eastern coast of the Floridas as I had been on the western, rapidly filling up my recruit list.

Two miles from the eastern end of Sandfly Passage, I found an extensive patch of sunken coral, in six to eight fathoms of water. There I anchored, while the boats worked the neighbouring coasts.

One forenoon the boats were at the beach near Ravu

village, Gala I. An inquisitive native, who had paddled his canoe alongside the recruiting boat, took up one of the boatmen's rifles, and accidentally discharged it. The ball wounded two natives—one of them being a recruit just engaged—though, fortunately, not seriously. The wounded men were brought off to the ship, where I washed and bound up their hurts, giving them some spare bandages and ointment to take home with them.

When I visited this place again on my next voyage, my patients' wounds were thoroughly healed. The chief told us, however, that, had either of them died, he would have taken some white man's life in revenge; this because the injury was inflicted by a white man's weapon, although



WAR CANOE—SOLOMON IS.

it had been fired by a native. This is a curious example of the South Sea Islander's sense of justice.

When I left the Florida Is., there still wanted four boys to make up my complement. These I succeeded in getting at Fiu, on the lee side of Malayta I., where I also took in fresh water. I then sailed for Queensland with eighty-eight recruits.

Such of the Solomon Is. as I visited on this voyage seemed to be of similar formation to the New Hebrides. They are mountainous and rugged, generally clothed with dense forest and jungle from their highest peaks to the water's edge. Here and there may be found patches of country almost devoid of trees, covered with long coarse grass. The natives are of purer Papuan blood

than many of the New Hebrideans ; excelling them in bloodthirstiness, treachery, and cannibalism, as much as they do in the construction and ornamentation of their canoes, dwellings, and weapons.

Their canoes are gracefully shaped, and have no outriggers. They are built of planks, hewn with the tomahawk, " seized " together with cocoanut-fibre twine. The seams are " payed " with a black cement, made from a certain nut, dried and ground up very fine. The larger canoes are generally much ornamented with shells and mother-o'-pearl. They are often large enough to carry sixty or eighty men.

Of dress they wear little, in some places none at all, either men, women, or children.

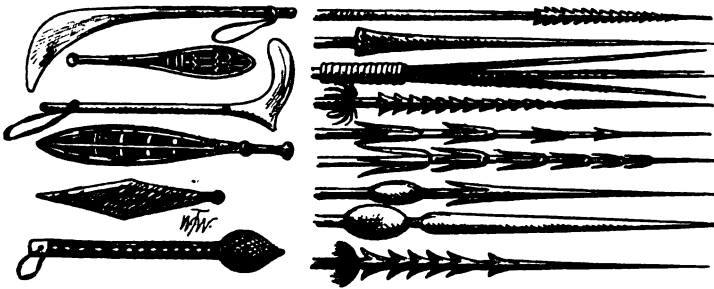
Their supply of food is but little in excess of what they absolutely require for themselves. This is not due to the soil, which is luxuriantly fertile, but to their carelessness, as well as to the destruction resulting from their constant intertribal wars.

I knew of only two Protestant mission-stations in these islands at that time, in Savo I. and in the Floridas, though there may have been some others. In 1847, French missionaries (Roman Catholic) attempted to settle in the group, but were forced to leave, as much on account of the unhealthiness of the climate as of the hostility of the savages. That year, 1881, three priests were murdered at Makira Harbour, San Christoval I., and Bishop Epallé was also killed in Isabel I.

Leaving Malayta behind me, I passed close to the west end of San Christoval, and, making one tack to the southward, brought the *Stanley* off Makira Harbour. Thence, close-hauled, I weathered the Rennell Is. and Indispensable Reef. Then, without touching a brace, I made one long " board " to Hervey Bay, and anchored off Woody I. on the twenty-third of July. I reached Maryborough two days later.

A few weeks previously the *May Queen* had arrived

at Brisbane, bringing labourers from the New Hebrides. She reported that her boats had been attacked by the natives at Walwuki, Lepers' I. Her recruiter, Richard McDonald, with eight boatmen, had been killed. Two others, though wounded, swam off and escaped to the vessel.



WEAPONS—SOLOMON IS.

CHAPTER XV.

EIGHTH VOYAGE OF THE *STANLEY*, 1881.

I sail from Hervey Bay—My G.A.—His hostility towards me—The New Hebrides—Bellona I.—Tom Tamoun again—He tries to prevent recruiting—But fails—My deserter comes on board—He is let off—The Janet Stewart—Her subsequent capture by natives—Missionary influence prejudicial to recruiting—Saaranna—Natives attack the boats—Steering-oar stolen and recovered—Mandolianna I.—More missionary intolerance—Native agent killed at Gala I.—How a copra-trader indemnified himself—The G.A. orders me home—Hada Bay—Chief “Johnson”—A cyclone—Weathering the storm—Arrival at Maryborough—I go to Brisbane—Interview with the head of a department—A wiggling and refreshments!—Survivors of the Isabella—Fate of her people.

I LEFT Hervey Bay on my last voyage in the *Stanley*, on the eighth of September, 1881. I was bound for the New Hebrides and the Solomon Is. with a considerable batch of “returns” on board. The G.A. who had accompanied me on my previous voyage had been re-appointed. During the former trip he had shown himself a careful officer, and at the same time had been a fairly pleasant companion. Now, his manner towards me was changed from the very beginning. Towards the termination of the trip, he appeared to seize every opportunity of impeding the work of recruiting and of otherwise annoying me.

The cause of our trouble at the outset was, possibly, drink. As soon as we were clear of the land, however, he got no more of that than a very moderate allowance. The real reason for his determined hostility towards me afterwards was best known to himself. He had paid a

visit to Brisbane, and to the chief Immigration Office there, between our voyages. This somehow seemed to have worked a great change in his disposition. The upshot of it all will appear in due course.

I did not delay long in the New Hebrides, running through the group as quickly as possible, landing my returns. I then pushed on to the Solomons, for the trade-wind season was now far advanced, and that of the hurricanes was approaching.

At Bellona, or Muighi I., we found Tom Tamoan apparently satisfied with his home, and unwilling to leave it again. He came off to the ship with a crowd of his people, in the recruiting boat and canoes; but none of them, he said, wished to be engaged. Somehow, when Tom told me this, I fancied he was not telling me the truth. The party had not been on board many minutes before I became sure that such was the case.

Some of the younger men appeared to be much excited, and presently a lot of squabbling went on between them and Tom, who was evidently backed up by two or three old fellows. Suddenly one of the boys made a rush towards me, though Tom tried to stop him, threw himself down on his knees, and clasped his arms round my legs, jabbering away at a fine rate. Then I saw what all the fuss was about.

“Tom, this boy wants to go with me!”

Tom mumbled out something about the man being cranky; but that was only an excuse to get him back on shore. Finally, he was obliged to give in, and to acknowledge that some of them *did* want to go with me.

I engaged five. Two were youths, but the other three were big, strapping men, and, to look at, splendid fellows for work. Nevertheless, they turned out “soft,” proving of little use to their employers. One Papuan would have been worth the lot of them.

At the Rennell Is., none of the natives could be

induced to leave home. At the estuary on the north-eastern coast of Malayta I. a canoe came alongside the ship, having two men in her, one of whom came up on deck. He proved to be the same man who had deserted me near Fulafau, on my preceding voyage. His dismay may be imagined when he found himself among men who, as he would think, would treat him as an enemy. He had failed, for a wonder, to recognize the ship, or, I suppose, he would hardly have ventured near us.

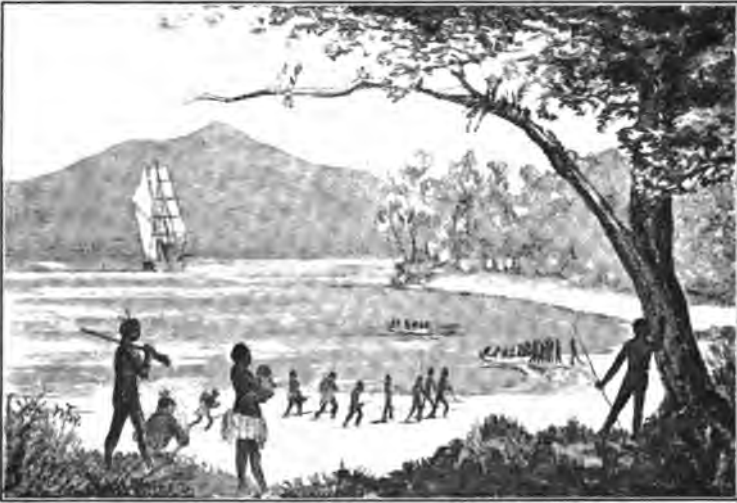
At that time it had not been made illegal to retake a deserter. At first I was disposed to make this fellow go with me, willy-nilly. However, the G.A. objected to that, so my gentleman got nothing worse than a hearty cursing, as he tumbled over the side into his canoe and made off to the shore as fast as his paddle would take him.

Off Sio Bay, on the north of the island, I spoke and boarded the Maryborough brig, *Janet Stewart*, Captain Thomas, Mr. William Lochhead G.A. It was the last time I saw the brig. In the following year she was captured by the natives in the vicinity of Uru and Kwai, being burnt while lying at anchor off Leili I., opposite Kwai. Captain Thomas, with Lowry, the second mate, was absent in the boats when the ship was taken. One man, a seaman named Gustave Germanie, escaped by concealing himself in the chain locker. A fire forward was extinguished when the boats returned, but another soon burst out aft, and destroyed the ship. Lochhead's body was found in his easy-chair on deck, where he had been killed, probably when asleep.

At the Floridas I did not have such good fortune as on the last voyage. Missionary influence was too much for me. At Saaranna a party of old men and chiefs threatened to attack the boats if they did not leave the beach. Several of the younger men were watching for an opportunity to escape from home. Once, when a recruit had been obtained and passed into the covering

boat, which lay off in deep water, where his friends could not reach him, a rush was made at the recruiter. He only escaped by quickly shoving his boat off, abandoning his steering-oar, which had been seized by the natives, in the effort to haul the boat up on the beach. A quantity of calico and other "trade" was carried off by the natives at the same time.

Having got the boy who had been recruited safely on board the *Stanley*, the recruiter went back to the village and succeeded in recovering his steering-oar without payment. The stolen calico and other articles were



MANDOLIANNA I.

never seen again by us. When the recruiter threatened to inform "the man-o'-war," if they were not returned, the natives simply laughed and jeered at him.

"Man-o'-war all same old woman!" said they.

I visited the island of Mandolianna next. There a few runaways joined us, paddling over from the main island to the islet during the night, their canoes having been left on the beach for their friends to remove at their leisure. The chiefs soon put a stop to this game.

Near our anchorage we saw a white-painted wooden slab, inscribed with the names of Lieutenant Bowers and his five men, who lay buried beneath it.

On the north-eastern coast, especially at Mboli, the native teachers, trained by the missionaries, made themselves very active in attendance on the boats. They forcibly prevented men from leaving the island. Such proceedings, when viewed by a tolerant mind, must appear very like slavery.

At Rarvu, luckily for us, we found that the two men who had been wounded during my last voyage, were now quite well again. However, the natives there were much excited by another cause. They stated that about a year before, a Sydney schooner, name unknown, had left a native of Guadalcanar, provided with a quantity of "trade," at the principal village on the northern coast of Gala I., the scene of the *Dancing Wave* massacre in 1876. He was left there to purchase copra from the natives, while the schooner returned to Sydney with the cargo she then had on board. Some disturbance occurring, the Guadalcanar man was slain, the "trade" in his charge being appropriated by the Gala people as a matter of course. It being utterly useless to seek redress at the hands of those who are styled by officialism "the proper authorities," the skipper, when he returned from Sydney, determined to pay the natives off in their own coin as far as he could.

Anchoring off the village, he kept on friendly terms with the natives, pretending he was not annoyed in the least by their transactions during his absence, and that he did not want any equivalent for the "trade" they had stolen. He persuaded the chief to fill up his vessel's hold with copra, which was to be paid for in the lump when the cargo had been completed. He got his cargo, and then sailed away without paying for it! They were quits.

At the end of November I anchored off the Two

Sisters Is., native name Untur, on the coast of Malayta I. While there, the G.A. served me with an official letter, ordering me to take the ship home. The reason assigned was that provisions were running short, and little or no further supplies could be obtained from the natives. The weather had become wet and squally, which was unfavourable for recruiting work. There seemed little prospect of its improvement, so I cannot say I was sorry when I received the document, though I was still in want of about a score of recruits to make up my complement.

I had a northerly wind at the time, which carried me to the western limit of San Christoval I., then backing to south-east, a bad sign. Standing southward, I made one tack, but a north-westerly current brought the vessel nearly back to Point Achard. I bore up, therefore, and ran to Hada Bay, where I anchored. There I filled up my water-tanks, and, as I was running short of beef, I purchased some pigs from the chief of a large village a mile or two south of the bay. This chief, who had been named "Johnson" by his white visitors, was hanged, a few years subsequently, for the murder of a white trader.

Putting to sea again, I stood southward with a light, unsteady breeze from the east. By the sixth of December I had made the south-eastern end of Indispensable Reef. The wind was easterly that day, varying a point or two southward occasionally. The sky was dull and grey, a sputter of rain falling now and then; while the barometer, though not alarmingly low, was unsteady.

My mate, an old hand in these latitudes, predicted a hurricane or cyclone; but I scouted the idea, for I considered the season was not yet sufficiently advanced for these tempests. He was right, though.

Late in the afternoon a thick shower passed over. In the middle of it, a whirlwind caught the ship forward, starting the bowsprit, the gammoning of which gave

way. I secured it with the chain cables, which were unshackled from the anchors for the purpose.

At nightfall the weather was wet and gloomy, the wind coming from east-south-east, and freshening up. The ship lay on the port tack, under her lower canvas. The barometer stood at 29.75, and I considered we were in for a "straight" gale only.

By eight o'clock I was undeceived. The glass fell two-tenths in less than half an hour, and the wind flew round to north, increasing fast. The mainsail was immediately lowered, the helm being put up to wear the ship round on the starboard tack. As this was being done, while the ship was tearing away before the breeze, there came a blinding flash of lightning. Then a terrific squall caught the ship, ripping the topsail out of the bolt-ropes.

The hurricane was now upon us, and bitterly did I regret my mistake. Down came the head sails, but only to be lost. As the ship lay to, still on the port tack, everything forward was buried when she dipped to the head sea, and it was impossible to stow the canvas.

Fortunately the fore-trysail was new and good. It was immediately reefed, and set "balanced," and so lasted through the night. Under it alone the vessel lay to, lifting to the seas like a duck, with her starboard rail under water, and her deck smothered in flying drift and spray. The wind roared through the rigging meanwhile, ripping off every bit of spread canvas except the trysail, which stood like a board.

The boats on the davits suffered, of course. The lee one went clean away very early. The port boat had her gripes and tackles broken, but was held up by the cranes and jammed against the davits all night. She was secured when the hurricane was over, by which time the raised ends of the cranes had chafed two great holes in her bilge, rendering her unserviceable for some days, until she was patched up.

The barometer fell very quickly after eight o'clock, till it was down to 29.10. Then the indicator got jammed, some water having oozed in and swollen the dial plate, which was composed of some wretched paper-like substance. After that it did not move again until about three o'clock in the morning, rising when the wind had hauled round to W.N.W.

By daylight the gale had moderated ; about seven there was a final heavy squall, after which the wind lulled rapidly. At nine, we were rolling about with a light south-west breeze, the weather being fine and sunshiny. The remainder of the passage was long and tedious. It was not until the 24th that we came to our moorings at Maryborough.

A few days after I resigned my command. I then betook myself to Brisbane, there to try conclusions with my G.A. He had made a report to the Government about the voyage, and his official log contained matter that demanded my attention. Of course, I was ignorant of the precise contents of these documents ; but I was not without friends, some of whom gave me warning of what I had to expect. It was fortunate for me that I took the course I did.

The only interview I had with the head of a department with respect to the subject ended satisfactorily, though at its commencement I found myself in "stormy weather." Indeed, there appeared a great probability I should be debarred from sailing again in the same capacity.

Long extracts from the G.A.'s official log were read out to me. Some of these recorded details of private conversations which had passed between us, at times when I had supposed we were on friendly terms together. I had indulged in comments on different members of the Government, especially in regard to those connected with the Immigration Department. To judge by the extracts read, I had certainly hit some of

them pretty hard. Besides this, I was accused of sundry petty offences against the G.A.'s "Instructions," though, luckily, of none against the Polynesian Act.

After this recital, I got a long lecture on the enormity of my offences, winding up with—"What you have done, sir, was quite in accordance with the Act, but it don't suit the Office, sir!"

So, now, I found I was expected to obey, not merely the Act, with its cartload of "Orders in Council," "Regulations," etc., etc., but also to pay heed to the fads and fancies of heads of departments.

At last the lecture was over, and then *I* chipped in. I did not say much, but what I did say was very much to the point, I think. It seemed to be satisfactory, too, for the big man became mollified. His official frown faded away; he smiled; he took up his hat, and ten minutes later we were in the "Sovereign" Hotel, washing down any bitter feeling that might have arisen, with the usual "Here's luck!" That was the end of the matter, but I fancy I had a narrow escape from being "debarred."

On December 13, the *May Queen*, Captain Dickson, Mr. Hoare G.A., arrived at Brisbane from the islands, *via* Mackay. Her master reported that he had picked up two wounded Fijians, a few miles north of Cape Lisburne, Espiritu Santo I. They were the survivors of a boat's crew belonging to the *Isabella*, of Fiji. The *Mavis*, of Fiji, happened to be at hand, so the crews of the two vessels searched the coast in the vicinity of the spot where the natives had attacked the *Isabella's* boat. The head of Mr. Mayer, her G.A., was found, but no trace of the body of Hampshire, the mate. Where the *Isabella* was at this time, I cannot say.

The master of the *Chance* reported at Mackay on January 9. He mentioned having encountered a hurricane off Lepers' I., New Hebrides, on December 8. This was most probably the same hurricane I had fallen in with on the night of the sixth.

CHAPTER XVI.

SECOND VOYAGE OF THE *JABBERWOCK*, 1882.

The Jabberwock as a barquentine—We sail from Brisbane—The Borough Belle in company—Arrival at Tanna I.—The Chance—Loss of her boat and its crew—Their subsequent fate—I part with my consort—Rodd's anchorage—A French recruiting ship—Complaints of the natives—Kidnapping and shooting—A chief's wife carried off—I follow the French boat—And warn the natives—Recrimination—Visit to the French skipper—"Pistols and coffee!"—Mutual threats—Trial at Noumea—Kidnapping dodges—The Borough Belle has luck—Santa Maria I.—Natives in ambush—Our boats fired at—The Torres Is.—More firing—Lo I.—Fugitives rescued—Murder of M. Classen—Wounded with poisoned arrows—Remedies tried—Death—French injustice to me—Hayter Bay, Torga I.—The G.A.'s bag—Runaway women—The G.A. jumped upon—Hiu I.—Lakon—Homeward.

THE *Jabberwock* had continued in the labour trade as a sailing vessel only—since I resigned the command of her in 1880—but her rig had remained unaltered. In January, 1882, she was sold by her Brisbane owners to a Mackay firm, Messrs. Paxton & Co., by whom I was again given the command of her.

She was lying at Peter's Slip, Brisbane, undergoing a thorough overhauling, as well as an alteration of her masts and cabins, which had not been quite completed when I took charge of her, towards the end of February. She was now masted forward in the usual manner, with top-gallant and royal, while her mizzen-mast had also been lengthened.

I sailed early in March, clearing Cape Moreton in company with the *Borough Belle*, which was also owned

by Messrs. Paxton & Co., both of us bound for the New Hebrides. While she was an auxiliary screw steamer, the *Jabberwock* had enjoyed a reputation for speed, which she certainly did not act up to now. For the *Borough Belle*, which was considered anything but a clipper, gradually drew ahead, slightly weathering on us as we stood eastward, close-hauled, with a southerly breeze. On the morning of the tenth I went aloft and looked in vain for my consort; she was quite out of sight.

Notwithstanding the disparity in sailing qualities of the two vessels, Captain Belbin reached the New Hebrides only a few hours before me. On the sixteenth we were together again, off Emolau Point, Tanna I., where we also fell in with the brigantine *Helena*, Captain McQuaker, at anchor off Sangali, and the iron schooner *Chance*, Captain McPhie, both from Queensland, recruiting. I boarded the *Borough Belle*, meeting Captain McPhie and his G.A., Mr. Stiddulph, who were in great tribulation about one of the boats of the *Chance*, which, with its crew, was missing.

On the morning of the previous day the two boats had left the *Chance*, pulling along the southern coast of Tanna to try for recruits. They expected the schooner would follow them, as the wind was then very light. When near the land, and at a considerable distance apart, thick weather came on. From that time, Stiddulph, who was in one of the boats, had not seen the other again. He had only just rejoined the *Chance*, having passed the night on board the *Helena*, at Sangali.

As there was every probability that the missing boat and its crew would be found, either at Gomara, on the southeastern coast, or in Port Resolution—at each of which places there was a mission station—we advised Captain McPhie to beat round the southern coast and visit them. If he had done so, he would have recovered his boat, as

it turned out; for Wilson, the mate who was in charge of her, had made for Port Resolution. He was found there by the French ketch, the *Port Vila*, and was taken in her to Noumea; whence he found his way back to Queensland.

As neither Captain Belbin nor myself found anything particular to delay us, there being already too many vessels to work Tanna without interfering with each other, we both pushed on. We had a neck-and-neck race as far as Havannah Harbour. There the *Chance* rejoined us next day, not having visited either Gomara or Port Resolution, and so being still minus a boat and its crew. How McPhie got on without them, I cannot say, for I sailed again shortly. I then parted company with the *Borough Belle*, which went due north, whilst I delayed to work the Shepherd Is.

The "trades" had now set in steadily. Throughout the whole of this cruise in the New Hebrides, we daily enjoyed a moderate or fresh breeze from about east by south, with fine weather generally, and only an occasional shower. I worked the Shepherd Is., Api I., and Ambrym I., without anything special occurring, until I brought up one evening in Rodd's anchorage, on the western side of the northern point of Ambrym I.

The following morning there was a cry of "sail ho!" and we discerned the masts of a brigantine or schooner off the coast of Pentecost. She remained in sight for an hour or two, and then disappeared to northward. My boats were then away along shore. When they returned, some natives came off with them on a visit to the ship—a common practice—to satisfy themselves as to our destination.

These visitors complained loudly of the conduct of a schooner, that they said was either French or Fijian, which had been there a day or two before our visit. A canoe had gone off to this ship, but had been fired at, one man being killed. Two other boys had been taken

away, as well as some pigs that were in the canoe. They gave me the names of these kidnapped men, which I do not now remember. The next occasion on which I visited Pentecost I., I met some natives who had recognized them on board a French schooner—the same one we saw that morning.

After this I crossed over to Pentecost I., working down the lee coast of it. There, the inhabitants of South-West Bay had also a story to tell about the vessel we had seen.

She was a French schooner, the *Havannah*, of Noumea, and had been formerly named the *John S. Lane*, when owned in Sydney. She was commanded by Captain Petersen, and was recruiting labourers for the French colony of New Caledonia.

Petersen appears to have followed the usual practice of French recruiters—sending his boats to the shore in charge of Kanakas only. The consequences of such a system may be imagined.

I anchored in Chaffin's Bay, on the northern coast of Lepers' I., a few days later. There I fell in with the *Havannah*, which was lying at anchor. She remained only two or three hours after the arrival of the *Jabberwock*.

The natives received my recruiter in a friendly manner; though they had mustered at the landing in force, armed, and bent on a fight if the *Havannah's* boats came near. That morning, before our arrival, the young wife of a chief had been beguiled on board the Frenchman, on some pretence or other, and was still there. Some men had gone off to the vessel in a canoe, three of them venturing aboard of her, bearing an offer from the bereaved chief of two male recruits, if Petersen would send his wife back to him. This the French skipper refused to do; and, moreover, he detained the unfortunate ambassadors as well, letting their canoe drift back to the shore empty!

Shortly before sundown, I saw these three men jump overboard, and swim to the land. Immediately after that the *Havannah* got under way, and left. She was still in sight next morning, however, when I moved the *Jabberwock* a short distance westward, and again anchored.

The day following, as I noticed the *Havannah* was still close at hand, her boat being at the shore, I took charge of my own boats in place of the recruiter, and, accompanied by the G.A., pulled ashore to the spot where the French boat was lying. The coast was a rocky and precipitous one, so the *Havannah's* boat had pulled into a small nook among the rocks. We backed in upon her until my boat's stern nearly touched her bows. Then we lay on our oars and "took stock."

The French boat's crew consisted of four Kanakas, the steersman in charge being a big Tanna man. All were armed with guns, the Tanna man carrying a revolver in his belt. There was no white man in the boat, or near it. Three young women were sitting or standing on the rocks, close at hand. The Tanna man was making signs to them, and, with the assistance of an Aoba boy, one of his crew, seemed to be trying to persuade them to get into his boat.

As it happened, I had an Aoba man with me also, whom I had brought with me to interpret. He told me that his countryman was endeavouring to persuade the women to "come and see ship"—merely to visit her. Of course, if they went on board, they would land in New Caledonia before they reached home again! Moreover, if they were once in the ship, they might serve as a bait for some of the men.

This is, or used to be, a common trick practised by the French recruiters. "Get the women on board, and the men will follow!" was their motto. The Frenchman who told me of it expressed himself in coarser terms than I have used.

A few words from my interpreter sent the women flying up the rocks to a safe distance. From that point of advantage they poured out a torrent of chaff upon the French boatmen, accompanied by several expressive gestures, one of which was certainly an imported one, being what is commonly known among sailors as "taking a lunar." Just then the *Havannah* displayed a red flag, and her boat pulled away to her. The Tanna man swore he would have his revenge upon me, if ever he got a fair chance, which I responded to by threatening I would let him feel the weight of my boat's tiller, if ever I caught him at any of his kidnapping tricks again.

As the *Havannah* lay near our course, when we were returning to the *Jabberwock*, we went alongside and boarded her. Our visit was a short one, however. Petersen said I had interfered unwarrantably with his boat, and threatened to lay a complaint before the British Government, through Mr. Layard, our consul at Noumea. In return, I promised to write to the consul and give him *my* version of the matter, as well as to inform him of all I had heard from the natives about the proceedings of the *Havannah*. As for our G.A. and the French Government officer, they got to high words—in French,—and I heard threats pass between them relating to "pistols and coffee." My G.A. had a temper as hot as my own, although we got along together well enough on the whole.

Captain Petersen fulfilled his promises, and so did I. He made his complaint, though I heard nothing further about it; and I wrote to Mr. Layard. My letter arrived in Noumea at a time when there was some stir there, touching the trial of the well-known skipper of a French recruiting vessel, who was accused of kidnapping. I have heard that it occasioned a serious quarrel between the governor of the colony and our consul,—but that is hearsay.

About the trial, I may as well mention that two of the

charges were—one of having run down a canoe in the New Hebrides, some of the crew of which were drowned, whilst others were picked up and kidnapped; and the other of entrapping men in the Maskelyne Is. In the latter case, the skipper had pretended he wanted to move a large and heavy tank in the hold of his vessel—the said tank being, all the while, securely fastened to the lower deck. It was too dark down in the hold for strangers to perceive this. Having made a long stout rope fast round the tank, he got a lot of natives from the shore to pull on it; and, while they were thus engaged, he clapped his hatches on and left the island. I got this from a Noumea trader, who was present at the trial, and I see no reason for disbelieving the story.

Shortly after my meeting with the *Havannah*, I fell in with the *Borough Belle*. She was full up, and homeward bound, while I had only sixty-two recruits as yet. Captain Belbin had made a good haul at the Torres Is., which we generally considered hardly worth visiting. He strongly advised me to go there; but, when I came to consider the number he had taken away, I was afraid there would not be many left for me to recruit. However, I went in that direction, working the east coasts of Espiritu Santo and Santa Maria Is.

One morning I was off the south side of Santa Maria, and sent the boats away. Among my hands forward there was one gentleman who was new to the trade. He had constantly expressed a supreme contempt for all "niggers," as well as for their firearms, spears, and arrows. On this occasion he volunteered to steer the covering boat.

I watched them pulling in to the land, until I saw them enter a bay and disappear behind one of the points. The ship was then standing eastward, along the coast, under easy canvas. Suddenly I heard the faint pop! pop! of firearms. Then wreaths of white smoke rose above the point. A minute later the boats came

in sight, the crews lying back with a will ; for the bullets continued to fly round them pretty thickly, until they were out of range. They were soon alongside, without a man hurt.

“My word! We got it hot!” said the mate, laughing, as he jumped off the rail on to the deck. “There were a hundred of them, if there was a man.” But the steersman of the covering boat said not a word. His “baptism of fire” had caused all the blood to desert his cheeks. He went into the forecabin quietly ; and from that time, henceforth, he neither volunteered to steer a boat, nor “gassed” about “niggers.”



“WHAT FOR YOU 'FRAID?”

An ambuscade had been regularly planned. When the mate drew near the shore at the head of the little bay, he felt suspicious of a trap ; for he could see a few men lurking behind the rocks, as though waiting for him. One fellow, who wore a white shirt, showed himself openly. Waving a green bough in pretence of amity, this fellow sung out to the mate, who was hesitating about going close in—“What for you 'fraid?”

Still the mate declined to go in. The boats were being slewed about, so as to pull to a safer place, when, bang! went a whole volley, the bullets tearing up the water, hissing and pinging all round them.

“Pull! you devils!” was the cry ; and back they went

in a hurry, whilst the natives kept popping at them from both sides of the bay, luckily without hitting either boat or man.

Both before and after this attack the boats of several other vessels were fired on by the same fellows. In some cases there was actual loss of life on the side of the boats, whilst the natives came off scot-free.

After watering at Lakon, I went to the Torres Is., as Captain Belbin had advised me, anchoring at first in the bay on the western side of the southern island.

Our arrival caused considerable excitement; for, as we afterwards ascertained, a number of the younger inhabitants—men and women—had been prevented from joining the *Borough Belle* by their elders and chiefs. These were now determined to get away. Several of them managed to elude the vigilance of their friends, and got on board. Some of them came off in our boats, others in canoes, a few by swimming off to the ship. This, naturally, made the stay-at-home folks very wrathful. On the second morning, when I was getting under way, we received a volley from the cliffs. The bullets fell short, luckily, but sufficiently near the ship to send my recruits running from the windlass down below.

There was no harm done, however, and, with a considerably increased recruit list, I ran over to Lo, the next island. There I anchored in a well-sheltered bay on the western side, in ten fathoms.

While we were crossing the channel between these two islands, a sail was sighted to eastward. It was apparently a boat, or some other very small vessel. Shortly after we anchored, a cutter-rigged boat, flying the French tricolour, appeared entering the bay, making for the *Jabberwock*.

A party of natives, who were engaged in cutting fire-wood for the *Southern Cross* mission steamer—so they had told me—caught sight of the tricolour, and forthwith let fly a couple of shots at the boat, but without hitting her.

Three men were in this boat. They ran her alongside the *Jabberwock*, and, having made her fast, climbed up the side with a little assistance; for they seemed to be terribly weak from exposure and thirst, and one of them from wounds. Their leader and spokesman was an East Indian from Pondicherry. He was able to make himself understood in both English and French. The others were natives of New Caledonia. This was their story.

A naturalized French subject, Classen by name, had landed in the Santa Cruz Is. from a French schooner, a month or two before this. His intention had been to form a station principally for collecting and curing bêche-de-mer. These three men, together with a native of Sandwich I., had accompanied Classen.

Their houses had soon been built, with the help of the natives. Their work was in full swing when, one day, about a week before this, Classen and the Sandwich Islander were beguiled from the station to the top of a hill at some little distance from it, on pretence of looking at a distant sail. There they were tomahawked to death.

The station was then attacked by the natives. Our refugees, however, had managed to escape in Classen's boat, with sufficient food to last them for a fortnight, but without any water. As they were getting off, one of the New Caledonians was wounded with poisoned arrows.

I examined the wounds of this poor fellow, who was now very weak and depressed. I found two small circular wounds in his ribs on the right side, in a line with the heart. The Indian told me he was certain that, when the arrows were withdrawn, the heads had been got out entirely. Still, it was evident that the poison was working in the man's system, for every now and then his limbs gave a spasmodic jerk. The next day his entire body was affected, not being still for five minutes at a time.

Our treatment consisted of poultices, applied to the wounds to draw out any foreign matter that might have remained in them. We injected ammonia, and also gave him doses of it. Beyond these measures we could do nothing. He died during the second night after their arrival.

I took the two survivors to Maryborough, along with their boat. There I communicated with the French Consul in Brisbane about them. He sold the boat, and sent the East Indian back to Noumea. The New Caledonian went into service, and remained in Queensland, I believe. All I got for my trouble was a blackguarding from the New Caledonian paper, in which it was asserted that attempts had been made to "enslave" these men in Queensland.

Having mustered up a few more recruits at Lo I., I next anchored in Hayter Bay, on the western coast of Torga, or Middle I. There, as at the southern island, we found that a number of the younger people had either been prevented from joining the *Borough Belle*, or had changed their minds since. So recruiting went on merrily.

Some of the recruits who had gone in the *Borough Belle* were married men, and they had left their wives behind them. Certain of these women now entertained the idea of going away after their husbands, knowing that we were bound for the same destination.

One forenoon, the boats were alongside the ship, awaiting the arrival of some recruits who had promised to come down from the village inland.

Now, the mate in one boat, and the G.A. in the other, were wont to make a race of it when pulling to or from the ship, the boats' crews being just as eager to beat each other as their officers, and betting sticks of tobacco on the results.

"Smoke oh!" sung out some one, perceiving a thin white cloud rising up from the rocks at the head of the

bay. Over the side went the boys at once, the mate with them. But the G.A. delayed, calling to one boy to put his rifle in the boat, to another for a pannikin, and to a third for his wallet. The last article he was seldom seen without. In it he carried a miscellaneous collection of articles: pipes, tobacco, pocket-handkerchief, note-book, and so forth. In Brisbane he had been nicknamed Judas Iscariot, because he always "carried the bag."

The mate had got a hundred yards away before the G.A. started; so the latter lost *this* race. But, though beaten so far, he did not mean to be behindhand in obtain-



WOMEN BOLTING.

ing recruits. No sooner was he off, than he caught a glimpse of five figures, waving branches in their hands, and rushing out from the bushes and trees on to the open terrace of upraised coral rock which fringes this part of the bay. A sweep or two of the steering-oar turned his boat's head in their direction, and quickly brought him close to the feet of five young women. They were "bolters," whose husbands had gone away in the *Borough Belle*. They waited for no preliminary conversation, but just sprang headlong off the rock into the boat, alighting in a heap on top of the G.A., who was crushed down under them into the bottom of the

boat, with nearly all the breath knocked out of his body. He had scarcely recovered his equanimity when he arrived on board, five minutes later, the fair dames who had robbed him of it laughing and dancing with glee at having outwitted their chiefs. For, it seems that these had appropriated the deserted wives, after the departure of their respective husbands.

At Hiu, the northernmost of the Torres Is., I filled up my complement—a total of one hundred and one men and thirty-two women. I might have obtained more easily enough, if my licence had allowed me to carry them.

Two or three tacks from thence brought the *Jabberwock* back to Lakon. There I filled up my water-tanks, and then started for home. I passed to leeward of the Bond and d'Entrecasteaux Reefs, on the north of New Caledonia, then the Bampton Reefs, and so through the Coral Sea, encountering a heavy gale and thick weather on the way. Inside the Great Barrier Reef I met the *Borough Belle*, outward bound again. I arrived off the mouth of the Pioneer River, on which stands Mackay, on the night of June 26.

CHAPTER XVII.

FIRST VOYAGE OF THE *FANNY*, 1882-3.

I resign command of the Jabberwock—And go to Melbourne—The Fanny—The Queensland recruiting fleet—List of casualties—Murders—Accusations of missionaries—Mr. Paton's charges—H.M.S. Espiègle sent to investigate—Captain Bridge's report—Article in "The Brisbane Courier"—A reverend misleader—The Roderick Dhu case—The missionary view and that of the labour-recruiter—Freedom or slavery?—Unfounded accusations—The Rev. Shirley Baker—"Sweating" in the South Seas—Mis-statements as to depopulation—Good result of the labour trade—My experience of missionaries—My new G.A.—I solicit another appointment—Brisbane to Mackay—Sail for New Hebrides—Hervey Bay—At Mallicolo I.—An earthquake—The island flooded—Effects on shore—Upheaval of coral—Subsidence—Shock after shock—Position of the ship—Return of the boats—Stranded fish—Homeward—The French New Hebrides Company—Scheme of the French Government—Result of Exeter Hall shortsightedness—Cingalese labourers.

A FEW days after my arrival at Mackay, I resigned the command of the *Jabberwock*, in accordance with a promise, given long before, to some very old friends of mine. I then went to Melbourne, where I took charge of the *Fanny*, a brigantine which had been purchased by Messrs. Rawson and Co., of Mackay. In this vessel I sailed for Brisbane in August. On arriving there, I laid her up at D. L. Brown's wharf, to be fitted out for the Polynesian labour trade.

— During the seven years in which I had now been connected with this trade, the fleet of vessels employed in it which were sailing out of Queensland ports, had gradu-

ally increased to the number of thirty or thereabouts. Just previous to the time I sailed in the *Fanny*, this recruiting fleet had sustained some diminution in consequence of wrecks. The *Lady Belmore*, brig, Captain White, had been driven ashore at Mackay by an easterly gale, on March 8, and had afterwards broken up. The schooner, *Leslie*, Captain Turner, had been wrecked at Aneiteum I. on April 26. The *Magnet*, schooner, was lost at Tanna I., having drifted ashore during a calm, on May 17. The *Io*, schooner, Captain McPhie, had struck on a coral reef, one night, just outside the Great Barrier, and had foundered in about ten minutes. The iron schooner *Chance*, formerly a yacht, and the smallest vessel in the trade, had been wrecked in August at Tongoa I. in the New Hebrides.

The crew of the last-mentioned vessel, having narrowly escaped massacre by the natives, were brought to Queensland by the *Stanley*. This vessel also had a prisoner on board, named George Lewis, who had been a seaman in the *Jabberwock*. Attempting to desert his ship in the New Hebrides, this man had shot dead the second mate, Henry Shaw. The murder had been committed on the eighteenth of August. About the same time more bloodshed occurred on the coast of Espiritu Santo, where three Frenchmen, belonging to the *Port Vila*, ketch, of New Caledonia, were killed on shore by the natives; the master and two others only escaping by swimming off to their vessel.

Several masters of vessels that had lately arrived in port, gave notice of attacks on their boats at different islands. But murder and shipwreck were not the only dangers we had to contend against. Some of the missionaries located in the New Hebrides seemed to think that imprisonment, or even hanging, would be hardly sufficient punishment for the "slave traffickers," as they were accustomed to term us. One man in particular, my old acquaintance of Aniwa I., apparently made it his

especial business to trump up all sorts of false charges against the labour trade, as well as to exaggerate any petty misdemeanours that came under his notice.

While fitting out the *Fanny*, I received a message one day requesting my attendance at the Immigration Office. There I had read to me portions of a letter written by this person, addressed either to the Government of Queensland generally, or to the leader of the Opposition. In this document I was accused of having forcibly kidnapped women from the island of Tanna. The writer of it wound up his thrilling narrative by saying that the captain and Government agent afterwards came to his house, and there, in the presence of his wife and himself, boasted of their exploits.

The reader already knows what had really occurred on those occasions. In the official letter I was required to write to the Government, I stated the real facts of the case.

In consequence of this, and of other accusations made by this "preacher of the truth," in a letter to "The Melbourne Argus" for December, 1881, Captain Bridge, commanding H.M.S. *Espiègle*, was instructed to investigate the matter. The result of his inquiries was incorporated in an article which appeared in the leading paper in Brisbane—"The Courier"—after Captain Bridge had made his report.

The article says :—

"The Rev. Mr. Paton is a gentleman whose name is well known in this colony as one of the chief accusers of those engaged in the Polynesian trade. His connection with the South Sea missions has given weight to his false and reckless assertions, and there are many who have been led by him to believe that open and violent man-stealing is still practised by labour vessels, sailing from Queensland and elsewhere. Fortunately, Mr. Paton has been thoroughly exposed in the course of a controversy, in which he was foolish enough to engage in the columns of 'The Melbourne Argus,' a journal which for many years has printed his statements and relied on their accuracy. That journal, having found their reverend mis-leader out, has recently called attention to the proof that exists of his want of veracity. In December, 1881, Mr. Paton published a long letter in the 'Argus,' which contained charges

so grave, that Captain Bridge, of H.M.S. *Espigle*, was instructed by Sir Arthur Gordon to investigate them. Three of the principal charges, together with the official report on them, are printed in the 'Argus,' and we reproduce them here.

"The first refers to the island of Erromanga :—

"Mr. Paton's charge :—

' That a Queensland vessel, with a Government agent on board, sent two boats on shore ; that the men called out to a little boy to come to them ; that the boy's father held the lad's arm and prevented him ; and that the crews then opened fire and killed the natives."

This is the official report of Captain Bridge :—

"That these men wished to join a labour vessel, but were prevented by the other natives ; that on one of them attempting to reach a boat, the natives opened fire and struck the inner boat, whereupon the covering boat fired on the natives."

Mr. Paton's second charge was :—

"A labour vessel decoyed a Christian native teacher on board. Word was sent to the young men and boys of the school that their teacher wanted to see them. So soon as 100 were collected, the vessel sailed away."

This is the official report :—

"A native teacher left by a labour vessel, but he went voluntarily. He was not decoyed. Word was *not* sent to collect the scholars. None were entrapped. There was no such kidnapping incident."

The third incident Mr. Paton said occurred at Tanna I. :—

"Two tribes that were fighting placed their women and children on a reef. A labour vessel stole in, got the women *and children* into the boats and sailed away, despite the firing of the men and the pleading of the women."

The official report says :—

"The Revs. Watt and Neilson have been long on Tanna I., and both say that they never heard of any such thing occurring on that island."

The article goes on to say :—

"These charges and their refutation are published in the 'Argus' now, because the reverend gentleman is again on the war path, and claiming, by virtue of his sacred office, belief in his statements. One Melbourne contemporary says of him that he 'appears to combine enthusiasm in a good cause with a perfect genius for scandal-mongering and the imputation of bad motives.' To most of our readers this will appear rather mild censure on an individual who, though a minister of the gospel, persists in spreading calumnies of which the falsehood has been demonstrated."

Here we have samples of the frequent missionary reports of so-called outrages by whites on natives of the South Seas, with the usual result when the Government takes the trouble of investigating them.

But sometimes the writer confined himself to the truth—a trifle coloured. Some years after this, Mr. Paton addressed a letter to Sir Samuel Griffiths, then leader of the Opposition in the Queensland Legislative Assembly, a portion of which I may quote here. It was dated, at Tanna, 10th July, 1889:—

“On Sabbath, the 30th June, two boats of a vessel, which the agent said was the *Roderick Dhu*, from Brisbane, called here about 2 p.m., on returning from spending the forenoon trading farther round the island. When the men in the boat were talking to the natives, the agent (an old man) came and informed the Rev. Wm. Watt, the resident missionary at Kwamera, that ‘The boats were not come in to recruit labour, but to let one of the crew see his sister, a Tanna woman.’ He returned to the boats, and we saw both boats leaving without any additional labourers. We were then about to enter the church to observe the Lord’s Supper. The agent’s voluntary statement that they were not come for recruits, threw the natives off their guard, and after the communion, as we left the church, all were in sorrow, as four lads had been got to go round a point beyond the rocks, where they could not be seen by their friends, and to swim off to the boats in which that agent was, and took them away. The friends of the lads were angry, and the missionary was indeed grieved to have his scholars so taken away, and his work frustrated, as it has often been by the deceiving traffickers.”

Now this statement is certainly “somewhat coloured”—some persons would say it contained a lie—in the words “were got to go.” I happen to know the facts of this case. The four boys wished to go away in some ship—the *Roderick Dhu* or any other—to Queensland, but knew that, if they made their wish public, their friends—and the missionary through them—would prevent them leaving. So they stole away quietly, apart from the crowd, and, as soon as their friends had gone back from the beach, swam off after the boats, which were then pulling away. The recruiter, seeing them following, put back and picked them up.

These boys were free agents—not the slaves or servants—of the missionary and the chief. They had as much right to emigrate from their home as a European labourer has to leave his. They knew equally well—perhaps better—what sort of a life they were about to experience. They were not even asked to go, but they had heard of Queensland from their returned countrymen; the justice and better treatment of labourers there than that they received from missionaries and chiefs; the better payment for services rendered; the security of life there. To gain these advantages they took the chances of sharks and drowning, and forsook sloth, dirt, and a religion their intellectual faculties are not yet sufficiently developed to entertain, for wealth, comparative freedom, and civilization.

Nor were they forsaking religion either, when they “took a header” off the rocks. The Kanaka schools in Queensland are as numerous, in proportion to numbers, as are the mission schools in the islands. They do quite as much good for the boys, and, along with “the three R’s,” impart quite as much religion as Kanakas can understand.

In the same letter, a little further on, Mr. Paton wrote :—

“Were such boats from such vessels seen returning to Brisbane to try by hook and crook to get away your few remaining sons and daughters, surely every man possessing paternal, fraternal, and human feelings would unite and drive the destroyers of your children from your shores, and the world would praise you for it.”

This is high colouring with a vengeance! Why “few remaining”? The phrase creates a false impression, which a truthful man would avoid. One would imagine that labour vessels had been in the habit of visiting this place, Gomara, or “Kwamera,” as he called it, and sailing away with “sons and daughters” wholesale. Such a statement *could* not be true, for mission stations are generally avoided by the recruiter, owing to the difficulty

there is in getting boys away, however willing to go they may be.

The colony of Queensland sends agents to England to lecture about it, and to dilate on the advantages to be derived by Englishmen who will emigrate to the other side of the world, where the conditions of life are easier, and where even wealth may be attained to. Do *they* hesitate to separate even a "few remaining" sons and daughters from their parents? Do *they* take into account the grief of the latter when they lose their children? Do *they* care when they select the healthy and strong, depriving the parents of their support in old age, and leaving only the weak and sickly behind?

We must look to the benefit of the masses, notwithstanding that individuals may undergo hardship to some extent. There can be no doubt that the South Sea Islanders derive benefit, both morally and physically, from being transported into the midst of a civilized community, where they are taught to labour steadily. And do they not appreciate the change? How is it that so many return to Queensland for a second and often for a third term of service? How is it that so many remained in the colony, prior to the passing of that Polynesian Act which compelled them to return home, either at the termination of their first engagement, or of a second, if they chose to serve it.

Nevertheless, missionaries and their friends continued to agitate, crying out about the horrors of "slavery"—of the deceptions, outrages, and bloodshed committed by those they were pleased to stigmatize "labour traffickers." Yet whenever the circumstances detailed in their reckless accusations have been inquired into, they have been found to rest on little or no foundation of fact.

That abuses *have* occurred, I do not deny; but what line of life is exempt from abuses? Are missionaries themselves immaculate? The Rev. Shirley Baker, late prime minister of Tonga, who was deported from that

group only the other day, for abusing the power he had acquired over the weak and superstitious king, is an example. Was he the only man in the Pacific who commenced life preaching the gospel of love, charity, and humility with an empty pocket, and who ended with a good banking account? I fancy not. Nor is "sweating" confined to the large cities of Europe. There is plenty of it to be found in the South Sea Islands, by those who choose to open their eyes and look for it—in the New Hebrides as elsewhere.

Accompanying Mr. Paton's letter there was published a "copy of minute of New Hebrides Mission Synod on the labour traffic." In this it was said: "The Kanaka labour traffic has, to a large extent, depopulated the New Hebrides and adjoining islands." This was a gross exaggeration, to say the least of it. The population of Aneiteum I. has decreased much more sensibly than that of any other island in the New Hebrides, *although it has been under the sole control of the Presbyterian mission for about thirty years, and has been almost unvisited by traders or labour vessels!*

Tanna I. comes next. Further north there is very little difference in the number of inhabitants, only the surplus population having been removed. One good result has been apparent: intertribal wars are not nearly so frequent, and cannibalism has been checked. Consequently, the tribes recover much more quickly from any loss of numbers entailed by the labour trade.

I do not wish to create an impression that I "have a down" on missionaries. During my travels I have only become personally acquainted, more or less, with eight. Four of these were Presbyterians, the others belonged to English Church missions. The latter were, I believe, good earnest men, though not angels. They were men willing to give and take; not devoid of some weaknesses, or even faults, for which we laymen could make allowance, since they did the same for our frailties. The

Presbyterian missionaries, as far as I could judge, were, with one exception, narrow-minded, bigoted, and intolerant. They were men who looked only to one side of a disputed question, which was invariably that side which suited their own interests; while to gain their own ends they would rush into exaggeration, sometimes even to the extent of downright untruth.

A day or two before the outfit of the *Fanny* was completed, a young gentleman, freshly appointed a Government agent, appeared on board, announcing himself to be the officer who was to accompany the vessel to the South Seas. Apparently he was not aware that his visit was premature. As yet the ship was not in the labour trade, since I had not applied for a licence. So, in fact, he had no business there. Like all "new chum" G.A.'s, he was filled with an amazing sense of his own dignity, and treated us with little courtesy. Before he had been a minute on board the ship, he took upon himself, without permission, to order my steward about. So aggressive was his conduct that I was obliged to tell him, at last, that I thought it would be better for both of us that some one else should be appointed to the ship.

Leaving my gentleman to digest this pill at his leisure, I paid a visit to the temporary head of the Immigration Department. This happened to be the person who had been sub-immigration agent at Maryborough, the same with whom I had quarrelled about the allotment of labourers to employers on board the *Stormbird*. I now requested him to appoint some other G.A. to the *Fanny*. It appeared, however, that there was no other available in Brisbane. So, finally, I foolishly allowed myself to be talked over, and consented not to oppose the appointment.

I sailed from Brisbane on September 14, bound to Mackay, in order to ship some "returns" who were awaiting me there. Application had been made in Brisbane for licences to recruit, and the ship had been

surveyed satisfactorily. But I was informed that it was not until I should be ready to depart from Mackay that the licences would be granted, when the G.A. would also come on board. To save any possible delay, however, the latter joined the *Fanny* in Brisbane, going to Mackay in her as a passenger only.

I left Mackay on September 27, having ninety "returns" on board, all for the New Hebrides. I was licensed to recruit one hundred and forty labourers. I returned to port again on February 2, 1883, with only seventy-one, after having been away five months and seven days. Perhaps I ought to have considered myself lucky in having obtained so many; for I had never had the misfortune before of sailing with such an unpleasant shipmate as my G.A., nor had I ever met with an official who was so fond of throwing obstacles in the way of the successful and lawful accomplishment of the object of our voyage.

After leaving Mackay, I directed my course to Hervey Bay, where, near Triangular Cliff, I watered the ship at a small stream. I thence started afresh for the islands on October 3. During this passage, which was a protracted one, in consequence of light and variable winds, two of the "returns" died. They had been sent on board under a doctor's certificate, as having disease of the lungs—a common complaint amongst these islanders—on the chance of their lives being prolonged if they reached their homes.

I worked all the islands of the New Hebrides, from Tanna to Espiritu Santo inclusive. During the whole voyage only one incident occurred worth mentioning. It happened at Mallicolo I.

I was at anchor in the channel between Ura islet and the south-western coast, lying in smooth water, with a bright blue sky overhead, and a light easterly wind. The boats had gone away in the morning, northward, taking the boatswain, who was also recruiter, and the G.A. The

mate was laid up at the time, as indeed he was during the greater part of the voyage. It was luncheon time, and I was sitting at the cabin table, when, suddenly, we felt the unmistakable vibration of an earthquake.

Although earthquakes are of common occurrence in these islands, this one made me jump. The ship shook and quivered as though she were galvanized. Had all her fastenings been loosened by the shock, I should scarcely have been surprised.

"She's away!" shouted one of the crew. Rushing out of the cabin, I found the ship whirling round eastward, the chain cable grinding and jerking on the windlass, as the anchor turned, dragged a few fathoms, and then caught in the bottom again.

On shore the sight was terrible, though magnificent.

"Oh, my poor boats!" I groaned.

At either side, on the shallow reefs, and high over the low bushes and smaller trees that lined the shores, a huge wave was breaking with a dull roaring sound, sweeping steadily along from the westward, until it disappeared beyond a long, low point of land. It was the swell of this wave, unbroken in the deeper water, which had caught the ship aft, and had slewed her round to her anchor.

On the islet we could hear the yells and cries of the natives, as they fled from an adjacent village, making for higher ground. On the main island, clouds of dust could be seen rising for miles away, showing where landslips had occurred on the sides of the steep hills and mountains.

For miles the whole surface of the earth had subsided, sinking eight feet or so, which had caused the great wave to rush into the deepened channel.

The tremors of the earthquake still continued, at short intervals. Then, slowly and gradually, came an upheaval. The waters poured out from the flooded forest, bearing with them portions of the huts of the savages, canoes,

trees and branches, and even two or three squeaking pigs, cascading over the face of the flat shore-reefs. These now rose as high above their normal position as they had before sunk below it, forming flat terraces along the coasts, which were elevated to six feet above the surface of the sea. Masses of "live" coral showed along the face of the raised shore-reefs, displaying brilliant hues, blue, green, yellow, purple, and red, all shining and glistening in the sun.

This was the first act. A pause of a minute followed. Then, gradually and majestically, the upraised coral sank again, and the bright colours disappeared.

Then came another subsidence, and a second vast billow rolled in from westward, making our chain rip and tear at the bows as if it meant to pull the windlass out of the ship. Breaking into clouds of foam, the wave ran roaring along the shores, while every here and there some huge tree came toppling over, with torn roots or broken trunk.

The second upheaval was not equal to the first; the reefs did not rise more than about three feet above the water. Though a third wave rolled in, it was only a "piccaninny" when compared with those that had preceded it.

When the earthquake was over, I could perceive no difference in the height of the shore, from the level of the sea. The only effects remaining visible were the branches and broken trees floating about, or lying strewn along the beaches, with here and there a bare yellow-brown patch on the side of a hill.

The ship, however, had shifted her position, and was now dangerously near the Ura shore-reef. So, taking advantage of a light but favourable wind, I hove up the anchor and moved her further out, nearer to the middle of the channel.

The next consideration was—Where were the boats? Leaving the ship in the third boat—for the *Fanny*

carried three—I pulled away in search of them, and met them returning, about a mile from the ship. One boat was half full of fish. During the earthquake, they had been off shore, fortunately, crossing a bay in deep water. When it was over, they had landed, and the boatmen had picked up some of the fish on the beach, while the remainder had been purchased from natives, who had gathered them up in the forest as they came down from the higher land.

Next day I took the ship to South-West Bay, where I anchored in five fathoms of water, on a coral patch near the western side of the bay.

The morning after, we had another scare when getting under way. Just as the chain was "short," while the crew were making sail, there came another smart shock. Luckily no subsidence or wave followed it. I was glad enough when I saw the coral disappear from under the ship, as she slipped into deep water.

Christmas Day was spent among the Maskelyne Is. There we once more heard from the natives the story I have related about the Frenchman's iron tank, and the kidnapping.

On January 19, the G.A. gave me notice to return home, as our provisions were running short. I was nothing loth, since I should be rid of him all the sooner. After an uneventful run, we arrived at Flat-top I., off the mouth of the Pioneer River, on the night of January 2, 1883, with sixty-three men and nine women, recruits, on board.

It was in the early part of October, 1882, that we Queenslanders had received the first news of the formation of the *Compagnie Caledonienne des Nouvelles Hebrides*, at Noumea. This undertaking was headed by Mr. John Higginson, a naturalized French subject. Its capital was equivalent to £20,000, and it had been started with the avowed object of "colonizing the New Hebrides group, and inaugurating a reliable and unobjectionable system

for procuring labourers for the Colony of New Caledonia."

The *Compagnie* was supposed to be entirely a private venture, but, in reality, it was due to a scheme on the part of the French Government for getting possession of the New Hebrides. Once started, the *Compagnie* lost no time in acquiring a strong hold upon the islands. A small steamer, having on board an officer of the French navy to supervise all agreements of sale or otherwise, as well as an agent of the *Compagnie*, visited every portion of the group. They bought up all the best land on the shores of the islands, from the native or European owners, including some that had been sold two or three times by the former. These properties were all carefully surveyed, marked out with large hewn stones at the angles, and registered at Noumea. The former European owners, small traders, mostly remained where they were, as employés of the *Compagnie*.

So now, the New Hebrides may be said to practically belong to the French. This has resulted from the short-sighted policy of Exeter Hall, which discouraged or drove away British settlers; thus making room for those who will eventually drive away its missionaries, as they have already done in the Loyalties.

At that time, notwithstanding the large and still increasing fleet of vessels sailing from Queensland to the South Sea Islands, the demand for a cheap and reliable class of labourers was far in excess of the supply. Fresh sugar lands were constantly being taken up and cleared in the northern parts of the colony.

One scheme for supplying the required labour was the introduction of Cingalese from Ceylon. A number of these people had been landed at Mackay in November, 1882, but they had proved a failure. Perhaps they were tampered with; at any rate, they refused point-blank to work on the plantations. While the *Fanny* was lying at Mackay, waiting for licences for another voyage,

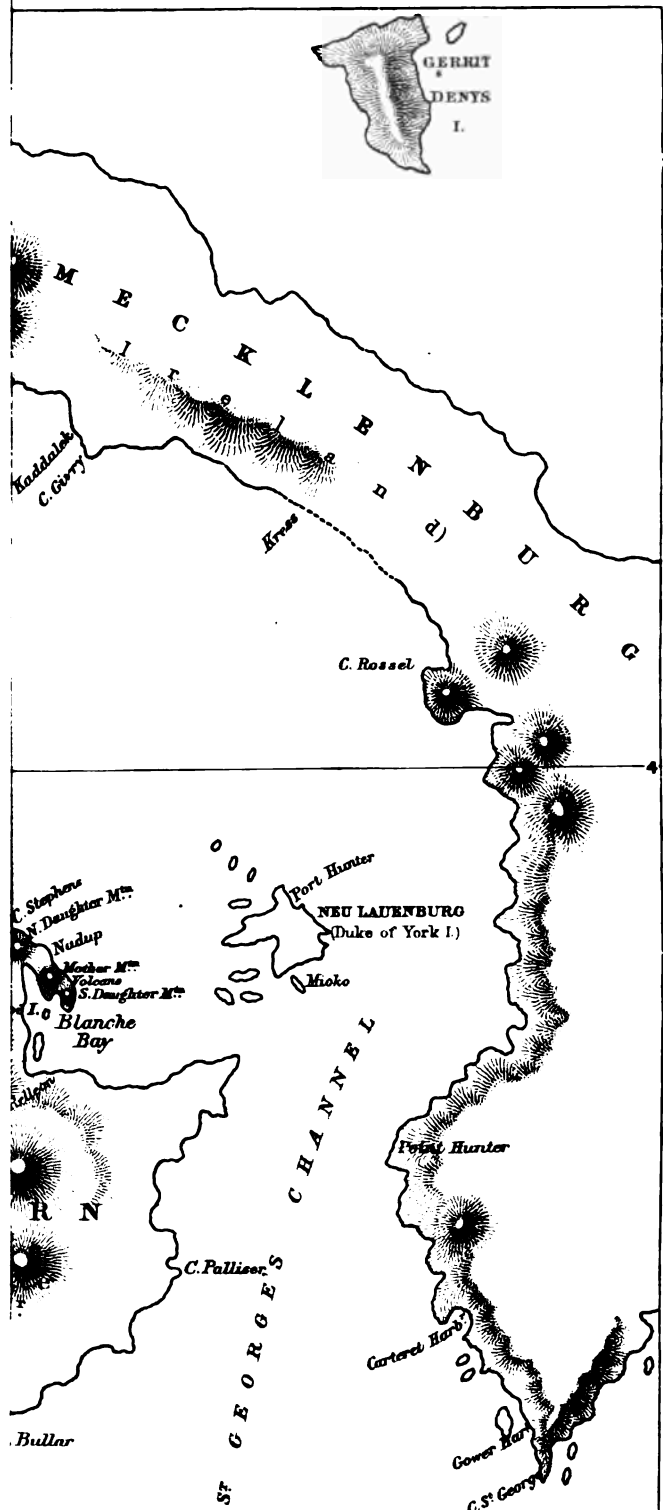
dozens of them were loafing about the town, whilst a few got employment as house servants, and about the stores. Another batch was subsequently landed at Bundaberg, with a similar result.



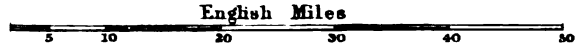
SPEARING FISH BY TORCHLIGHT.

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MAP IV.



BISMARCK ARCHIPELAGO (PART)



Longitude East of Greenwich

Swan Sonnenschein & Co. London

W. & A. Kitchin, Edinburgh & London.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SECOND VOYAGE OF THE *FANNY*, 1883.

Increasing demand for labourers—Father Lannuzel—I sail for the Bismarck Archipelago—Arrive at New Ireland—The Marquis de Rhys' expedition—The Black Corner—Blanche Bay, New Britain—The Mother and Daughters Mountains—Volcanic eruptions—Character of the natives—King Johnny's views about cannibalism—Weapons and houses—Mountains and forests—Fever and ague—Hernsheim's station—A retrospect—Besieged at Nogai—Nash and I escape—Torlong, the "fighting" chief—Corruption of native names—A visit to Mr. Hernsheim—"One Snider cartridge"—The "Tower mark"—Torlogga appears—Recognition—Making friends—Exchange of presents—Remains of Nash's house—The Hopeful—A mission-teacher checks recruiting—A case of kidnapping—I make inquiries—And threaten to report it—Duke of York I.—The end of King Johnny—His consort in service—A Port Hunter recruit—Natives of New Ireland eager to enlist—A rush to the ship—The decks stormed—"Look out! Cap!"—Slipping away—My recruit list—After-thoughts—Down St. George's Channel—"Man overboard!"—Recovering deserters—Fourteen escape—Nadup again—Tokkolula engaged as interpreter—Wottam I.—Murder of Tokkolula—The native slings—The boats attacked—Bringing off the body—Bearers of bad news—Trouble anticipated—Awaiting events—Taken by surprise—A fight for life—A race for the boats—Escape—"I'm done, boys!"—Counting the casualties—Progress of the wounded—A painful voyage—Kindness of missionaries—In the "doldrums"—The Carola—German offers of assistance—Working homeward—Arrival at Townsville—The G.A. and I go into hospital—My wound—I go to Brisbane—And undergo operation—Recovery.

THE increasing demand for Polynesian labour, and the large number of vessels employed in recruiting, combined

to render it necessary that ship-masters should extend their operations beyond the area of the Solomon and New Hebrides groups. I had previously had some experience in the islands of New Britain and New Ireland—Neu Pommern and Neu Mecklenburgh, as they have been respectively re-named since their annexation by Germany. Moreover, one vessel—the *Hopeful*, of Townsville—had already undertaken a recruiting voyage thither, and had met with success. I therefore determined to try my fortune there also.

It happened that a Roman Catholic missionary—Father Lannuzel—who had already resided for some time in New Britain, was then in Queensland, and was desirous of returning to the island.

A bargain was soon struck between us; and, with the permission of the Immigration Office, I received him on board the *Fanny*, as a passenger to Blanche Bay, New Britain. I also shipped some stock belonging to him, for the same destination. This consisted of three head of cattle, half a dozen goats, and a number of fowls. These were berthed in the "tween decks," which were only occupied as yet by my four boatmen. For, as these islands had not been recruited from for Queensland prior to the visit of the *Hopeful*, I had no "returns" to take back there.

I sailed on March 12, 1883, but was delayed at the outset of the voyage by a violent south-easterly gale, with thick rainy weather. This obliged me to lie at anchor under the Percy Is. for several days, until the wind had abated.

About twelve days after leaving Mackay, I rounded the southern end of the Great Barrier Reef. Then, with the wind abeam, I stood northward through the Coral Sea, and so between the Louisiade Archipelago and the Solomon group.

By the first of April I was close to the Laughlan Is. Some canoes came off to the ship there; but, as none of

the men in them could speak English, and since I had not any one who could interpret, no recruiting could be done.

The trade-wind had so far proved a fresh and steady one. Then it dropped, the weather becoming cloudy, wet, and muggy. Every now and then it freshened up, though variably, from south to east, with squalls and showers. Our progress was slow; forty miles a day being the average we made after leaving the Laughlans. When the ship had arrived off Gower Harbour, near Cape St. George, the southern point of New Ireland, the wind died away to a dead calm, leaving her at the mercy of a strong current, which was running through St. George's Channel from the north.

There seems to be always a current in this channel, running either north or south, apparently changing with the prevailing wind. It sets from northward during the monsoon season, and from the opposite direction when the "trades" are blowing.

After drifting back for a couple of miles in a like number of hours, a breeze sprang up from northward, and, for three days, the *Funny* tacked to and fro between Cape St. George and Cape Buller. We vainly strove to reach either Gower Harbour or Carteret Harbour, in both of which places there is good shelter for shipping, although the anchorage ground is limited, the water being mostly very deep.

At a short distance northward of these harbours lies the spot where the colonizing expedition of the Marquis de Rhys landed in 1880, and attempted to form a settlement. The leaders could not possibly have chosen a worse locality on the whole coast of New Ireland, unless, indeed, it was their object to kill off the victims of their greed, ignorance, and imbecility. Shut off from the influence of the trade-wind as the place is, by high mountains at the back, with a luxuriant and dense tropical vegetation, and a damp volcanic soil, it

fairly reeks with fever and ague. Even the natives of the island themselves call it the "Black Corner." The poor immigrants to this place died off by the score, and, in February of the succeeding year, the place was abandoned altogether.

The head-wind we encountered in St. George's Channel nearly proved disastrous to Father Lannuzel's live-stock. Fodder became exhausted, as well as our patience. Had the wind continued a day or two longer, we should have been obliged to make beef of the cattle. Luckily it did not last long enough to drive us to such an extremity. The trade-wind was now working further and further north, as the year advanced. Late one evening, after a short calm, the breeze came up again from southward, fresh and clear, and gave the old *Fanny* as much as she could do to carry her whole topsail, as she ran before it. When we had made Cape Palliser, it moderated, hauling round to east-south-east.

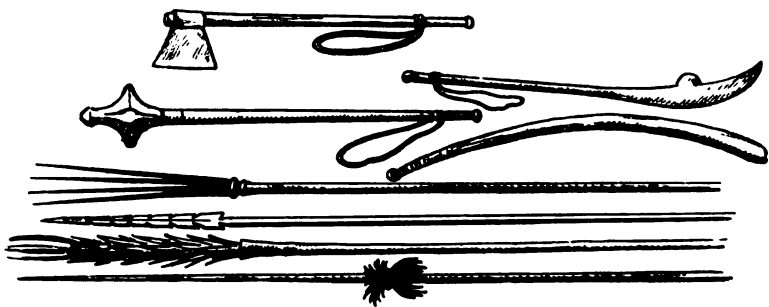
On April 14, I dropped my anchor in eighteen fathoms of water, on the eastern side of Mattupi Islet, in Blanche Bay, on the north-eastern coast of New Britain.

Blanche Bay is a large indentation of the land, running in about seven miles, by four in width, and is open to the east. The western shores are backed by high, steep hills, the ridges of which are clothed in long, coarse grass. To the north and north-east, overshadowing the two inner harbours, there are three lofty peaks, which are known as the "Mother and Daughters Mountains." Between the "Mother" and her southern "Daughter," on the south-western side of the connecting ridge, there is the crater of a volcano.

A few years previous to this an eruption had occurred here, accompanied by an earthquake. Beyond alarming the natives, however, it caused little damage, except in the immediate vicinity of the crater. A new islet arose in the south-western part of the bay.

Eruptions of this volcano seem to have occurred only at long intervals. This was the first that had happened since 1873; in which year I had visited New Britain as a trader, employed by the firm of Godeffroy and Sons, of Hamburg. At that time the elder natives informed me that there had been no disturbance within their recollection. Dampier, however, states that when he passed in 1699, he noticed the smoke of a volcano in this neighbourhood.

The water of Blanche Bay is very deep, and anchorage can only be found close in to the shores at Mattupi Islet. I have been told that, at the extreme head of the bay, it is not so deep.



WEAPONS—BLANCHE BAY, NEW BRITAIN.

There are three islets in Blanche Bay: one, mentioned as having been thrown up by an earthquake, which is a bare and sterile mass of rock; Mattupi; and another double islet called the Beehive. These two are covered with habitations, the plantations of the natives being on the mainland.

The inhabitants of these islands are all Papuans. In the mountain villages of New Ireland many of the men attain a height of six feet. Both sexes go entirely naked. They are a fierce, warlike, and treacherous race, and are inveterate cannibals.

I remember, in 1873, asking King Johnny—a great chief at Port Hunter, Duke of York I.—what his opinion

was as to the relative merits of the flesh of white men and of Papuans. It was on the day after a cannibal feast, when I and others had witnessed the assimilation of an unfortunate "bushman" by King Johnny and his warriors.

"Man-o'-bush very good," said he. "Man-Sydney no good : too much salt."

By "salt" I suppose he meant "*rank*." White men eat so much meat that their flesh cannot taste well, I conclude.

Their arms consist of tomahawks, with iron heads, and carved "paddle" handles ; clubs—many with stone



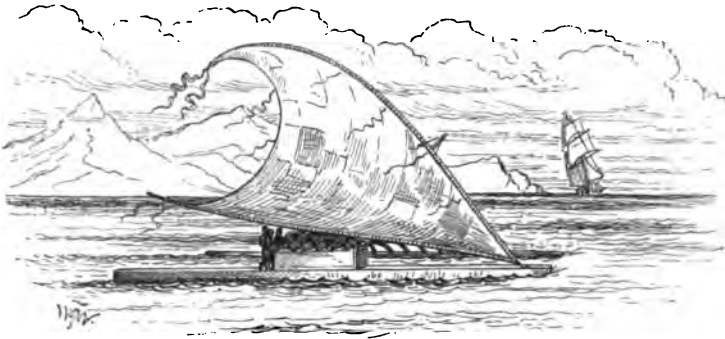
HOUSES AND NATIVES—BLANCHE BAY.

heads—spears, and slings. Near Blanche Bay they possess a few muskets, purchased from a German firm which has a station on Mattupi I. They chew betel, that is to say, pounded areca nut, mixed with the pod or leaf of the betel pepper and a little lime. They are also rapidly acquiring a taste for tobacco. Kava they know not. Their dwelling-houses are usually about five feet high, having arched roofs, thatched with palm-leaves.

Their war-canoes are shaped like a whale-boat. They are constructed of planks, "seized" together with twine, and have carved bows and stern-posts. They have no outriggers, and are similar in construction to the

war-canoes of the Solomon Islanders. The lighter canoes, used for the transportation of women to the plantations, and for carriage of food thence, are hollowed out of logs. They have plank side-boards, fastened on with twine, and light curved ends. They are fitted with outriggers. These canoes are invariably white-washed. Their food consists chiefly of bananas, taro, cocoanuts, small yams, sweet potatoes, and fish, together with an occasional "human."

Large wicker fish-traps are in common use. These are about eight feet long, barrel-shaped, with orifices at each end. Weighted with stones, they are lowered by



OUTRIGGER CANOE—NEW BRITAIN.

a rope to a depth of two or three fathoms, being kept in position by a log attached to them, which floats on the surface.

New Britain and New Ireland are lofty and mountainous, some peaks rising over 3,000 feet above sea-level. They are luxuriantly fertile.

Duke of York I. (Neu Lauenburg) lies between them. It is chiefly of raised coral formation, and is thickly wooded. It possesses two good harbours—Port Hunter and Mioko.

At Port Hunter a Wesleyan mission station has been established, where the Revs. Dank and Rickard resided with their wives and children.

Europeans are liable to attacks of fever and ague on the larger islands, but I think that, in Duke of York I., they are exempt from them, probably in consequence of its coral formation. King Johnny once told me that when his people visited New Ireland or New Britain, and stayed there awhile, they often returned sick. I think he called the ailment "mellapun."

At the time of my present visit, a German, named Hershheim, had a large trading establishment on the north-eastern side of Mattupi I. This comprised some half a dozen dwellings and store-houses, the whole surrounded by a galvanized iron fence or wall. There was a wharf, at which a Hamburg barquentine—the *Emil Mullenhausen*—was then lying, taking in a cargo of copra for Europe.

Knowing the dislike that traders evince to the visits of labour vessels, as well as that the German would not be likely to influence the natives in my favour, I had some doubts about my probable reception. Nor was I sure of a welcome from the Mattupi people; for there was an old score yet to be rubbed out between them and me.

Ten years before this, the Hamburg brig *Iserbrook*, Captain Levison, visited New Britain, in order to land John Nash, a trader, there. She lay at anchor while a thatched house was built for him, on the south-western side of Mattupi. Thence she went to Nogai, west of Cape Stephens, at which place I landed, and formed a trading station. The *Iserbrook* then sailed to the Caroline group, whence Captain Levison proposed to return in about three months.

Before the brig left, the natives, with their usual treachery, had formed the intention of murdering us after her departure. The execution of their plot did not altogether succeed, for we escaped. Nevertheless, they got what they most wanted—namely, all our stores, "trade," and some of our firearms.

I remained at Nogai for about four weeks afterwards. During the last week of that period I lived in a state of siege. My garrison consisted of only two men—a Malay, and a native of Rotumah I. One night I got away in a canoe, with my men, from the beach, just as a crowd of savages stormed the station. Early next morning I reached Mattupi.

There, three weeks later, Nash and I, together with two Malays, the Rotumah man, and a woman from the Carolines, had to fight our way out of our burning houses, and take refuge in a small bamboo hut, at a little distance from them. This we held for a time, "rubbing out" eight of the islanders, besides wounding seven more, finally escaping in Nash's boat.

The principal "fighting chief" of the tribe that attacked us—a young man we knew by the name of Torlong—was friendly, taking no part against us. On the contrary, knowing that our oars, mast, and sail had been consumed in the burning store-house, he gave us four paddles. But for him we must have been killed. In consequence of what he had done to aid our escape, Torlong was speared in the thigh by one of his own people. After his recovery from the wound, however, he resumed his position as "fighting chief." At the time of this, my second visit, he had become head chief of the whole tribe.

As soon as the sails had been stowed, Father Lanuzel departed in a canoe for his residence at Nadup, a village on the northern slopes of the Mother Mountain. The G.A. and I then took boat and pulled in to the trading station. Landing on the small boat wharf near the gate of the enclosure, we found some natives awaiting our arrival. After a few questions and answers had been exchanged, I ascertained that Torlong was not only alive, but that he was also now the head chief of Mattupi. His name had been altered to Torlogga.

I noticed another change in a name, too. Formerly

“Mattupi” had been pronounced *Mat-tu-pi*, now it was *Mat-tu-pee*. Probably this was owing to its having been written *Mattupée* by white visitors, then mispronounced by others, whose rendering had been presently imitated by the natives themselves.

Many South Sea Island words—especially names of places—have become corrupted in this way. Early navigators and traders are careless in learning the native names, mispronounce them, and make a greater mess of it when they come to write them down. Other Europeans read their versions, and still further mispronounce them. Lastly, the natives follow the new style, and gradually drop into the corruptions instituted by their white visitors.

In 1870, when I first knew the island of Sandwich, in the New Hebrides group, the missionaries, who are supposed to be great authorities on such matters, wrote its native name, *Vate*. Since then it was altered to *Fate*, and now it is written and supposed to be *Efate*. *Niua* was once *Nieua*, now it is *Aniwa*. *Api*—and Heaven only knows how it got that name, for it was not its native name in 1870—is now often written *Epi*. *Ambrym*, of the charts, is now to be called *Ambirr*, though in 1870 the natives appeared to me to pronounce it *Amberam*, or *Ambram*. *Tonga* and *Tanna* have been confounded, of course.

Again, at *Rennell* and *Bellona* Is., though they have been little visited by vessels, and though no white men have yet resided in them, the native names have apparently changed considerably in about a dozen or fifteen years, without any foreign influence. *Tom Tamoan* pronounced the native names of them *Mungava* and *Mungigi*; but during my visits I always heard them called *Muava* and *Muigi*.

A present of a stick of tobacco sufficed to send a couple of boys off to summon the chief, *Torlogga*, whom, for good reasons, I preferred to interview first at the

station. Then we paid a visit to Mr. Hershheim, finding him in his office, his two or three clerks being engaged in weighing and superintending the shipment of copra on board the barquentine at the wharf.

In the course of conversation I recounted my former experiences of New Britain, and of Mattupi I. ; and Mr. Hershheim expressed a strong opinion that it would be absolutely dangerous for me to venture into the native village. This I of course accepted as "bluff," to prevent our becoming so friendly with the natives as to obtain recruits.

Among objects of interest in the office, the G.A. and I particularly noticed a sheet of cardboard, which hung just inside the door. On it was a list of prices, and the equivalent weight of copra to be received from natives for the different articles of trade. The last article mentioned was "one Snider cartridge!"

I called this to mind subsequently, on reading a letter from Hershheim in the Queensland papers, in which he complained that Queensland labour vessels had been supplying the New Britain natives with firearms in his neighbourhood. A wound I received some three weeks afterwards was caused by half of a Snider bullet.

It is well known that all the Snider rifles—which may be counted by the thousand—now in the hands of natives of the Solomon Is., which are under *British* protection, though of British manufacture, and many of them bearing the "TOWER" mark, have been sold to the natives by *German* traders.

We had been at the station about half an hour, when a boy brought me word that "Torlogga stop." Going down to the gateway—beyond which he did not dare to venture without permission—I found the chief awaiting me, with eight or ten of his principal followers.

Ten years had made a considerable change in Torlogga, but I recognized his face at once. All his party looked upon *me* as a stranger, however.

I have no doubt that time, not to say better health also, had changed me considerably since they had first known me. In those days I had been suffering from fever and ague, with a determination of blood to the head, which had affected my eyes to such an extent that I was almost blind. To protect my eyes from the glaring sunlight, I had always appeared out of doors with a white handkerchief tied round my head to serve as a shade. I had also become bald in the interval.

"You savez me?" I asked them, after I had shaken hands with Torlogga.

"No! No savez, Cap!" and they all stared at me without a sign of recognition.

"You savez two white men stop Mattupi, long time ago? He got house other side Mattupi"—pointing across the islet. "Man Mattupi fight alonga him; burn house."

"Yes, me savez."

Then I took out my handkerchief and fastened it round my head, as I used to wear it.

"You savez me now?"

"Cap Wan! Cap Wan!" from the whole crowd, some of those in the rear beginning to sneak off for the cover of the trees close at hand.

Torlogga and two others stood their ground, however; for the chief knew that he had nothing to fear from me. A hand-shake all round sufficed to make peace between us.

By this time the G.A. and the trader had joined me, so bidding good-day to the last, I returned on board, taking Torlogga and two subordinate chiefs with me. The other natives hung back, being evidently doubtful about the treatment they might receive if they ventured to trust me any further. Perhaps they were astonished when the chief returned to them an hour afterwards, possessed of a musket and ammunition, calico, axes, and tobacco—wealth sufficient to constitute him a millionaire

in their estimation. For, according to their customs—which I took care to observe—presents are always exchanged between the parties to a treaty of peace.

In return, towards sundown, two canoes came off, bearing Torlogga's presents to me. These consisted of a couple of pigs, and enough yams, sweet potatoes, cocoanuts, and bananas to load the canoes down to the gunwales. Two young women were also sent—part of the gift. However, as they were not intended as recruits for Queensland, they were sent back ashore. Notwithstanding all the talk of our detractors about the immorality on board labour vessels, the regulations on that score are as strictly carried out with us as they are on board the missionary packets.

Friendly relations having now been firmly established, that evening, after dark, the G.A. and I wandered unharmed through the village, where a "sing-sing" was going on. We lost a few sticks of tobacco, certainly, some pipes, and a sheath-knife or so; for these people do not need any instruction in the art of picking pockets. But that was all.

Next morning early, after a bathe on the beach, I rambled over to the other side of the island. There I found a single charred post still standing, a relic of Nash's house, in the midst of a thicket of bushes. Some boys also drew my attention to a cocoanut palm, not far from it, in which there was a hole through the middle of the trunk, at about the height of my head. I was told that this hole had been made by one of our bullets, which had killed a man who was sheltering himself behind the tree.

I lay in Blanche Bay for some three or four days, during which time Father Lannuzel's stock was landed, on the point of the mainland between the two inner bays. The shores were also worked meanwhile for recruits. The barquentine *Hopeful*, of Townsville, Captain Briggs, Mr. Chayter G.A., anchored near the *Fanny*

during the day after my arrival. It was here, and in connection with this vessel, that there came under my notice the first case of kidnapping I had seen committed by a Queensland ship since I had been connected with the labour trade.

One afternoon, my G.A. and myself took the boats four or five miles south-eastward. Landing on the mainland we visited the Roman Catholic mission. Father Lannuzel had not accompanied us on this occasion, as he was then engaged at his station at Nadup, a village on the outer side of Mother Mountain.

After spending an hour or so with the Fathers, we were walking along the beach near the mission, to rejoin our boats, when we encountered those of the *Hopeful*. The recruiter of that vessel, McNeil, was in charge of them, the G.A. having remained on board. He had been out all day, and had had no more luck than ourselves; neither ship having obtained any recruits here so far. We left him talking to a party of some half a dozen natives.

A little further on we met a coloured gentleman, clad in a shirt and a "sulu" (waist-cloth), with a book in his hand. He was a Protestant mission teacher, and probably a Samoan, judging from his appearance. He told us his house was some distance away, along the beach, in the direction we were going. Beyond *that* information, however, we could get nothing out of him. He was there to act in opposition to us, and not to give information. As we pulled along the beach, he kept abreast of the boats. Every now and then, when any natives approached the water's edge and tried to communicate with us, he got in the way, and, with a few words, persuaded them to retire.

It was evident that no recruits could be obtained whilst this man was about, so we pulled across the bay, back to the ship. A little before sunset McNeil returned, coming alongside the *Fanny* on his way to the *Hopeful*,

which lay inshore of us, to exchange notes with my recruiter.

In his boat there was a New Britain man, who was, he told us, a recruit. After his departure, the truth about this boy came out. McNeil's boatmen had told mine, that, despairing of obtaining any willing recruits, just as they were shoving the boat off from the beach, McNeil had seized this native by his wool and had pulled him into the boat. In point of fact, he had kidnapped him.

That evening, my G.A. and I visited the *Hopeful*. In her cabin I broached the subject of this so-called recruit. Mr. Chayter then explained that, shortly after the arrival of their boats, he had discovered that the New Britain man had been kidnapped. He informed me that on the morrow the man should be relanded. However, as there was no one else on board the *Hopeful* who was able to discharge the duties of a "recruiter," he merely intended to caution McNeil, without depriving him of his billet. My next question was a poser.

"Do you intend to report him to the Government for kidnapping when you get back?"

This Chayter did not like. "It would cause trouble, and do no good. Only 'kick up a row.' McNeil would not do it again. He must have been crazy to try it."

But this was not enough for me.

"If you don't report him," I said, "I will; and you will be home first, so I give you a good chance."

So at last the G.A. promised to report McNeil, and then the subject was dropped.

But he did *not* report him on their return, that I know of. At any rate, I was so informed at the Immigration Office at Brisbane, where I spoke of the matter privately.

McNeil afterwards sailed on two voyages as recruiter of the *Hopeful*, with Captains Voss and Shaw, and with

what result will be seen subsequently. Even on this present voyage, immediately after they left Blanche Bay—the *Hopeful* sailed a day before the *Fanny*—McNeil kidnapped another man from Nadup beach. Shortly after that, the *Hopeful* anchored in Port Hunter, Duke of York I., where the natives, visiting the ship, heard of it, and informed the Revs. Dank and Rickards, the missionaries there. Through their instrumentality the man was returned to his home. At least, the *Hopeful's* boats left Port Hunter with him, with the avowed intention of returning him.

This episode occurred previous to an attack on my G.A. and myself at Nadup, which I shall describe presently. It was also the subject of a letter from the Rev. Mr. Dank to a friend in Queensland, which letter was published in a Queensland paper—"The Ipswich Advocate," I think—about the beginning of November, 1883.

Despairing of obtaining recruits on this part of New Britain, where traders and mission teachers combined to frustrate all our endeavours, I sailed over to Duke of York I., and lay at anchor there for a couple of days in Port Hunter, a small but deep bay on the north-east coast.

The mission station there is situated on the north-western "head." The missionary's residence is a neat, substantial wooden building, facing the entrance of the bay, and overlooking the harbour.

Next day, while the G.A. and the recruiter visited the opposite coast of New Ireland in the boats, I was hospitably entertained by the missionaries.

Ten years before, John Nash and I took refuge in this harbour, having been driven away from New Britain. King Johnny was then its ruler. That potentate had been dead some years, having been slaughtered by a neighbouring monarch—his own brother. His wife was still alive, and she was living at the mission

as a servant. I barely recognized her when she entered Mrs. Dank's sitting-room, bearing a tray of refreshments. Soap, good food, and a quiet life, "secure from war's alarms," as also from her husband's club, had, together with a neat print dress, made a wonderful difference in her. She now looked younger, instead of ten years older, than when I first knew her.

When the boats returned they brought three recruits, who had been obtained with some difficulty, owing to the opposition of the mission teachers stationed there. Had it not been for them, the boats would have been loaded with recruits. A great number of the younger men were only restrained by force, through the influence the teachers.

Only one of the Port Hunter tribe offered himself. He said nothing to his friends concerning his intention, but quietly rolled up his mats and few clothes and repaired on board the *Fanny*, while I was at the mission. Then some of his friends rushed up to the house with the news, asking Mr. Dank to *order* him to leave the ship. I think they were rather surprised to find that the missionary did not possess absolute control over all white men—myself among them.

The youth was accepted as a recruit and left in the ship. A few days later he was re-landed at Port Hunter; for he soon repented of his temerity, and by then I had plenty on board without him.

I sailed from Port Hunter with a light south-easter, passing over to New Ireland, where I spent three days recruiting. I worked the coast between Cape Givry and Cape Strauch, having the quickest success I have ever experienced.

On the third day, April 28, I engaged seventy-one men by 3 p.m., being even obliged to send back several who came off in the recruiting boats, as my licensed quota was made up. I had now 143 men and one woman on board; and, had I been able to carry them, I might

have doubled that number in the course of the next twenty-four hours.

The excitement all along this part of the coast was intense. The boats were sometimes fairly rushed by men eager to get away, who tumbled in without waiting to be asked, and fought and struggled with such of their friends as strove to detain them. Many, who were afraid they might miss the opportunity, paddled off to the ship in small canoes, or on bamboo catamarans. Several even swam off, with the aid of dry logs of wood.

Some of the older men, who disapproved of this wholesale exodus, also took to their canoes and chased the runaways.



A CATAMARAN—NEW IRELAND.

All round the ship at least fifty canoes, carrying over a hundred men, were paddling about, chasing or being chased. There was an uproar of shouting, laughing, very likely swearing also, with prodigious splashing. Every now and then some young fellow, who had been cut off from the ship by his friends, would take a header. Diving down under the other canoes, he would not come up until close alongside, when he would seize a rope left conveniently hanging, and so would speedily clamber on deck.

There was no waiting for "pay," nor yet for any agreement with regard to the term of service in Queens-

land, or the remuneration at the end of it. All they wanted was to get away, till the *Fanny's* decks began to be crowded.

Suddenly I noticed that a few new arrivals, climbing up on board, were middle-aged men. These were big, muscular fellows, more like stay-at-home warriors than recruits. Then one of the New Britain interpreters rushed aft to me, crying,—

“Look out, Cap! Man, he want to take ship!”

Our merry game was growing dangerous. The ship was now about a mile off shore, lying to, with her head to the land. A pull of the lee braces hauled the yards round; then, as the square canvas filled, she slipped away, clear of the canoes. More than a dozen of the suspected new-comers jumped overboard as the canoes went astern.

A little further in I picked up the boats, coming off with recruits. Well satisfied with the day's work, I then stood off until safe from attack. Next, we took stock of the crowd we had on board, taking down their names and explaining the terms of agreement for service in Queensland. Lastly, we served out blankets, pipes, and tobacco to them. Many had never used tobacco as yet, but they all seemed eager enough to learn how to do so.

My recruit list was now full, without counting the Port Hunter man, whom I landed the second day after. There were four in excess besides, so I made a “board” inshore, putting them off near their village, Kornu. I then worked back southward, knowing it would be dangerous to linger in the neighbourhood. For, many of my recruits must have engaged themselves on the spur of the moment; and, as soon as they began to feel sea-sick, or home-sick, it was too probable some would desert, so long as their home was in sight. I have observed a similar feeling take possession of white emigrants, when going down the English Channel, bound for the colonies.

Luckily, I had filled up my water-tanks on this coast while recruiting; I had also a good stock of firewood on board. So, without anchoring anywhere, I worked away to windward against the south-east wind, fighting the current as well, which, since my arrival, had changed its flow, and was now setting northward.

Off Nadup, I hove to for an hour or so, to put ashore the chief and his men who had acted as our interpreters. I gave them an amount of pay in "trade" that delighted them hugely. At Port Hunter the boy I had brought thence, who had now had enough of the sea, was allowed to land again. I fancy he did not like the companionship of the Kornu men.

Between Point Hunter, New Ireland, and Cape Palliser, New Britain—the narrowest part of St. George's Channel—our progress to windward was very slow; about five miles a day was all we could make against wind and current. The pitching of the vessel made many of the recruits cast sorrowful and repentant looks at the shores of New Ireland.

On the evening of May 7, about 8 o'clock, the G.A. and I were just sitting down to our usual game at cribbage in the deckhouse, when suddenly the boatswain on deck sang out, "Man overboard!"

I had just tacked about, not more than half a mile off the New Ireland coast, some two or three miles south of Point Hunter. I guessed what was up the moment I heard the cry.

"Down with the helm! Hard-a-lee!" I shouted, as I came out of the cabin door; and round came the old craft like a top. So quickly, indeed, did she answer to the helm that she dropped, with her square-sails aback, almost atop of two swimmers. They deemed "prudence the better part of valour," and so climbed up the side again. They were on deck almost as soon as we knew that they had left the ship. But it was not these the boatswain had sighted when he gave the alarm.

Others must be in the water between the ship and the shore, swimming away towards the land. Both boats were quickly lowered and sent away in the direction of the land. They returned in half an hour without having found any of the deserters.

The recruits were now all down below. So, as soon as the boats were secured and the ship on her way again, a rough count was made as they lay in their bunks. They numbered a hundred and thirty, including the woman in the females' compartment. Fourteen men, therefore, had slipped overboard and made for the shore.

Next day the wind fell light and the sky clouded over. Towards evening rain began to fall. During the following night the ship was carried by the current back to Duke of York I., near the northern end of which, a mile or two beyond Port Hunter, I anchored to wait for more favourable weather. That evening the sky cleared again and became fair, with a light breeze still blowing from south-east. My old ship, the *Stanley*, passed me here, going northward in search of recruits, under the command of Captain Harris, Mr. William McMurdo being G.A.

On the following morning, the breeze still being adverse, I weighed anchor and stood over to Nadup to engage interpreters again. My object was to secure fourteen more recruits, to make up the deficiency occasioned by the recent desertions.

The old chief, however, and the men who had accompanied him, were not again forthcoming. They were away at some neighbouring village attending a feast. A subordinate chief, named Tokkolula, and another man whose name I now forget, volunteered to serve as interpreters, and came off to the ship with me.

Tokkolula was not a native of Nadup, but had been adopted by the tribe there. He came originally from Wottam I., which lies about three miles northward of Cape Stephens. Having fled thence in his youth on

account of some crime or misdemeanour, he had taken refuge at Nadup, where his fighting abilities had raised him to the dignity of second chief of the tribe.

Tokkolula's advice to me was to go to Wottam, his native island, where, he said, he was certain to obtain for me the required number of recruits.

When I returned on board the *Fanny* with these men, the day was too far advanced to admit of sailing to Wottam I. with hopes of being able to do any work there before dark. So the ship was kept "dodging" about all night off Cape Stephens. Next morning, at sunrise, I found myself becalmed, about a mile from the south-eastern shore of Wottam. The boats visited the island before breakfast, but did not obtain any recruits.

The G.A., feeling hungry, returned to the ship for his breakfast about eight o'clock. He had the second interpreter in his boat, Tokkolula being with the recruiter in the other. The latter officer was too eager after recruits to think about breakfast. He pulled along the shore westward, and, when the G.A. left the ship again to rejoin him, he had gone out of sight round a point of land.

The ship was now becalmed, or I should have kept the boats in sight. For upwards of an hour we saw nothing of either of them. Then suddenly they came into view, pulling hard for the ship. Scanned through the glass, they did not appear to have any extra men in them; on the contrary, there was evidently a hand short in one of them.

So it proved. Poor Tokkolula was lying dead in the bottom of the recruiter's boat, with two spear-wounds through his body and a couple of great gashes from tomahawks—one in his neck, the other in the small of his back.

It appeared that when the G.A. returned to the ship for breakfast, the recruiter had pulled slowly along the shore, stopping here and there while Tokkolula con-

versed with the natives, a gradually increasing party of these following the boat along the shore. About the time the G.A. was nearing the island, on his return to it, the recruiter was drawing near the western point. The body of natives on shore had then increased to quite two hundred men. They were all armed with spears, clubs, tomahawks, and slings.

With these slings, by the way, they can deliver stones with tremendous force, sufficient to cave a man's skull in at two hundred yards distance. The discharge is accompanied by a sharp "crack" from the sling-cord, nearly as loud as that of a stock-whip.

As Tokkolula evinced no uneasiness, the recruiter, very naturally, did not dream of hostilities; and so he confidently steered his boat in towards a sandy beach, the natives calling out to him to come to them.

After talking awhile with a number clustered round the stern of the boat, Tokkolula, remarking that the sun was too hot for him to remain in the boat, went on shore. He repaired to a large log that was lying near under the shelter of the trees, and sat down upon it.

He had not been sitting on the log a couple of minutes, when down he went under his countrymen's tomahawks, two spears being plunged into his body at the same time.

The boat was attacked simultaneously, but the savages were too eager and crowded each other. For a few seconds there was a scuffle about and in the boat; but, luckily, she was afloat, and a shove of the steering-oar sent her out into deep water. The recruiter got a nasty blow from a sling-stone, and each of the boatmen had some bruises, but none were seriously hurt.

Just then the G.A.'s boat arrived on the scene. With the assistance of his crew a rush was made ashore, and the interpreter's body was brought off. The natives, meanwhile, continued to pelt our people with spears and stones from a little distance.

When the boats came alongside it was dead calm and awfully hot, there being no sign of wind anywhere.

In the afternoon, we deemed it best to bury the dead interpreter at sea, before the body became offensive. The other interpreter was consulted, and he approved of it. So the remains of the unfortunate Tokkolula were decently enshrouded in canvas, with some stones from the ballast at the feet, and quietly put overboard.

About three o'clock, to my surprise, a northerly breeze sprang up. This soon carried the ship back to Nadup, where we hove to. The G.A. and I then went ashore to Father Lannuzel's mission station, taking the other native with us, together with his pay. We also took a quantity of "trade," a present for Tokkolula's friends, in case they should prove disposed to throw any of the blame of the murder on our shoulders.

When we landed a few natives appeared on the beach, as well as the Father, with whom was Buckley, a trader who lived close at hand, being in Hershheim's employment.

The remaining interpreter's story was soon told to his countrymen—though Heaven only knows what he said to them. He then disappeared with his wages, along with most of the other natives, leaving half a dozen, who remained close to the G.A. and me. Father Lannuzel was much disturbed at the news, and Buckley soon went off to his house, saying he expected there would be trouble. I think very little would have induced the G.A. and me to quit also. For sharp, shrill yells of anger from the men, and long, mournful cries of grief from the women, made our flesh creep. These showed that the feeling in the village, excited by the news of Tokkolula's death, was intense.

But we wished to avert trouble from any future comers, as well as from the whites then living there. So we remained waiting for the chief, who, the natives assured us, would arrive presently.

We waited for about half an hour, and still the chief did not appear. We never suspected that the six savages who remained on the spot, smiling and grinning around us, were only acting as decoys. Their object was to keep us from leaving until warriors could be collected on three sides of us, under cover of the thick forest and under-wood. Then they meant to put us two to death.

We had left our rifles in the boat, but we had revolvers in our belts. We were standing close behind Father Lannuzel's house, a structure of thatch and bamboo. We were about five yards apart, with three natives (two spears and one tomahawk) fronting each of us. I was laughing at something, when suddenly my two spearmen thrust their weapons at me. I stooped on the impulse of the moment, so that one spear went over me into the house. The other pierced my right arm below the elbow, struck the bone, and fell to the ground. At the same time, down came the tomahawk. Somehow, the head missed me, though I felt the handle strike my shoulder. The next moment I had a good hold of it, and was struggling for its possession. Meanwhile I kept my foot on the fallen spear, so as to prevent its owner from picking it up and using it again.

The attack had been so sudden, that, for a moment, I was quite bewildered, and only fought instinctively. I was half deafened, at the same time, by shouts and yells, and the explosions of musketry.

I soon got the tomahawk to myself, putting my foe on his back at my feet. It was lucky for him, then, that the weapon and its paddle-shaped handle were almost a novelty to me. Another second and I should have split his head open, when a slug—half of a Snider ball—struck me on the right arm, just above the wrist, crippling the limb.

My adversary now bolted for the bush, as his companions had already done. When I felt for my "bulldog," to send a bullet after him, the holster was empty.

The pistol must have dropped out during the rough-and-tumble, and been lost in the thick layer of dust, sand, and leaves that covered the ground.

Meantime, Fowler, the G.A., with a cut on the shoulder from a tomahawk, had emptied his revolver. So now, with the spear and tomahawk in my hands, we both bolted for the boat, where our boys were making play with their Sniders, firing into the forest, whether they got a glimpse of our enemies or not.

There was a fall of about six feet, from the level ground on which the mission stood, to the sandy beach. Down this we both dropped, and had got as far as the water's edge, when a bullet struck the G.A. on the left arm, shattering the bone. Then I tumbled into a hole, and, before I was up again, a savage had nearly transfixed me with his spear. Luckily, I turned about as the point of the spear entered my left shoulder, causing it to break off short, though six inches of it remained in the flesh.

The next thing I remember was getting hold of the boat's stern, and the stroke oarsman helping me in. Then together we dragged in Father Lannuzel. The G.A. was pulled in forward, and then we cleared off as quickly as we could, amidst a shower of bullets and sling-stones.

My Winchester rifle was lying in the stern locker ready loaded. The natives kept close under cover, however, and I only got a fair shot at one, who showed his head and shoulders. He dropped; but whether he was hit or no, I cannot say. I fired away at the puffs of smoke issuing from the bushes, until the magazine of the rifle was empty. Then I turned to the stroke-oarsman to get his rifle. But my fighting for that day was over. I had the Snider in my hand, and was about to put in a cartridge, when a ball struck the boat near the stern-post, penetrating the planks, and also my left foot. As I felt the bones crunch, a sensation of nausea and faintness

overpowered me. Then down I went in the stern-sheets, murmuring, "I'm done, boys!"

Another bullet struck the boat's stern immediately after, penetrating beneath the planks on which I was lying. This was the last shot that came close to us; and very soon we were out of range, pulling for the ship, which had drifted off the land to the distance of three miles.

During the skirmish a canoe with four natives in her was alongside the ship. We could have cut her off had we wished; but we let her go, as the men in her had not been concerned in the attack.

As soon as we arrived alongside, Father Lannuzel climbed on deck. The G.A. and I remained where we were, until the boat had been hoisted up as high as the rail. Then we were helped out on to the deck, and so into the cabin.

Father Lannuzel had got a barked shin, attributable to a bullet. The G.A.s' left arm had been severely wounded by a musket ball and several slugs. He had also a gash from a tomahawk on one shoulder. I had sustained slug and spear wounds in the right arm, a spear wound in the left shoulder, a bullet nearly through the left foot, and, though I did not know it until I arrived at Mackay, a fractured rib, the effect of a sling-stone probably.

The weather being very close and warm, we had our mattresses laid on the main cabin floor. There we both remained until the ship neared the Queensland coast, two solid months of weary, painful existence. The chief mate acted as head nurse, besides having to attend to the navigation of the ship, to look after the recruits, and to keep his watch every alternate four hours.

For several days the *Fanny* lay at anchor in Port Hunter. There we received every possible attention from the missionaries. They cut out the bullet that was in my foot, and furnished us with several medical com-

forts that we were in need of, and which, very likely, they could ill spare from their scanty stores. The slug in my arm shifted its position one night, working out from between the bones, and then the mate extracted it.

We were delayed at Duke of York I. for more than a week, owing to light variable winds and calms. The last two or three nights of our stay were spent at Mioko, a snug land-locked harbour on the south of the island. Mr. Farren's head trading station was situated there, and we lay at anchor in company with three other vessels—the *Haabai*, formerly called the *Sea Rip*, the *Ninjo*, and the *Falcon*.

At last, one morning, a fresh breeze sprang up from the north, and with the assistance of the captain of the *Haabai*, who piloted us, we once more got to sea. This breeze carried us through the channel and about twenty miles south of New Ireland, when we were again becalmed, and for the next fortnight were fairly in the "doldrums." Gradually, however, though slowly, the *Fanny* crept southward, the wind freshening up as she got further away.

Off the south-western coast of Bougainville I., we spoke the *Carola*, a German corvette. She steamed up to us in answer to our "urgent" signal for medical assistance. A lieutenant boarded us in company with the surgeon, who attended to our hurts. He appeared to think there was little chance that the G.A. would survive till we reached Queensland; for the wounded arm was now in a terrible state.

These Germans did all they could for us. The captain even offered to take the G.A. and me to Batavia in the corvette, so that we could remain under his surgeon's care. This we declined, however, not without many thanks for the offer. We then parted company, the corvette steering northward, whilst we "hammered" away against the freshening south-easter, which blew up into a

hard gale off Ronongo I., obliging us to seek shelter under Banquetta Point for a couple of days—an opportunity we used for filling up the water-tanks.

We were now fairly in the “trades” again, and made a dead “beat” as far as the Lihou Reefs. I kept the ship away to windward of these, steering for Flinders’ opening in the Great Barrier. After dark, on July 2, the anchor was dropped in Cleveland Bay, off Townsville. The G.A. and I then found quarters in the hospital there, while the *Fanny* went on to Mackay in charge of the mate.

I remained only a few days at Townsville, going on to Mackay in the A.S.M. Co.’s steamer *Elamang*, leaving the G.A. still in the hospital. He eventually recovered his health there, though not the full use of his arm. The elbow-joint remained stiff and useless ever afterwards. As for my own wounds, all, except the spear wound in my left shoulder, had almost healed up by the time we arrived at Townsville. The doctor there said that some foreign body—probably a piece of the spear—was still resting in unpleasant proximity to the shoulder-blade. He was either unable to extract it, or perhaps thought it better to await further developments.

I remained some three weeks at Mackay, and then, as I was suffering agonies from rheumatism in the wounded shoulder, and as there appeared to be little chance of my obtaining relief, I went on to Brisbane in the s.s. *Yaralla*. The passage occupied a week, as the steamer had to call in at several ports on her way. In the meantime, an abscess formed just over the spot where the piece of wood lay embedded.

On our arrival at Brisbane, I was met by a friend, who took me to the hospital. For I was so weak that I now needed assistance when moving about. That same day, August 7, the abscess was opened. The spear point—a piece of wood four inches long—was discovered, lying upon the shoulder-blade. Next day I was put under

chloroform, and the thing was extracted ; a third opening having to be made to effect the removal.

For some little time, I believe, my condition was considered rather precarious. Eventually I recovered, and left the hospital, a month after the operation, almost fit for work again. My right hand will never fully recover its strength, and a hit out with the left sometimes causes an unpleasant twinge in the shoulder on that side.

CHAPTER XIX.

FIRST VOYAGE OF THE *LIZZIE*, 1883-84.

I am appointed to the Lizzie—Fitting out—A bad sailer—The new regulation concerning firearms—Where to go?—I sail from Townsville in December—The Louisiade Archipelago—Taste I.—A sick mission teacher—The Eileen and her skipper—Bêche-de-mer collectors—Recruiting at Mewstone I.—Fresh recruits and hard work—Islanders improved by service—Contrast presented in Aneiteum I.—On to the Redlick Is.—Natives alarmed by false reports—Entering the barrier reef—The Calvados Chain—Coral Haven—Report of an affray—Native fishermen—Curious trap-nets—How made—Weapons and houses—Canoes—Character of the people—"Scaly-skin"—A white man infected—Formation of the Louisiades—Mount Rattlesnake—Sam meets his long-lost brother—Native excursionists—Nicholas Minister's stories—Turning homeward—Bad qualities of the Lizzie—Arrival in Cleveland Bay—A Royal Commission—Affray at Mackay between colonists and Kanakas—The stirrup-iron as a weapon.

AFTER leaving the hospital, a few weeks' holiday, together with good feeding, made me, if not "as fit as a fiddle" after the shaking I had experienced, at any rate fit enough to take another command in the labour trade. For this I had not long to wait.

The *Lizzie*—hitherto a barquentine, but now about to be altered into a brigantine—owned by Messrs. Burns, Philp & Co., was lying at Townsville, and was in want of a master. The command of her was offered to me, and I accepted it towards the end of November. A month had to be spent in port, however, before I was ready for sea. During that time, the vessel's mizzen-mast was removed. A new mainmast, eight feet longer

than the old one, was put in also. A mainboom, more than half the length of the hull, was shipped aft. This stretched a mainsail and gaff topsail, containing nearly as much canvas as all her other sails put together.

The *Lizzie* was the worst old "ballahoe" for sailing that I ever put my foot on board of. I have got eight knots out of her running, but "on a wind" she was nowhere, especially with a strong sea, when she would pitch up into the wind and then tumble off two or three points, enough to drive the helmsman mad!

Owing to a recent proclamation of the Government, forbidding us to supply the islanders with firearms as "trade," when recruiting, my owners and I had grave doubts as to whether natives of the New Hebrides or the Solomon Is. could now be induced to join. Smooth-bore muskets, very often even Snider rifles, had become the most common form of present, or "pay," to the friends of intending recruits. It seemed to me pretty certain that I should have to cruise about a long time in my old hunting grounds before the natives became reconciled to the new law. And this more particularly, because, of course, the regulation would not affect the action of French and German vessels. So, for a time, the New Hebrides and the Solomon Is. were likely to yield no recruits to us.

New Britain and New Ireland were also barred. It had been averred that the natives of these islands were an undesirable class of labourers. New Guinea was likewise forbidden as a recruiting ground. Nothing had been said, however, against the group of islands south-east of it, the Louisiade Archipelago, which had been hitherto unvisited by labour vessels. There the natives were not acquainted with the use of firearms, though to some extent accustomed to white men, *bêche-de-mer* collectors chiefly. So I resolved to go thither:

I sailed from Townsville on December 22. Running northward along the coast, I passed through the Great

Barrier by the Flora Pass, in latitude 17° S., steering thence to Teste, a small island about forty miles from the south-east point of New Guinea, lying within the chain of barrier reefs which encloses nearly all the islands of the Louisiade Archipelago. On the morning of January 1, 1884, we sighted Suckling Reef in this chain, and, passing eastward of it, entered within the barrier and anchored on the northern side of Teste I.

This island, the native name of which is Wari, is about three miles long by half a mile wide. It is lofty, with sharp serrated peaks. On its western shore there is a Protestant mission, where a Polynesian teacher and his wife were living. I engaged four of the natives there as boatmen, two of them to serve as interpreters also. They had a very fair knowledge of English, considering that they had never visited any of the colonies, and that their only instructors had been the *bêche-de-mer* collectors who have frequented the group for years. Concerning their treatment of the natives, especially towards the south-eastern end of the Archipelago, we heard of atrocities worse than anything related of labour recruiters.

At the time of this visit, the mission teacher at Teste I. was very sick, and seemed to be in a bad way. The G.A. and I did the best we could for him, and supplied him with medicine. Whether he eventually recovered or not, I am unable to say.

The *Eileen*, cutter, came to an anchor off the mission while I was there. She was owned and commanded by an Austrian, Herr Nicholas Minister, and was engaged in the *bêche-de-mer* trade.

Captain Minister dined with me on board the *Lizzie* the day I met him. During my present voyage he had neither time nor opportunity to do me any harm. When I next visited the Archipelago, however, I found he had assiduously spread false reports among the natives concerning the Queensland labour trade. He had even told them that many would be *eaten* in Queensland,

while few, if any, would ever find an opportunity of returning to their homes. He had several fishing stations on the eastern islands, especially in Saint Aignan, Sudest, Renard and Joannet Is. At this time he had probably more influence over these savages than any other European.

I lay at Teste I. one night only, getting under way again next morning. I then steered eastward, with my new interpreters on board, making for the Calvados chain. This is a line of twenty or thirty small islands and islets, lofty and rugged in contour. The chain stretches for fifty miles in length, and lies eighty or ninety miles east of Teste I.

We passed the first night, after leaving Teste, at anchor near the Kossman Is., halfway to the chain; the next near Real I. So dangerous and intricate is the navigation within the barrier reef of the Louisiade, that it was absolutely necessary always to anchor before nightfall.

My first recruits were obtained at Mewstone I. The interpreters I had engaged proved themselves thoroughly competent to make the natives understand what we required, as also what would be expected of such as might be engaged. The first two or three were spoken to in my presence by the interpreters, and I am certain that they thoroughly understood how long they were to remain in Queensland, what kind of work they were to engage in, and, as near as they could be made to comprehend it, what return they would receive for their services. This, I say, in spite of the report to the contrary formulated by a Royal Commission in the year following.

— One thing I admit: I do not suppose these men had ever undertaken what we call a hard day's work. They had never had any opportunity of gaining such experience. So, no doubt, they afterwards repented having left their homes, and their easy, slothful life, when they found out what work really meant.

A "Queen-streeter"—a Brisbane politician—to whom I once made a similar statement of this matter, said that, under such circumstances, I had done wrong in bringing these natives away from their islands, morally, if not legally.

Now, I explained to them, through competent interpreters, what they had to expect on their arrival in Queensland. They knew well enough that they had had no experience of the work that would be required of them, but they expressed themselves as being willing to chance that. They engaged themselves, of their own free will, to go to Queensland. So much for my legal right, now for the moral view.

By taking these men away from their island, and from a life of sloth, brutality, and cannibalism, they are improved intellectually, as well as physically, through contact with Europeans. It is said that they pick up the white man's vices. So they may, but a returned island labourer would look with contempt and aversion on the average Aneiteum native, with his thin veneer of Christianity.

As I have before stated, Aneiteum has been under the sway of Presbyterian missionaries for about thirty years. Now, it has not been either war, emigration, or disease that has caused a diminution of numbers there. On the contrary, peace, idleness, and licentious habits have contributed to make the population dwindle away to a mere fraction of what it was.

To change an islander into a decent citizen of the world, he must be forced to work for his living after his dancing and fighting have been stopped. If he is allowed to remain idle, he becomes a very much worse subject—morally and physically, Christian or pagan—than the raw savage.

Passing through the chain, from Mewstone I. we next went to the Redlick Is., which are three in number, lying twelve or thirteen miles further north. On the north-

west of the Redlicks, a larger island, called Deboyne, was laid down on the charts in use at that time. But, in reality, Deboyne and the Redlicks are one and the same. About nine miles beyond the Redlicks lies the large mountainous island of Saint Aignan, which I did not visit on this voyage.

The Redlicks lie at the western end of a small atoll or ring reef. I sailed into the lagoon enclosed within this reef, anchoring at first on the northern side of Warri I., and afterwards on its south-western shore. I recruited ten men at the first anchorage; but a scare arose amongst the crowd on shore, which spread to the new recruits, who were frightened by some bogus story about the cannibalistic tastes of white men. Consequently, when we came to our second anchorage, nine men jumped overboard one night, to swim ashore. We recovered five of them.

I left the Redlick atoll by a passage through the northern side of the reef, and stood to the east for about a dozen miles. Coming to Bass' islets, I found a broad passage through the northern barrier of the Archipelago. Standing close in to the outer end of this channel, I could see from aloft that it was not very deep in some places, so I pointed the ship's head out again, northward. The ebb tide, however, was running through southward, at a tremendous rate; and, although the south-westerly breeze was in my favour, and the old tub going five knots through the water, I found myself driving stern first through the channel to windward. So, to make the best of an apparently bad job, I hauled the ship up on the wind, and in a quarter of an hour, got a mile and a half to windward, through the passage and inside the barrier.

I worked the whole length of the chain along its northern side for recruits, with fair success, although these small islands are very thinly populated. I then spent two or three days in Joannet Harbour, a bay on the southern side of Joannet I.

At Grass I., which is close to Joannet, we met some natives who could speak English. Three of them, named Dixon, Sandfly, and Bihia, had been in the employment of the bêche-de-mer collectors, and I believe had visited Cooktown, in Northern Queensland. Sandfly stated that he had been employed for some time on board H.M.S. *Sandfly*, after which vessel he had been named. These men were easily engaged, Dixon and Sandfly serving me as interpreters in the eastern part of the Archipelago.

From Joannet Harbour I went to Coral Haven, on the east of Joannet and the north of Sudest I. There we heard of a three-masted vessel, said to be then lying *outside* the barrier. Her boats had visited Sudest and the smaller islands, and had taken away a good many men. This vessel afterwards turned out to have been the barquentine *Ceara*, Captain Inman, bound for Townsville.

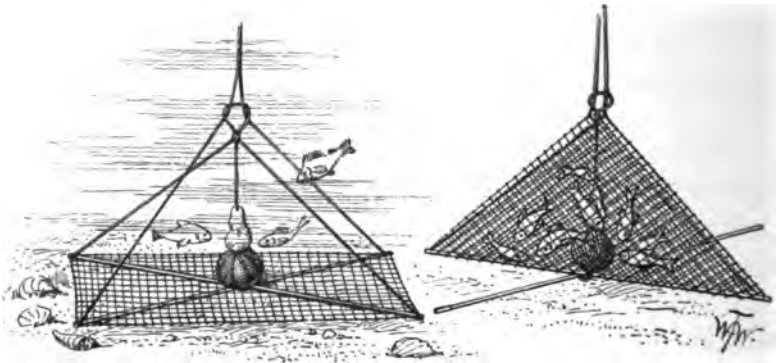
At the same place we heard of a three-masted vessel which had passed through the Archipelago a few days before us, engaging natives for some place unknown. At Grass I. her people had had an affray with the natives. This could not have been a Queensland labour ship; for the *Ceara* and the *Lizzie* were the first two vessels from that colony which visited the Louisiade in search of "recruits." The *Ceara*, which had three masts, was never within the barrier reef of the Archipelago, or we should have seen her.

Nicholas Minister also heard this story, and sent a report of it to Mr. MacFarlane, the missionary. Suspicion fell on the *Ceara*, and inquiry into the matter was instituted in the following July, by Mr. Morey, police magistrate at Townsville.

After leaving Coral Haven, I visited Briarly I. Thence I coasted along the south of Sudest I. as far as a deep bay west of Condé Point, the southern extremity of the island.

On our way, I had an opportunity of seeing a mode

of netting fish that was new to me. Being becalmed one afternoon for a few hours, near Briarly I., we had been obliged to anchor in very deep water. About half a mile from the ship there lay a solitary canoe, with three men and a boy in her engaged in fishing. After about two hours' work, they came alongside, and sold me a hundred and sixty-five fish, averaging three quarters of a pound each. Besides these, they retained about a dozen for their own consumption. I bought at the rate of one stick of twist tobacco (eighteen sticks to the pound) for eleven fish, the whole lot for elevenpence-halfpenny. I also bought two of the three nets they had in the canoe.



FISHING-NETS—LOUISIADE ARCHIPELAGO.

Each of these was about three feet square, being distended by two diagonal sticks under the net, seized together at right angles to each other. One of the sticks was firmly attached to two opposite corners of the net, but the ends of the other stick could be easily detached from the corners by a sharp jerk of the hauling-line. The two legs of this line were made fast to the respective corners of the net, but not to the cross-stick. It was brought up through a loop in the middle of another short piece of line, the ends of which were fastened to the other stick at the corners.

The bait—usually a piece of squid or cuttle-fish, with

a stone as a sinker—was attached on top to the centre of the net. Possibly the fishermen feel the fish dragging at the bait, but I imagine they have to trust to chance a good deal. A sharp jerk of the hauling-line frees the net from one of the sticks, and running up through the loop, doubles up the net, enclosing in it whatever fish may have been engaged with the bait.

The fish I bought on this occasion had been caught in eighteen fathoms of water. These nets, as also seines I have purchased at different times, are very neatly made of fine twine, spun or twisted from the bark of some tree unknown to me. The seines are twenty or thirty yards in length, and three or four feet deep. They have light wooden floats, and shells as sinkers.

Among the curios I purchased here were many stone-headed axes. These consist of a wedge of "greenstone" lashed on to a wooden crook, with more or less rude carving at the angle. The wedges varied from four to seven inches in length, and are not quite so broad. Such axes, together with spears and rude clubs, were all the offensive weapons I saw in these islands. Apparently the natives possessed neither bows, arrows, nor slings.

The houses in this part of the Louisiade are constructed differently from those on Teste I. and its neighbours. The last are shaped something after European models. They are situated in damp places, often over the water, and are elevated on piles, with the ends of the roofs peaked up. A similar fashion prevails in Strong's I., or Kusaie, the easternmost of the Caroline group. But in the islands of the Calvados chain, and in Sudest I., the houses look like so many gigantic cockroaches. A long narrow floor, about twenty feet by seven, is elevated on piles, four or five feet high. This is covered over with a thatched roof, too low to admit of the inmates standing upright under it.

Their canoes appear to be the most valuable property

the natives possess. They are sufficiently large to carry a score of men, and are often profusely ornamented at the ends with rude carving. They are furnished with the usual outrigger, and are propelled by paddles, or by a long narrow mat sail with rounded ends, which is hoisted diagonally when "on a wind," and horizontally when running before it.

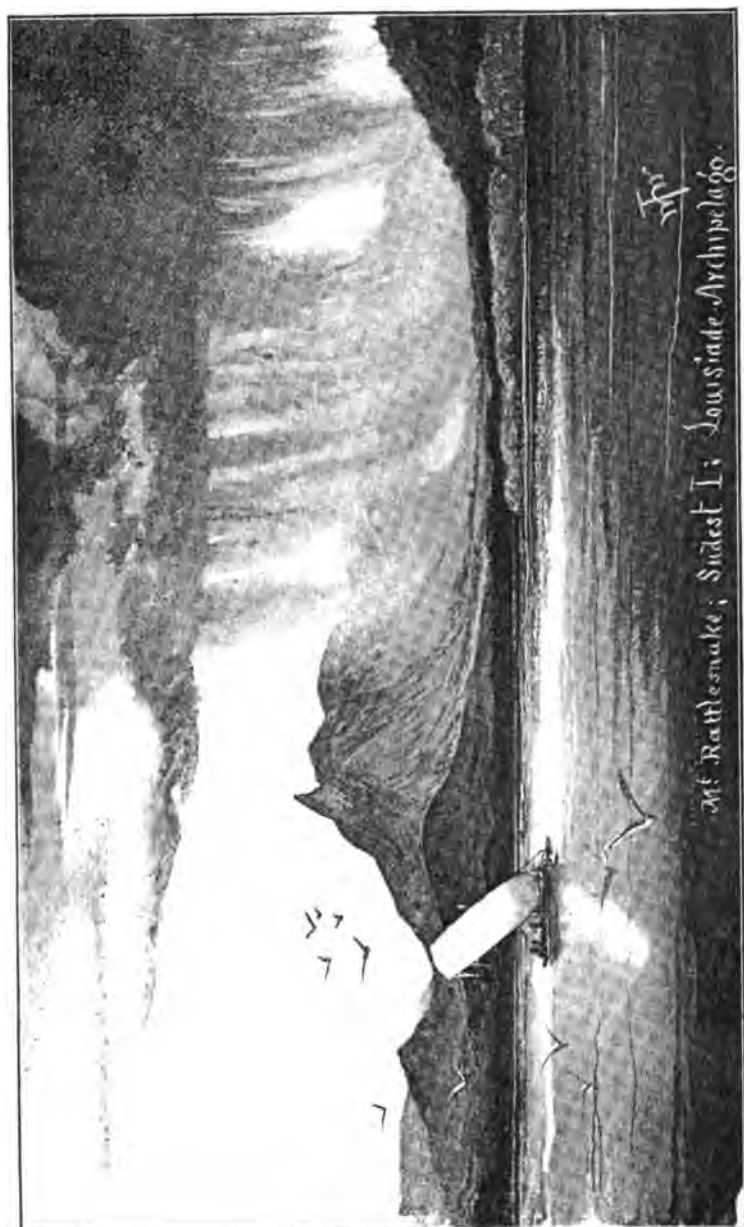
The natives themselves are a poor lot—cowardly, treacherous, and not at all a robust race. Apparently they are of mixed origin, as I noticed several cases of straight hair and Malayan features amongst them.

They are much afflicted with a scrofulous skin disease, commonly called "scaly-skin." I fancy it is a kind of



NATIVE HOUSES—LOUISIADE ARCHIPELAGO.

ringworm. It is an eruption of small, dry, horny scales. These may be removed, to some extent, by rubbing with sand, but they soon appear again. The disease sometimes affects portions of the body, more often the whole of it. Sufferers from it present a most repulsive appearance. The older navigators generally ascribed it to kava-drinking; but, in my experience, it has been most noticeable on islands where the kava plant is unknown,—namely, in the Louisiade, the Marshall, and the Kingsmill groups. From what I have gathered of the social habits of South Sea Islanders, I am disposed to attribute it to inter-breeding.





The disease is slightly contagious. A white man, with whom I was for some time intimate in the Marshall group, had a "scaly" mistress, and he contracted the disease. It left him, however, soon after he discontinued the connection.

The islands are hilly, but of moderate height. The rock formation most noticeable is mica schist, with here and there basalt. In Sudest, Joannet, and Pig Is., there are large quartz reefs. These are generally of the white, "milky" variety, which is least promising for gold. Since I was there, gold has been found in small quantities, however, on Sudest I. The Louisiades compare unfavourably, as regards fertility, with the New Hebrides and Solomon Is., and the rather sparse population depends greatly on fish as a means of subsistence.

In Condé Bay—we gave it that name as it lies close under Condé Point—I managed to get sufficient water to fill up the tanks, though of very poor quality. There is a good watering creek on the north of the island, where a stream runs down from Mt. Rattlesnake, a lofty peak near the centre of the island. I was ignorant of the existence of this stream then.

My principal Teste interpreter, Sam, discovered a long lost relative here, his brother. A canoe, containing about a dozen men, came alongside, soon after I anchored. Sam, looking over the side at it, suddenly ejaculated something in his native language. A youth in the canoe, looking up, answered him, and an earnest conversation ensued. Then the man in the boat climbed up on board. He was Sam's brother, and they had not seen each other for a dozen years or so.

More than twelve years before this, Sam's father had taken him, then about five years old, with a party that had set forth from Teste on a voyage. Heaven knows whither, or for what purpose they went; but I suppose these islanders occasionally feel, like ourselves, a desire to see somewhat of the world beyond their own little

islands. They reached Sudest I., where the men of the party were killed and eaten. The child was spared, and was adopted by the Sudest people who had devoured his father and friends.

The meeting of the brothers was a fortunate occurrence for me. For the younger brother wanted to get away on any terms. So, in five minutes, his name was on my recruit list, and his example produced a large following.

I went no further eastward on this voyage, but turned back, with a light south-easter, and worked slowly along the southern islands of the chain. At Grass I. the natives seemed less friendly than they had been before. Nicholas Minister, or some of his men, had been there since, telling outrageous stories of the bad treatment the natives would receive if they went to Queensland; so all our endeavours to obtain more recruits were of no avail. Here and there canoes came alongside, those in them spinning yarns to the recruits, who evidently did not relish them. There appeared to be a strong probability that some of them would desert, if they got a chance.

One evening, I anchored somewhere near the middle of the Chain, and, from a small island near the ship, I obtained one man, making up a total of a hundred and twenty-six recruits. This was far short of my licensed number; but, so far, I had made a prosperous voyage. So, being rather doubtful of my good luck continuing much longer, next morning I hove up the anchor and steered for Jomard Passage, in the southern barrier, *en route* for Townsville.

When clear of the reefs, I hauled up on the port tack, with a fresh south-easter; and then the old *Lizzie* showed her weatherly qualities in a sea-way. Three knots an hour ahead and three points leeway—now luffing up into the wind and then tumbling off a couple of points—did not look well for getting to windward of the Lihou Reefs.

Luckily, the north-west monsoon was occasionally making itself felt. Every now and again the wind chopped round from south-east to north-west, helping me to make some easting. Anyhow, we blundered along until we just scraped round the eastern end of Lihou Reef, and then, the trade coming steady and strong, I squared away for Flinders Passage in the Great Barrier. After spending one rough, dirty night at anchor, under the lee of one of the reefs, I brought up in Cleveland Bay, off my port, on February 17, 1884. The *Ceara* had arrived a day or two before me.

The whole of my recruits, after being examined by the immigration agent as to the manner of their engagement and the terms of their agreement, were sent to work on Hamleigh Plantation. They remained there only about sixteen months, and were then sent back home in the s.s. *Victoria*. For a Royal Commission was appointed early in 1885, under the Griffith Ministry, to inquire into the circumstances connected with the recruiting. It came to the conclusion that these labourers had all been obtained by "fraud or force." Of this matter more anon.

Shortly after my departure from Townsville on this voyage, an occurrence took place at Mackay, which may be worth mentioning. At the races (December 26) some Kanakas, employed on the neighbouring plantations, were refused drink—according to law—at Dimmock's booth. They retaliated by throwing bottles, and such other missiles as came handy, at the people on the course, from the outside of the surrounding fence. The whites, of whom a great number were mounted, attacked them in turn, and easily drove them away.

The "Anti-Kanakaite" party have never lost an opportunity of accusing their opponents of cruelty to South Sea Islanders. On this occasion, the white belligerents were mostly Anti-Kanakaites, and they abundantly proved what sort of sympathy *they* had for

their coloured brethren. The favourite weapon with them that day was a stirrup-iron, swung by its leather—an ugly weapon in the hands of a good rider. Several Kanakas had to be taken to the hospital at the end of the fray. One of them shortly after died from the effects of a “blow from a bottle!” More likely it was a blow from a stirrup-iron!

CHAPTER XX.

SECOND VOYAGE OF THE *LIZZIE*, 1884.

I sail for the Louisiade—The Lizzie springs a leak—I put into Cairns—Cockroaches—Repairs effected—Reach Teste I.—A mission teacher's wife—No interpreters—By order of the missionary—Active opposition—Kidnapping!—Moresby I.—The recruiter's enemies—Nicholas Minister's stories—Normanby I.—Natives eager to recruit—Back to Townsville—Resignation—The Stanley kidnapping case—German Charley prevents recruiting—Burning of huts—Prosecution of Davis and McMurdo—They are sent to Fiji—Tried and condemned—Released and complimented—Hernsheim "compensated"—Policy of the Government—The new Amendment Act—Painting ships and boats—Deserters not to be recovered—Arrival of the Lochiel—Wreck of the Alfred Vittery—Rowan and King sentenced for kidnapping—Return of the Heath—I take command of her—Proceedings of her G.A.—I appear in court—The Ceara case—Report of Mr. Morey, P.M.—No evidence of kidnapping.

AFTER lying for nearly a month in port, refitting and procuring fresh licences, I put to sea once more on March 14, bound for the Louisiade Archipelago. Passing out through the Great Barrier, as on my last voyage, by the Flora Passage, I cleared the reefs during the evening, and all the following night the old *Lizzie* rolled and tumbled in a heavy cross sea, with a fresh breeze from east-south-east.

About midnight the mate called me up, reporting that the ship was making a great deal of water. In fact, the lee side of the lower deck was all afloat. Both pumps were immediately set going; but the hands had four hours' hard jogging before the weather one "sucked."

In the meantime I searched about for the leak, expecting to find it somewhere between wind and water, but without success. As soon as it was daylight, I steered back westward, repassing the Barrier by a small and tortuous channel a few miles south of Trinity Opening. That evening I anchored off Trinity Inlet, the port of Cairns.

I remained there a week, with the vessel on the "hard," and her rudder unshipped. The leak was discovered in her rudder trunk, and, in smooth water, would have been a few inches above the surface. This helped me to a "wrinkle." The cockroaches that swarmed on board had eaten an oval hole right through the white pine casing of the rudder trunk. I have often heard of rats causing leaks, but never before of cockroaches doing so. In the lazaret there was a water-tank, built of yellow pine. The vermin had paid attention to this, also. Several of its planks were completely hollowed out by them, only a thin shell remaining. The damage to the rudder trunk was soon made good, and the rudder itself also repaired before it was again hung.

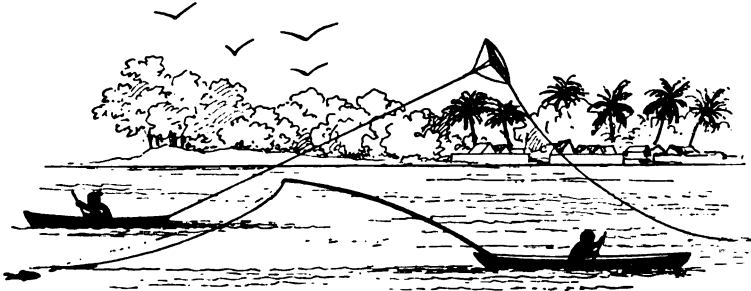
I put to sea again from Cairns on April 3. Clearing the Barrier by way of Trinity Opening, I steered as before for Teste I., where I anchored about four days later. There I landed the men who had served me as interpreters during my last voyage, together with their boxes, containing goods they had purchased in Townsville. I also paid a visit to the teacher's wife, who appeared to be the ruling spirit on the island, hoping to engage some more boys to serve as boatmen and interpreters.

The coffee-coloured dame received me with much apparent friendliness. She expressed great pleasure at the safe return of the interpreters, as also in regard to the quantity of "trade" they had been able to purchase with their earnings. I have no doubt she came in for a considerable share of it, for I saw the boxes carefully

carried into her own house, and stowed away there for future examination.

In order to propitiate this old lady still more, I made her a considerable present, comprising many fathoms of coloured print calicoes, beads, tobacco, pipes, etc. As soon as these had been safely stowed away, however, she changed her tune, glumly informing me that, by order of the missionary, no boys were to be allowed to leave the island, either as interpreters or as recruits.

This was a knock for me, for I was obliged, by Queensland law, to provide interpreters, not only when engaging men, but also on arrival in the colony. She would not even allow any of the natives to assist in pulling the boat back to the ship. For there was a stiff breeze



FISHING.

to contend with, and I had only a white man and a New Hebridean with me at the time. I obtained one man, however, in the evening—a runaway.

Next morning, as the chain was being taken in, and sail being made, in order to leave the island, a large canoe, manned by natives belonging to the mission—a fact made apparent by the shirts and calico waist-cloths they sported—passed near us. The design of these people was, evidently, to attend on the ship and prevent me from obtaining recruits. I allowed them to run ahead of me for some little distance, until I saw that I could barely fetch the eastern point of Moresby I. on the

port tack. Then I hauled up sharp to northward, and, having the weather-gauge of them by a good mile, came to an anchor in Pitt Bay, Moresby I. I had lain there an hour or more, with my boats working along-shore, before the canoe arrived, its occupants tired out with hard paddling in their heavy craft, dead to windward.

While passing through the channel between Moresby and Kitai—the next island to eastward—I picked up a man who was swimming off to the ship with the aid of a log of wood. As soon as he got on deck, he signified to the man I had engaged at Teste, that he desired to engage as a recruit for Queensland. One would have thought this was fair enough recruiting. Strange to say—that is, strange to the uninitiated—the Royal Commission in Queensland, a year later, declared that this recruit had been obtained by unfair means—that is, that he was kidnapped!!

I spent some three or four days at Moresby I., and picked up a few recruits, notwithstanding the efforts of the mission party. These carefully attended on my boat, watching all her movements. I was sadly hampered for want of efficient boatmen to man both boats, having only a crew for one. However, the day I left Pitt Bay, I fell in with the *Ceara*, bound for Townsville, full of recruits. By offering increased pay, I managed to induce four of her boatmen to leave her and join the *Lizzie*. Captain Inman consented to the arrangement, as he no longer needed their services. Being thus properly manned, I indulged the hope of making as good a voyage as my last one. But in this I was soon to be wofully disappointed.

In the interval that had elapsed since my last visit to the Louisiade, our opponents—the missionaries and the bêche-de-mer collectors—had not been idle. At every mission station at this end of the Archipelago, the native teachers were on the alert, endeavouring to prevent men from leaving. Canoes attended on my boats—generally

preceding them—every time they visited the shore. Further eastward, Nicholas Minister, the bêche-de-mer trader, appeared to have visited every island, spreading all sorts of malicious reports as to our treatment of labourers in Queensland, and the extreme improbability that recruits would ever see their homes again, if they ventured to go there. It was even said that we took men away for the purpose of killing and eating them. This would not seem such a very ridiculous story to the natives, who are all rank cannibals.

After working the northern coasts of Moresby, Basilisk, and Hayter Is., I steered for the East Cape of New Guinea. I then crossed over Goschen Strait to Normanby I., a large, mountainous, thickly populated island. There a few more men were obtained—all runaways from their friends. For, notwithstanding the reports that had been so industriously circulated as to our evil intentions, numbers of the younger people were willing to try their luck in Queensland. I feel certain that, if all who wished to leave had been able to get on board, I might have made up my full complement at this island alone.

The Royal Commission of 1885 was of opinion that the few recruits who joined me here, as well as at other islands of the Archipelago, were obtained by unfair means, and, in some cases, were even forcibly kidnapped. If I *had* adopted such practices, I could easily have filled the ship out of the numbers of canoes that flocked around and lay alongside of her.

I then visited Evans and Woodlark Is., next working St. Aignan and the south-eastern portion of the Archipelago, but with very poor success. Nicholas Minister had made the place "too hot" for me. At one time I thought of making for the Solomons or the New Hebrides; but my stores were running short, and the *Lizzie* was such a tub in a sea-way that I deemed it advisable to return to Townsville with the sixty-seven recruits I had

already engaged. I arrived there on June 2, and resigned command of the vessel, disgusted with her performances and with my own bad luck. The *Lizzie* was soon after sold to a Sydney firm, and was never again employed in the labour trade.

Some little time before I sailed on the last voyage, and during my absence, the case of the *Stanley* had been before the courts. It attracted the attention of all who were interested in the labour trade. During the last voyage of the *Stanley*, when her career was terminated on Indispensable Reef, in July, 1884, she had visited the Laughlan Is., east of New Guinea, while proceeding to New Ireland. Some men had been engaged there, but were allowed to remain on shore for a night, before the vessel sailed again, to bid farewell to their friends.

There was a German trading station on these islands, belonging to HERNSHEIM & CO. A man, who was commonly known as German Charley, was the sole resident European at this time. According to native evidence given at the trial, he persuaded the recruits not to keep to their bargain, although their friends had received presents of considerable value from the master of the *Stanley*.

Finding that the recruits did not rejoin the ship at the time appointed, Captain Davis, and Mr. McMURDO, G.A., left the ship with their boats' crews, all armed, as usual. As they approached the shore, a shot was fired at them from the German's hut. None of the recruits turning up when they landed, several native huts were burnt, and with them the thatched huts belonging to the German. Two natives were taken away from the island in the *Stanley*, presumably against their will.

The first notice of this case I had was contained in "The Brisbane Courier" for April 4, 1884. It was therein stated that on the day previous, at the City Police Court, Joseph Griffith Davis, late master of the *Stanley*, and

William A. McMurdo, G.A., were charged on remand, on the information of Chas. Colville Horrocks, acting immigration agent, with having kidnapped two islanders, Sea Whimp and Namee, on April 17, 1883, on the high seas near the Laughlan Is. in the Pacific Ocean. The case was further remanded five times to enable the prosecution to obtain witnesses.

Finally, the prosecution was dropped by the Queensland Government. The prisoners, Davis and McMurdo, were handed over to the Imperial authorities, and on June 18 they were sent on board H.M.S. *Raven* and transferred to Fiji. There they were tried in the Court of the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific—the Governor of Fiji.

By this court, held at Suva, the official capital, on August 6 following, the prisoners were found guilty, and were sentenced to three months' imprisonment, without labour. A week after the trial they were released by order of the High Commissioner, Sir William Des Vœux. McMurdo was even complimented by the High Commissioner for the energy he displayed when the *Stanley* was wrecked. Sir William Des Vœux also headed a subscription that was got up for their benefit with "a respectable amount."

The High Commissioner was apparently of opinion that the treatment of the prisoners by the Queensland Government had been quite sufficient punishment for what little harm they had done. A large indemnity was paid to Hearnheim & Co. by the Queensland Government, to compensate them for the destruction of their thatched huts and the small quantity of copra they had in store.

Messrs. Hearnheim & Co. must have made money by this affair. I have been assured by men who knew the Laughlan Is., and the trading station there, that the whole establishment and stock was not worth a twenty-pound note. When I visited the island in 1884, there

was no resident trader there. It was too poor to support one.

I do not remember the amount of the indemnity demanded by the German firm, but I know it was excessive. However, it appears to have been paid without question. The Queensland Ministry of the day were pledged to suppress the trade; so the bigger the indemnity, the worse they could make it for their opponents. The expense they afterwards incurred by chartering the s.s. *Victoria* to take back four hundred and four natives of New Guinea and the Louisiade to their homes was, no doubt, a similar bit of policy.

The Act to amend the Pacific Island Labour Act of 1880, assented to March 10, 1884, was now in full force. It contained many important additions to the original Act; among these was a regulation obliging all vessels engaged in recruiting for Queensland to carry a black ball at the mast-head, and to be painted a dull slate colour, with a black "ribbon." Surely these were the most uninviting colours that could well have been chosen. The "dull slate colour" looked tolerably decent and cool when fresh laid on, but, after a month's cruise, iron-rust and dirt rendered it anything but pleasant to look at. The black band only made it more sombre and repelling. The boats were to be painted red; an old fashion among Queensland vessels. Subsequently, French and German ships cruising in the New Hebrides and the Solomon Is. also took to carrying red-painted boats, with which they could pass themselves off as coming from Queensland.

Masters were mostly troubled, however, by the regulation with regard to deserters. No deserter was to be retaken. An islander might now engage to come to Queensland, get "trade" to the value of a pound or two, give it to his friends, cadge all he could get on board, and then coolly walk or swim ashore. There was one grain of comfort for the master, however. The law did

not oblige him to *assist* the "unwilling recruit" in getting ashore.

On March 20, the dismasted labour barquentine, *Lochiel*, arrived at the Burnett River Heads, with the crew of the labour schooner *Alfred Vittery* on board. The last-named vessel had been wrecked in the beginning of February, at Kaan I., near the eastern coast of New Ireland, having drifted ashore during a calm.

After rescuing the crew of the schooner, the *Lochiel* had spoken the *Wilhelmina Frederika*, labour brigantine, at Hardy I. in the same neighbourhood. Mr. Rowe, G.A., and the second mate of the brigantine had both been severely tomahawked in a skirmish with natives. The former was brought home in the *Lochiel*, the G.A. belonging to the wrecked *Alfred Vittery* taking his place. In consequence of his injuries, Mr. Rowe became an inmate of a lunatic asylum.

At the City Police Court, Brisbane, on May 1, Francis Rowan, boatswain, and John McLean, A.B., late of the *Forest King*, were committed for trial, charged with having kidnapped six natives at Fischer I. On June 4 they were found guilty, and were each sentenced to three years' imprisonment, the first year in irons.

Towards the end of May, the barquentine *Heath*, Captain Findlay, Mr. Duffield, G.A., arrived at Mackay. She had sixty-three male recruits and thirty-one females on board. These were all from the smaller islands lying near the eastern coast of New Ireland. Now, whether Captain Findlay had done wrong in taking these people, without their having thoroughly comprehended the agreement they signed, or, rather, put their "marks" to, or whether the G.A. had purposely misled the master, I cannot say.

When I went to Mackay, in the beginning of July, to take command of the *Heath*, I found the recruits all in good health. Though cooped up on board, and not per-

mitted to land, they were "as jolly as sandboys." They seemed quite willing to go to the plantations, while the planters were just as ready to engage them. Yet, as the sub-immigration agent of the port informed me, no competent interpreter could be found to explain the terms of engagement to them. So it had been ordained that all of them should be returned to their homes forthwith.

It appeared to me that the G.A. had led the master to think that he was satisfied with the engagement of these men. But, while allowing him to ship them, he had put off giving Captain Findlay the requisite certificates. On arrival at Mackay, he—Mr. Duffield—had turned round on Findlay, denouncing his recruiting as illegal. It looked to me as if the whole proceeding of the G.A. was nothing else than a deliberate trap for the master. Findlay was debarred employment in the trade, for a while; and Duffield was not again employed by the Government in the capacity of Government agent.

Before I joined the *Heath* as master, I was engaged as a witness on an inquiry held by Mr. Morey, Police Magistrate, at Townsville, in consequence of reports emanating from Nicholas Minister, the bêche-de-mer collector.

I subjoin Mr. Morey's Report as it appeared in "The Brisbane Courier." It will be seen from this that Mr. Morey examined several of the recruits who had been brought by the *Lizzie* and by the *Ceara*, as a result of the first voyages of these vessels to the Louisiade; that the recruits had no complaint to make as to the mode of recruiting, or as to the time they were to serve in Queensland. Mr. Morey was certainly much more competent to cross-question these recruits than were the three members of the "Royal Commission," who, the following year, declared that all these men had been kidnapped, or had been persuaded by falsehoods to leave their homes.

Here is the report :—

The Police Magistrate, Townsville, to the Colonial Secretary.

TOWNSVILLE, 1st July, 1884.

SIR,—I have now the honour to submit a report, as directed, with reference to the operations of the labour vessel *Ceara*, during her cruise for labour in January and part of February last, among the islands of the Louisiade Group, and to furnish the evidence taken before me during the inquiry.

Before commencing any inquiry I carefully read and noted the contents of the respective log-books of the *Lizzie* and *Ceara*, kept by the Government agents during their first visit to that group in January and February last.

And in this connection I may say that the entries in the log-books agree in the main with the answers given to my questions respecting the dates when recruiting began, the number of recruits, the islands from which obtained, and the size and population where known.

If, therefore, the answers given to my questions were untrue, or coloured to make out a good case, then the log-books must have been falsified throughout.

The charge is, that, some short time prior to the 18th March, a large three-masted ship had visited Roussel, Sud-Est, and several smaller islands, and taken away nearly all the males by driving them forcibly, or by enticing them into the boats and carrying them away against their will, the islands being nearly depopulated by the people of this three-masted ship.

It appears from all the evidence I obtained that no Queensland labour vessel had visited and recruited boys from the Louisiade Archipelago prior to the visit of the *Lizzie* on the 4th January, and the *Ceara* on the 14th of January.

The *Lizzie* is a schooner having two masts.

The *Ceara* is a three-masted barquentine.

The charge made can only apply, therefore, to the *Ceara*.

The *Lizzie*, Captain Wawn, began recruiting at Mewstone Island on the 4th January, and continued it at various islands up to the 10th February. While she was at the Redlick Group (between the 4th and 12th January), the *Lizzie* got no recruits, as the natives were scared, and said, "If men go, you make their hands fast."

And on the 13th January, while at Grass Island, natives said that "white man catch-em fish (bêche-de-mer) had fired at them, and taken their women."

Reports of outrages continued to be made to Captain Wawn at various islands, particularly at several points of Sud-Est.

Now, the *Ceara* began her recruiting at Piron Island, close to Sud-Est, on the 14th January. It is plain, therefore, that the outrages

reported to Captain Wawn up to that date (14th January) could not be charged against the *Ceara*.

And up to the 18th January, we have evidence that the *Ceara* was obtaining boys by fair means, since a recruit obtained by the *Lizzie* that day told Captain Wawn that the three-masted ship had obtained a lot of boys at Sud-Est, and had given much more "trade" to them than he (Wawn) was giving. Wawn then had to increase his presents, so as to obtain recruits.

Coming now to the two large islands, Roussel and Sud-Est, said to have been nearly depopulated by a three-masted ship (*Ceara* ?), I find that the *Ceara*, between the 15th and 17th January, recruited some twenty-five boys from Sud-Est.

But the *Lizzie* coming after her, namely, between the 18th January and 3rd February, recruited ninety-three boys, mainly from the same island. If, therefore, the *Ceara* had used violence or fraud in obtaining her boys, it is hardly likely the *Lizzie*, coming just after her, could have obtained so many.

I may mention that Sud-Est is a large island—about 140 miles round—is populous and mountainous, and no labour ship could kidnap its people as described in the charge made. Small islands might be outraged in that way, but not populous and large ones.

The story of the three-masted ship (*Ceara* ?) having nearly depopulated Sud-Est is, therefore, not well founded.

At Roussel—the island particularized in the charge—the *Ceara* obtained seventeen recruits; the *Lizzie* did not call there. This island also is a large one, but is reported as not populous.

I can find nothing in the evidence given, especially by the Roussel boys themselves, or in the *Ceara's* log-book, *to raise a doubt as to the fair manner in which the boys were recruited.* I was most careful to ascertain what each boy received in the way of "trade" or bribe to induce him to recruit, and to ascertain what he did with his "trade."

I may here mention that while the *Ceara* was recruiting at Roussel, the natives complained of a brig, Captain Pryer, or Prior, having taken people away against their will.

On the 3rd February, while the *Lizzie* was recruiting at Sud-Est, Captain Wawn was told that a three-masted ship had lately passed through (presumably among the islands), and had several Sud-Est women on board.

On the 25th January the *Ceara* did obtain two recruits from Sud-Est, but the Government agent, the recruiter, and master all say no women were recruited or on board; no women were seen, in fact. If any women were kidnapped and brought aboard they must have been got rid of before the ship arrived at Townsville. I may here mention that Captain Inman's wife accompanied him during that voyage of the *Ceara*.

Another complaint was made against a three-masted ship by the

people of Grass Island, on the 8th February, to Captain Wawn. The people told him the "ship had been fighting them."

But on the 14th January the people of the same island told Wawn (on his first visit) that a *bèche-de-mer* vessel had fired at them.

Now there is no evidence that the *Ceara* was at Grass Island. If, however, outrages between the 14th January and 8th February were committed, and by a three-masted vessel, then the charge points to the *Ceara*, for we have no knowledge of any other three-masted ship being in the neighbourhood.

Coming to the evidence I obtained from fourteen of the recruits from Sud-Est, and from eight Roussel islanders, I may say that their statements entirely bear out the evidence given by the Government agent, the recruiter, and master of the *Ceara* as to *the fair manner in which these people were recruited*. There is a discrepancy as to the names of some of the boys, and name of island from which they came, but I incline to believe that boys belonging to other islands were found at and recruited from Sud-Est, the native name of which is Eaba.

I spent much time in unravelling the confused statements made in reply to my questions, and committed to paper the substance only of what I gathered.

I noticed that when a boy was being questioned as to what "trade" he received, he would correct the interpreter, or rather would inform him if he had received anything out of the usual trade—such as looking-glasses, leggings, and so on.

Although I had to trust to the very imperfect translation of replies to my questions by Pudow, a Kassaway Island native, my own interpreter being useless in the case of all save the Roussel Island boys, yet I feel confident I caught the true intent and meaning of each boy I questioned.

I could not obtain from any of the boys a definite answer as to the remuneration they were to receive. I therefore confined my questions to the main charge—namely, kidnapping.

That outrages of some kind—if not of kidnapping—had been perpetrated on most of the islands visited by the *Lizzie* and *Ceara* there can be no doubt, for both those ships had reports made to them of ill-treatment. In one instance the natives complained of a Captain Pryer, or Prior, master of a *bèche-de-mer* vessel. This is the same man who took away a woman named Murdie from Eaba (Sud-Est). (See evidence given by Jawille, a native of Eaba.)

There is a Captain Fryer, master of the *bèche-de-mer* brig *Julia M. Avery*, sailing out of Cooktown.

I learn further that George Rotumah, who took the news of the outrages to the Rev. Mr. Lawes, is connected with one Nicholas Minister, master of the *Eileen*, *bèche-de-mer* cutter, and is interested in her fishing.

And Captain Wawn says that lying reports of the doings and inten-

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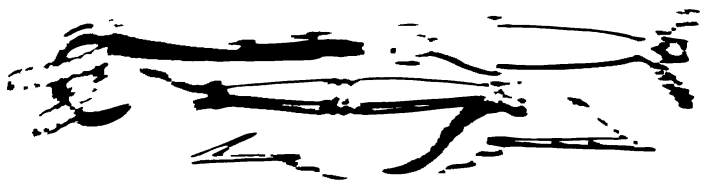


FIG. 1. — *CLONIA* 3.

CHAPTER XXI.

VOYAGE OF THE *HEATH*, 1884.

I sail from Mackay—Pass the Fanny at sea—Beating through the Coral Sea—Jomard Passage—My sails—Dead reckoning—Cape St. George—Landing “returns”—Getting their “whack”—Excitement and pillage—Gerrit Denys and Fisher Is.—Back to Coral Haven—Making a new mainsail—Working the Archipelago—Stone-throwing at Normanby I.—A mission teacher joins, plunders me, and deserts—Teste I.—The teacher’s wife—Her wrath.—No interpreters or recruits—The Barrier Reef—Drifting—Getting within the reef—The Inner Route—I reach port—Bad health—I go to Melbourne—My manuscript—Return of the Hopeful—Her ill-doings—False evidence of Kanakas—Material for the Griffithites—Seizure of the Forest King—A “Christian” Kanaka’s evidence—Trial of Shaw, McNeil, and others—Messiah’s evidence—Political dodges—Report of the Minister of Justice—Trial removed to Brisbane—Why—A witness paid by the Government—Kanaka evidence—Sentences.—The Ceara—Effect of the firearms regulation—Natives incensed—Murders of Booth and Cullen—Of Captain Frier and others—Comparisons of English, French, and German policies in the Western Pacific—General Scratchley’s statement—Article in “The Brisbane Courier”—The New Guinea question—Tall talk—Treatment of savages—Cases in point—The Miranda raid—Presbyterian missionaries—Firearms sold to natives by French and Germans—Slavery at Malayta I.

I SAILED from Mackay in command of the *Heath* on July 19, 1884. Running down the coast, northward, with a fair breeze, I passed through the Great Barrier Reef by Flinders’ Passage, and so gained the open sea.

On my way I passed my old ship—the *Fanny*—now

under the command of Captain Lawrence, with whom was Mr. Williams, G.A. She was bound into Mackay, having only a few recruits—eight, I think—on board, after having been out for six months. After this voyage she was sold, and was not again employed in the labour trade. I lost £200 out of my interest in her.

I spent a day at anchor in Whit-Sunday Passage, on the coast. I then filled my water-tanks at Hook I., and sailed through Flinders' Passage, as I have said. Having cleared the Barrier, I hauled up sharp on the starboard tack, hoping by so doing to get more quickly clear of the numerous coral reefs and cays scattered over this part of the Coral Sea. It was fortunate for me that I did so; for, after twenty-four hours' hammering into a head sea, I found myself only a few miles to windward of Flinders' Reefs, and more than thirty miles to leeward of where I thought I was. This was due to the current, which sets to the north-west.

As soon as Flinders' Reefs were well on the lee quarter, I kept the ship away, and, passing to leeward of the Herald Cays, found myself next morning close to two small reefs—one of which had a sandy cay on it—about thirty miles west-north-west of Willis Reefs.

These two reefs were not marked on my chart. I think it probable they may be the two that were seen by Bougainville in 1768, though reported by him to lie further to the north-west.

Though now in clearer waters, I had lost a good deal of my weather-gauge, and found myself unable to round the Louisiade Archipelago. I therefore steered a straight course for Jomard Passage, which I made soon after sunrise one morning, getting through the reefs and islands, and round the lee end of Saint Aignan I., before dark. Next morning I was off the Laughlan Is., whence I had a clear road and a fair wind for New Ireland.

The trade-wind, which had been steady and moderately fresh, then became variable and squally. As the main-

sail I had bent was old, and was supposed to be the worst of the two on board, I thought it advisable to bend the other. Unluckily, before we left Mackay, the hands had been required for other work, in consequence of which I had neglected to overhaul the spare sails, relying on the former master's assertion that they were all in good order, and that the mainsail, especially, was a good one. He had said it was nearly new, and that it had been bent only once, and then only for a week or two. When the mate and the hands went below to rouse it out of the sail-locker, however, they found it as rotten as tinder. It would not even bear handling, the canvas giving way as it was hauled on deck.

The locker was perfectly watertight, and I can only surmise that the sail must have been stowed away when damp. Of course it was useless ; not even fit for cutting up into parcelling. So, now, I was in a nice fix, having to depend solely on the old rag I had bent, with the prospect before me of a tussle with northerly monsoon weather in the latitude of New Ireland, and, perhaps, of having to beat back home against the "trades." Luckily, I had a good new mizzen, which might have served on a pinch, instead of a reefed mainsail.

The day before we made New Ireland, the weather was cloudy and wet. Being unable to take any observations to determine my exact position, I had to rely solely on dead reckoning. This placed me, at noon, about one hundred and twenty miles south-south-east of Cape St. George—the southernmost point of New Ireland. Relying on this reckoning, I steered to pass about thirty miles east of the Cape. Next morning, about 3 o'clock, the cry of "land, right ahead!" brought me on deck ; just after a stiff squall of wind and rain had passed over the ship.

A dome-shaped mass loomed up, black, and unpleasantly near, through the tail end of the squall. One look sufficed to assure me that I was quite thirty

miles to leeward of my reckoning, and running straight down upon Cape St. George. To pass it to leeward was to reach perfect safety; but Heaven only knew whether I could effect this against the wind, and, most probably, a strong current.

Down went the helm. Then, with the wind to starboard, and going a point free, I just managed to scrape clear of the coast. That afternoon I got under the lee of St. John, a rugged and lofty island, where I found an anchorage in twenty fathoms, and landed two or three of my passengers.

I did not avail myself of the anchorage, however, but hove the ship to during the night. The next day I ran under the lee of the largest of the Kaan Is., where nearly half of my passengers were to be landed. As the shore was "bold to," I was able to keep the ship within one or two hundred yards of the landing-place, so that I could watch every detail of the landing through my glass.

Before we sailed from Mackay, the sub-immigration agent of that port had provided the ship with a quantity of "trade," which was to be distributed amongst the "rejected" islanders when they were landed at their homes. Each of them now received his or her "whack" before getting into the boats, consisting of beads, tobacco, pipes, calico of divers hues and patterns, tin pannikins and billies, fish-lines and hooks, tomahawks and knives, etc., etc., etc. Clothing and blankets were provided by the ship.

In the boats they were quiet enough, but, as soon as they got on shore, what an uproar and commotion! They shouted, yelled, screamed, danced, and ran about like a parcel of lunatics. Off came every stitch of clothing, every man and woman stripping as bare as the day they were born. Their countrymen and countrywomen appeared in hundreds, and, no doubt, made a good haul; for, in all directions, men and boys were

continually rushing off to the bush with some article or another—a brightly flashing knife or billy, or a yard or two of red or yellow calico. I expect that the “stay-at-homes” got more out of the Queensland Government that day than did those for whom the “trade” had been really intended.

Next morning I arrived off the eastern coast of Gerrit Denys I. Having landed some boys there, I ran down to St. Joseph I. in the afternoon, ten miles further north. There three or four men and a woman were landed. It was after dark, and the boats had considerable difficulty in finding the ship again; for the sky was overcast, and heavy showers fell at intervals. The wind was light and fitful, sometimes easterly, and then again from north-west. We were in the “doldrums,” between the south-east trades and the north-west monsoon.

Early next morning the wind came up fresh from north-west, and I had to keep the ship to windward so as to fetch Fisher I. the following day. My old mainsail would not stand much shaking, so I was obliged to “wear ship” instead of tacking, running to leeward every time I went about. Luckily, a strong current set along this coast of New Ireland to north-west. So I lost no ground, and was able next day to discharge the last of my passengers at Fisher I.

I had now an empty hold, and held a licence to recruit another shipful. I was debarred from enlisting natives of New Britain, New Ireland, and their adjuncts; so I stood southward again, and, meeting the trade-wind off the southern shore of New Ireland, I beat up against it back to the Louisiade. Entering the barrier-reef of the Archipelago by Johnson Pass, off the southern coast of Sudest I., on September 5, I anchored off Fig I. in Coral Haven.

My old mainsail was now fairly played out. It reminded one of a chart of the Archipelago, so covered was it with “over-all” patches. Accordingly, the next

fortnight was spent lying at anchor, while all hands engaged in making a new mainsail, which required all the spare heavy canvas I had on board. During the progress of this work, the G.A. and I cruised about in the boats. But natives seldom approached either boats or ship, and not a single man was recruited.

As soon as the new sail had been finished and bent on, I left Coral Haven, and, after ineffectually working part of the Calvados Chain, I visited all the islands north and north-east of the Archipelago—St. Aignan, Woodlark, Renard, the Laughlans, Lagrandière, Jouveny, Jurien, Trobriand, and Normanby. I secured very few recruits for all my trouble. The mission teachers and *bêche-de-mer* gatherers had spread such stories about the ill-treatment of islanders in Queensland, and on board labour ships, that the inhabitants of these islands would rarely even approach us.

On a single occasion violence was offered. This happened on the north-eastern coast of Normanby I. A man was engaged there whose brother disapproved of his going, and threw a huge stone at the recruiter, which narrowly missed its mark. Had it struck his head, it would have certainly dashed his brains out. Others were ready to join in the quarrel; but one of our men in the covering boat promptly fired at the stone-thrower, wounding him slightly in the leg. This had the effect of dispersing the hostile mob—fifty or more of them—who ran off into the bush. As for the wounded man, he fell down under a tree, terribly frightened, though little hurt, whence he presently limped off.

On November 13, I was lying off Moresby I. within sight of the New Guinea coast. There I engaged a man who was supposed to be a mission teacher. He volunteered his services without any solicitation, and I cherished the hope that his example would draw others. But in this I was disappointed. The following night he

deserted by swimming, and even persuaded another Moresby man to go with him. He also stole the cook's axe, and as much of the recruits' tobacco as he could lay his hands on.

My provisions were now running short, so, though I had but a score of recruits on board, I thought it best to make for Teste I. The wind failing me, I anchored off the Foolscap Rock, a few miles short of that island.

I had brought three Teste I. interpreters with me from Mackay, whither they had been sent from Townsville, discharged from the *Ceara*. These I now landed at Teste, according to agreement. At the same time I endeavoured to engage one or two others, to accompany me back to Townsville, whither I was now bound.

My old acquaintance, the teacher's wife, opposed all my endeavours. During the absence of the missionary, she seemed to be the ruling power on the island. After waiting for three days in hopes of circumventing her, I was forced to give it up, and to sail again for Queensland. I trusted I might find some man on the plantations there who would be able to act as interpreter for me. Eventually I did so obtain one; but only after much delay and expense.

The principal reason for the old lady's animosity towards me arose from the circumstance that I had put her "in the pepper"—the newspaper—at which she was very wroth. When I returned to Townsville after the second voyage of the *Lizzie*, I had written an account of my voyage, which appeared in one of the local newspapers. In this I had described how her ladyship had accepted all my gifts, and then refused to let interpreters join the ship, although several were ready and willing to go. Of this she had somehow been apprised.

I left Teste I. with a fair wind from about north, and shaped a course for the Flora Passage in the Great Barrier; but as I drew near the Queensland coast, the breeze gradually fell away. I sighted the breakers on

the Barrier one afternoon, but too late to admit of getting through by nightfall. I therefore hauled off eastward. That night it fell calm, and a southerly current took hold of the ship. Next day a similar thing happened. Again I sighted the reefs, but too late in the day to get through. Again followed another night of calm and drifting to the southward. Luckily, the weather was clear and fine, so that I was able to take observations, and ascertain the ship's position. I was then in a part of the ocean that had not been surveyed, the outer edge of the Barrier being represented on the charts merely by a dotted line.

Next morning I risked the ship a little more, heading her in towards the reefs before daylight, with a light northerly air. I neared the Barrier about 1 p.m., and fancied I saw a clear passage through just ahead of me. But a topping sea undeceived me, and I had barely time to round the ship to and keep her from running upon the reef. As there was not wind enough to get away again, I let go the anchor in eighteen fathoms, and, when sufficient chain had been paid out, I had the reef, with only one fathom of water on it, not a ship's length astern.

This was about seventy miles south of the Flora Passage. Next it fell dead calm, so we passed the night there. In the morning a fresh breeze sprang up from northward, so I hove short and canted the ship, under sail, with a kedge and warp from abaft the port main rigging. The kedge, with part of the warp, which I had to cut, were abandoned. Then, barely weathering a point of reef astern, I ran through a narrow opening, whence, with the sun astern of me, I conned the ship from aloft, and, for about two hours, meandered through a perfect labyrinth of coral patches and reefs. I reached more open water at last, anchoring at noon in thirty fathoms. For the sky had now become clouded over, and I was unable to see my way clearly.

I was now inside the Barrier, but all the trouble was

by no means over yet. Next morning, the wind, though fair, was light and puffy, the sky being thickly overcast with cloud, making the water and reef all one colour.

However, I conquered that difficulty by sending the boatswain away in one of the boats, with a compass, to steer in towards the land, and signal if he fell in with shallow water. Then, getting under way, I followed him, keeping the ship about a mile behind him, until I reached the surveyed waters of the channel known as "The Inner Route," between the Queensland coast and the reefs of the Great Barrier.

The first land I made was the north end of Hinchinbrook I., right ahead. As soon as I reached surveyed waters, I kept away to the southward for Townsville, where I anchored on November 29.

During the latter part of this voyage I had suffered much from bad health; a determination of blood to the head being, I believe, my principal ailment. This seriously affected my right eye, which had been a "lame duck" since 1859, when it was injured at Bombay.

In consequence of this, I left the *Heath* at Townsville, and repaired to Melbourne. There I put myself under the treatment of an eminent oculist, who operated on the eye, and turned me out again in three weeks fit for service once more.

Service? Yes! But not in the labour trade! My course was run, at any rate for the next three years, as regarded that!

From Melbourne I went to Townsville, and then to Brisbane. I stayed some time at the last-mentioned city, writing up my career in the labour trade to that date. The manuscript, when finished, I sent to my friends in England, whence it was returned to me about a year later. In the beginning of 1890, I sent it to England a second time, with additions. It was shipped on board the unfortunate s.s. *Quetta*, and now lies at

the bottom of the sea in seventeen fathoms of water—worse luck!

Two days before I sailed in the *Heath* from Mackay, July 17, the *Hopeful*, barquentine, had arrived at Dungeness, at the mouth of the Herbert River, about fifty miles north-west of Townsville, bringing islanders from the Louisiade Archipelago. Her recruits were examined through interpreters, who were supposed to be thoroughly reliable. Afterwards, they were shown to be great scoundrels. The recruits were landed, and, as no complaints were made either by white men or Kanakas, as to any ill-doings, the voyage was, for a time, supposed to have been conducted in an honest and legal manner. But it had been simply a career of outrage, and even of murder.

The *Hopeful* was commanded by a young man who had never had charge of a ship before. No doubt he had gathered his impressions of the mode of obtaining recruits from outsiders. Her Government agent was an acknowledged drunkard, who acted up to his reputation. He owed his appointment to the Griffiths Ministry, then in power—a ministry pledged to do away with the trade. The recruiter was the same man who was in the ship when I met her at Blanche Bay, New Ireland, and he ought to have been debarred from serving in the trade long before.

In July, 1884, seven Kanakas, brought by the *Ceara* from the Engineer Is., Louisiade Archipelago, were brought before Mr. Wallace, sub-immigration agent at Townsville, charged with desertion from plantation work. During their examination by Mr. Wallace, they each and all said that they had been engaged for three years. The following year, when examined before the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the manner of engagement of the islanders brought from the Archipelago by the *Ceara*, *Lizzie*, *Heath*, *Sibyl*, and *Forest King*, they asserted that they were recruited for much shorter periods of time.

Here is a specimen of the evidence given to Mr. Wallace at this time, before Cago, the rascally interpreter of the *Hopeful*, afterwards relied on by the Royal Commission, had had an opportunity of making them alter their statements.

Veraque said, through an interpreter :—

“ He belong Burri-Burrigan ; he know he come alonga *Ceara* ; he come three *years*, work alonga sugar cane ; when he got to Kalamia (plantation), was sent to trash cane ; he no like that work ; when he stop along his island, no work ; when he go alonga sugar cane in Queensland, he too much work ; no like him ; suppose he work strong fellow, white fellow he no hit him ; suppose he lazy, he hit him a little fellow. Sun, he come up, he go work ; sun, he go down, he go sleep ; no get him plenty ki-ki ; plenty boy die ; he think he die, too ; wants to go alonga home.”

Here was easy material to work upon. When the Royal Commission—composed of three ardent Griffithites—came along, how easy for Cago, the interpreter, to persuade the dissatisfied boys to say they were engaged for three *moons*, not for three *years*, knowing that by so lying they would be sent back home at once.

On the eleventh of August, the labour schooner *Forest King* arrived at Brisbane, in charge of Lieut. Bruce, of H.M.S. *Swinger*. This vessel had been recruiting in the Louisiade Archipelago. When lying off Anchor I.—no great distance from Teste I.—she had been boarded by Lieut. Torlesse, of H.M.S. *Swinger*, and seized because the recruits did not thoroughly understand their agreement. The following night, while the two ships were lying at anchor, sixteen of the recruits jumped overboard and deserted, frightened, no doubt, by the proximity of a ship of war.

The *Forest King* case was commenced in the Vice-Admiralty court at Brisbane, on October 8. It resulted in the ship being restored to the owners, with costs.

One of the principal witnesses for the prosecution was a teacher named Jerry, from Teste I. He wofully contradicted himself, and, it came out that this "Christian" darkie did not hesitate to lie through thick and thin, so long as he could stop his people from going to Queensland in the labour vessels. In this respect he had been probably influenced by Nicholas Minister and other bêche-de-mer fishers. These do not like to see the population thinned, because the more natives there are in the islands, the greater is the consumption of tobacco. Consequently, a larger amount of bêche-de-mer is collected by them to exchange for the weed.

Mr. MacFarlane, the missionary, in a letter to "The Brisbane Courier," September 10, 1884, said he preferred that natives should acquire experience under intelligent and gentlemanly planters in Queensland, rather than from bêche-de-mer collectors, and "beach-combers" in New Guinea.

The trial of those concerned in the *Hopeful* case came off in November. Captain Shaw, her master; Mr. McNeil, recruiter; Mr. Scholfield, G.A.; Freeman, mate; Williams, boatswain; Preston and Rogers, A.B.'s, were charged with kidnapping: McNeil and Williams with murder, likewise. The principal witness for the prosecution was Albert Messiah, a negro cook. He had vainly tried to extort blackmail, before the trial; from Shaw and others concerned. Another was Dingwall, carpenter, who had come out of gaol just before joining the *Hopeful*. The remaining witnesses were Kanakas, whose evidence was taken through different interpreters. The chief interpreter was Cago, who had taken part in the alleged misdeeds of the accused, and who was subsequently the chosen tool of the Royal Commission.

The evidence of Messiah and Dingwall was taken on oath. That of the other Kanakas was not. An amendment of the Criminal Law was passed by Parliament—*after* the prisoners had been committed for trial—to

admit Kanaka evidence without the oath! The prison records of Messiah and Dingwall were such, that, apparently, the Ministry of that day deemed it necessary to alter the law of evidence in favour of savages, so as to bolster up the case for the prosecution.

Three of the crew, Tulloch, Binns, and Siebert, were not included in the indictment. The law officers of the Crown had taken their evidence, found it favourable to the accused, and—*did not call them before the Court!* Afterwards, in 1890, the then Minister for Justice, reporting on the *Hopeful* case, said :—

It is a deplorable circumstance, however it may have occurred, that such material evidence then in the possession of the Crown Law Officers, and which was necessary to elucidate the truth, was not disclosed to those upon whom the onerous duty of trying the charges against the prisoners was imposed. In this particular, and in other matters already alluded to, the whole of the circumstances surrounding the cases, and the manner in which the evidence was obtained, were not laid before the court. Verdicts were arrived at upon partial information only, which, in my opinion, could scarcely have been arrived at if the full facts had been brought out.

There was doubtless much hard swearing on both sides ; but, from the first, it was evident that the trial was a purely political one. Party feeling ran high at that time, and the Polynesian Labour Trade was the great question between the Government and the Opposition. The former was pledged to abolish the importation of cheap coloured labour. A verdict of "Guilty" against the prisoners in the *Hopeful* case, would help to damn the trade in the eyes of the electors.

Although the recruits had been landed at Townsville, or were employed near it, the offenders arrested there, and the owners of the *Hopeful* were a Townsville firm, the case was removed to Brisbane. The capital was *Anti-Kanaka*, which was sufficient reason for the transfer ; at Townsville, opinions were otherwise. It may also be asked why, since the alleged offences had been com-

mitted within the jurisdiction of the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific—the Governor of Fiji—the case was not sent to his court, as that of Kilgour had been. But that, again, might not have suited the political exigencies of the party in power!

Further, it would seem that Messiah was paid for his evidence. Mr. Rollwagen and Mr. Stout, both of Townsville, testified at the trial that Messiah had said that all had gone right on the voyage, but that he had a “down” on McNeil, and would pay him out. On the day before he left Townsville for Brisbane, Messiah said he had “a good thing on.” He had got £50, and should get £500; that was better than cooking! Mr. G. E. Cooper, a publican, also stated that Messiah had told him he was getting a pound a day from the Government for his evidence.

What the South Sea Island witnesses' evidence was worth, may be judged from the following—an extract from the Chief Justice's notes of the trials:—

On Tuesday, November 15, 1884, Charley, under examination in the Supreme Court, says:—

“Me go to see Messiah plenty times; Messiah live South Brisbane; me go Messiah's house; Jack go Messiah's house; Harry go Messiah's house; Messiah talk about this plenty time; Messiah tell me to say I see McNeil fire gun; he tell me say I see boy dead.”

On Monday, December 1, 1884, Charley, under examination in the Supreme Court, on the second day of the trial, says:—

“I know Messiah, cook; me speak here before; me make a mistake that time; I don't know where he lives; I no been go to his house; it was a mistake when I say last time ‘Me, Jack, and Harry go and see Messiah plenty times’; Messiah did not talk to me plenty times about Williams shooting boy; I make mistake that time too; I not go to Messiah house; I tell Messiah live alonga South Brisbane.”

The prisoners were all found guilty. McNeil and Williams were sentenced to death; Shaw and Scholfield were sentenced to imprisonment for life, the first three years in irons; Freeman was sentenced to ten years, two in irons; Preston and Rogers to seven years, one in

irons. The death-sentence against McNeil and Williams was commuted to imprisonment for life. In 1890, all the prisoners were pardoned and liberated.

Another case was tried at the same time. Captain Louttit, master of the *Ethel*, Christopher Mills, G.A., and G. R. Burton, mate, were found guilty of kidnaping, and were sentenced to imprisonment for different terms. They were likewise pardoned in 1890.

In September, 1884, the *Ceara* took a large number of "returns" back to the New Hebrides. These natives had been engaged under the old regulations, which permitted them to purchase firearms and take them to their homes. The new law, forbidding the purchase and export of firearms, came into force before they left Queensland. They were naturally aggrieved at what must have seemed to them a breach of the agreement under which they had been recruited.

By the time the *Ceara* arrived at Sandwich I., it became evident that the "returns" on board intended to take their revenge out of the ship, as soon as a convenient opportunity presented itself. Fortunately, the *Ceara* fell in with H.M.S. *Miranda*, which convoyed her until all her passengers had been landed. Had it not been for this, it is more than probable that the crew of the *Ceara* would have fallen victims to the anger of the justly incensed islanders.

In October, 1884, Joseph Booth, an old companion of mine, was treacherously murdered by the natives at Port Stanley, Mallicolo I. About the same date, Peter Cullen and another were murdered at Lenurr I. Booth had been in the employment of the *Compagnie des Nouvelles Hebrides*. Consequently, his murderers were promptly punished by a French man-o'-war. I have been at the place since, and I wandered through the village unharmed. This I could never have done if matters had been left to British authorities to arrange.

A German trader was murdered at Tanna I. in the

same month. Shortly after, Captain Frier, of Cooktown, and another, were killed at Basilisk I., in the *Louisiade*. The brig *Emily*, Captain McQuaker, was fired at by natives of *Espiritu Santo*. Forty or fifty bullets struck the ship, rendering it a hazardous job to get her under way. More than sixty Snider rifles were in possession of the natives who attacked her, and these had been sold to them by French and German traders.

There was a great difference, at that time, in the treatment accorded to its subjects in the Western Pacific by the British Government, as compared to that which France and Germany dealt out to theirs. This took effect in such matters as the purchase of land from the natives, freedom of trade, protection of life and property, punishment of natives for outrages, and so forth. The attention of the Australian public was too frequently drawn to the subject, provoking such expressions of opinion as the following, which appeared in "The Brisbane Courier," January 6, 1885 :—

General Scratchley's statement as to his duties in connection with the settlement of New Guinea, and the reports we published the other day of doings in the South Sea Islands, furnished by masters of ships just returned from the islands, should open the eyes of Australians to the very unfavourable position in which the difference between the colonial policy of Great Britain, and that of Germany and France, is now placing the Australian people.

The writer went on to speak of the treatment that British subjects receive from their Government, comparing it with the assistance and protection afforded to French and German subjects by their respective Governments. Germany allows her subjects to purchase land from natives freely ; Great Britain interposes obstacles. Consequently, Germany cannot recognize the validity of claims made by British subjects ; and German ships of war threaten British settlers in the islands, should these raise any objection to Germans taking possession of the lands they have acquired. British subjects are not

allowed to sell firearms to natives, even in a British Protectorate; French and German subjects are under no such restrictions. Germany has encouraged and aided the settlement of New Guinea by her subjects; Great Britain has peremptorily excluded hers, *although* Queensland contributes £15,000 to the British New Guinea Government; a sum that can only be used to enforce a blockade against those who have contributed it.

Going farther afield, the writer of this article pointed out that Great Britain is allowing Australia to be surrounded by possibly hostile communities; that the South Sea Island trade has been ruined, so far as Australia is concerned; that Russia is advancing on India in one direction, while France, in Cochin and Siam, is encroaching on the other; that Germany has now obtained a sure footing in South Africa, on the borders of Cape Colony. From all of which the writer concluded that these steps had been taken by France and Germany in view of the coming dissolution of the British Empire.

Furthermore, the partitioning of New Guinea has taught the colonies two things: first, that Great Britain will neither defend nor allow them to defend what they deem their rights; second, that, through the different policies of Great Britain, France, and Germany in the Western Pacific, the power of the former in that part of the world is rapidly diminishing, and will soon disappear altogether. The article cited wound up with a warning that Australia must be prepared to act for herself. "To trust to England for support will be to lean upon a rotten reed!"

Tall talk, this, no doubt; but Australians know there is only too much truth in it. In the Pacific it is well known that commanders of British ships of war are restrained by their orders, when investigating charges of murder committed by natives upon British subjects, and are enjoined "to avoid bloodshed." Yet how is a

murderer to be apprehended, when he has the cover of a thick forest at his back, with his whole tribe, probably his abettors in the crime, to defend him ?

Natives of the New Hebrides and Solomon groups now know very well that, for the murder of a white man, or even for the destruction of a ship and all her crew, there is little fear of any punishment being inflicted



RECRUITS.

on them beyond the burning of a few thatched houses, and, possibly, the loss of some canoes and cocoanut trees. For they are sure to receive warning, and be afforded ample time to clear out of danger, before any firing takes place. As instances of this, I may cite the cases of the vessels, *Borealis*, *Janet Stewart*, *Young Dick*, and *Savo*; also the murders of Renton, Steadman, and Armstrong, Government agents. Such "magnanimous" treatment only serves to encourage natives to commit more murders ;

for they do not understand condonation of an offence, they ascribe it to fear.

The raid of the party from the *Miranda*, across Lepers' or Aoba I., to punish the murderers of Renton and his companions, certainly gave the natives a better opinion of the white man's pluck and energy. However, in that case, the murderers escaped; the shooting of one woman and a few pigs, with the destruction of the village, being all that was effected.

Report even says that, when Captain Belbin's death was avenged, the commander of the *Dart* was reprimanded for what he did.

Some may say that white men have amply avenged themselves on the islanders, citing the case of the *Hopeful*, and some others of a similar sort. But the voyage of the *Hopeful* was an exception, and not the rule. No one execrated the deeds of MacNeil, Williams, and their companions, more than did other labour recruiters, especially such as had been engaged in the trade for any length of time.

Some missionaries also, especially those of the Presbyterian denomination, have cried out against the enormities of what they are pleased to term "the Queensland slave trade." But it must be recollected that many of their charges have been examined into and disproved. Some years ago, when Captain Bridges, of H.M.S. *Espiègle*, investigated charges brought by the Rev. Mr. Paton, of the New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission, the said charges were proved to be entirely without foundation. Yet, still, gentlemen of Mr. Paton's sort have by no means discontinued their unwarrantable outcries.

The stoppage of the sale of firearms to islanders was enforced, I suppose, in order to damage the labour trade of Queensland alone. At any rate, that is all the effect it had. The firearms trade at once passed entirely into the hands of the French and Germans, who are conse-

quently more than able to compete with us in the New Hebrides and the Solomons.

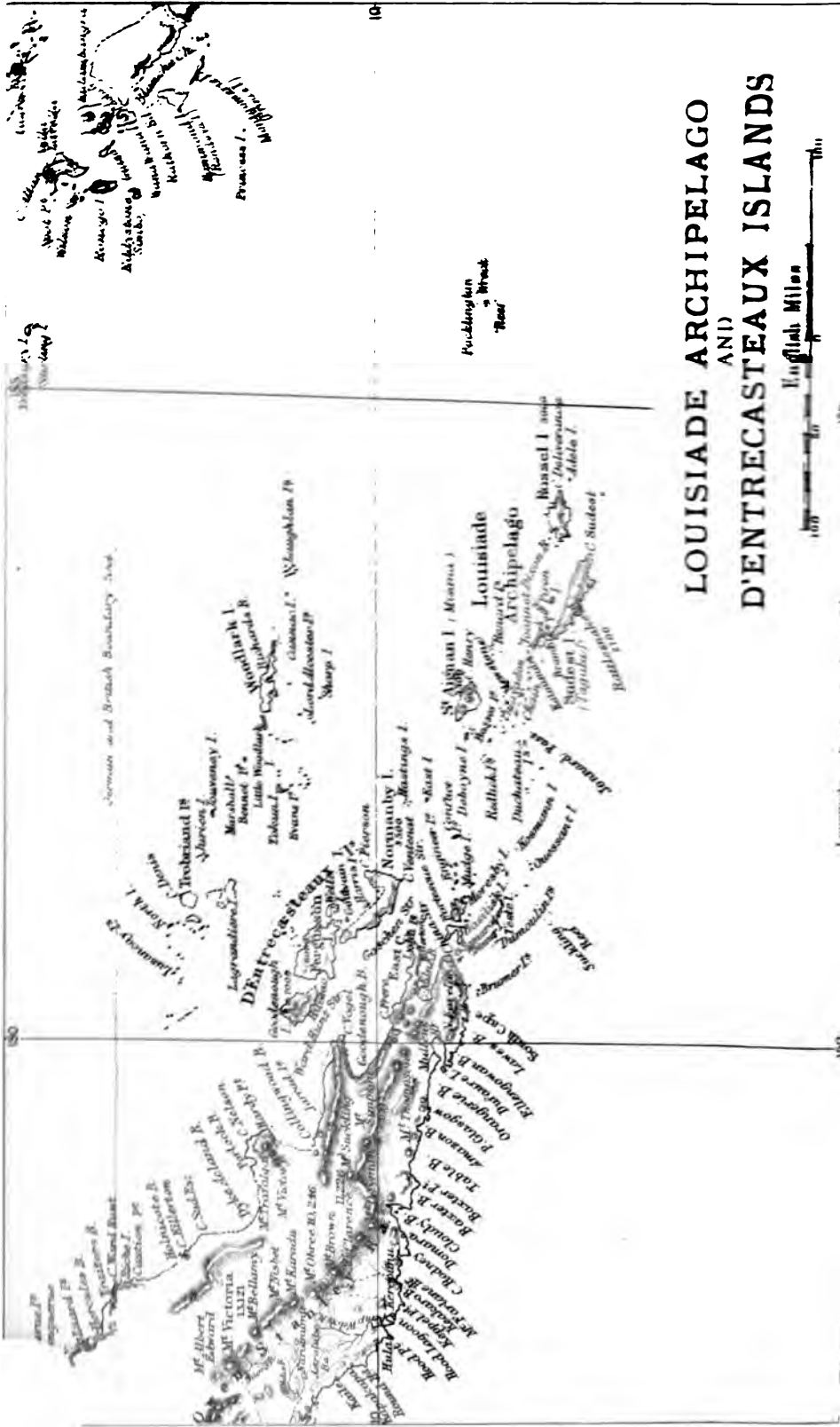
In 1890, I saw two or three dozen Snider rifles, openly exposed for sale to natives, in a French store in Havanah Harbour, Sandwich I., while one of Her Majesty's ships was lying there. In the Solomons, three cases of "buying" boys with firearms also came under my notice.

The German vessel *Maria*, recruiting in 1890 for Samoan planters, at Port Adams, Maramasiki I., engaged seventy-two boys, giving a Snider and ammunition for each: the *Ubea* (German) took forty boys from Tiarro Bay, Guadalcanar I., the same year, the price given for each being a Snider and forty cartridges.

On January 6, 1891, I was off Fokinkava, on the north-east coast of Malayta I. The natives then informed me that a French vessel had left there two days previously, full of boys, for each of whom two Sniders and ammunition had been given. I have good reason to think that, if care is not taken to prevent it, a real slave trade will be established on that coast, for the benefit of the French and Germans. The people of Malayta have always practised slavery, though in a very limited way. The New Hebrideans are hardly advanced enough yet to appreciate "the peculiar institution" more than approximately.

The fact that foreigners are allowed, in a British protectorate, such as the southern portion of the Solomon group, to do what is forbidden to British subjects, while these are not allowed even to trade in foreign protectorates, is but the natural result of that cowardly policy which has caused us, of late years, to bully or make war upon small and weak communities, and to give way before stronger nations, that are better able to cope with us!

MAP V.



LOUISIADE ARCHIPELAGO
AND
D'ENTRECASTEAUX ISLANDS

English Miles



Handwritten notes and labels in the top right corner of the map, including names like 'Pocklington Break', 'Roar', and various island names.

Handwritten notes in the top left corner of the map, including names like 'Pocklington Break', 'Roar', and various island names.

Handwritten notes in the middle left corner of the map, including names like 'Pocklington Break', 'Roar', and various island names.

Handwritten notes in the middle right corner of the map, including names like 'Pocklington Break', 'Roar', and various island names.

Handwritten notes in the bottom left corner of the map, including names like 'Pocklington Break', 'Roar', and various island names.

Handwritten notes in the bottom right corner of the map, including names like 'Pocklington Break', 'Roar', and various island names.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE CRUISE OF THE *VICTORIA*, 1885.

The Griffith Ministry and the labour trade—Labourers abscond—A Royal Commission appointed—Its constitution—The interpreters—Mr. Rose's defence of them—Underhand practices—Examination of labourers—Government agents not called—The Report of the Commission—My letter to "The Brisbane Courier"—I court inquiry—And am denied it—I go to Sydney—I am engaged as pilot by the A.S.N. Co.—Fitting out the Victoria—Mr. Griffith objects to me—The Company stands by me—Appointed, and go to Brisbane—I am served with a writ—Bonds demanded!—The official party—Newspaper reporters—Our fighting strength—Nordenfeldts required!—Mr. Hodgson's offer—My berth not "all skittles and beer"—"After-guard" abuse—I speak up—"Whiskey-skins!"—Some labourers refuse to go home—Mr. Lawes' opinion—How the boys greeted me—Dixon—His report to the Commissioners—He tells me the truth of it—Cago's proceedings—At sea—I visit the islanders' quarters—Dante's Inferno!—Bad management—The doctor's orders—I am placed under restriction—"Land ahead!"—"Where are we?"—Fisherman I.—In danger—"Pilot, take the ship in!"—A narrow escape—Piloting—It takes a hurricane to put me ashore!

THE atrocities committed by the crew of the *Hopeful* during that vessel's last voyage, together with the verdict of "guilty" against the offenders, proved a sore blow to the labour trade. Very naturally, the unsophisticated public began to ask if it was possible that the stories told by missionaries and other opponents of the trade, about kidnappings and murders, might not be founded upon facts. It was only necessary for the Griffith Ministry to deal another blow, fairly or otherwise, at the trade, and a soft spot was soon found whereon to inflict it.

The islanders brought from the East Cape of New Guinea, and from the Louisiade Archipelago, had proved almost worthless as labourers. A sudden fall in the price of sugar in January, 1885, made the planters only too glad to get rid of them, even at some loss.

These islanders had all been employed on northern plantations. Nearly every day some of them absconded, took to the bush, and even stole boats, in which to coast northward, in hopes of so reaching their homes. Some succeeded in doing so; many sickened and died. A few who got as far as Cooktown, or Torres Straits, perhaps, were picked up and forwarded to their homes. Some of these, it was said, stated that they had not understood they were to serve so long a time as three years. The truth or falsity of this statement cannot now be ascertained. In consequence of this state of things, three gentlemen, all devoted adherents of the Griffith Ministry, were appointed under a Royal Commission, December 23, 1884, to examine recruits brought from New Guinea and the neighbouring islands, and to report accordingly. These three gentlemen were: Mr. Buckland, member for Bulimba; Mr. Kinnaird Rose, a lawyer fresh from Great Britain; and Mr. Milman, the police magistrate of Cooktown. The last was the only one of the three who had any acquaintance with the character of Polynesians, and his experience was of the slightest. Mr. W. C. Lawrie was appointed secretary. Of him it was subsequently said that he had "resided in New Guinea for about a year, had acquired a fair knowledge of many of the dialects, and become acquainted with much of the southern and south-eastern portions of the island." This was saying a great deal more than was true.

Three interpreters accompanied the party: Cago, who had been on the *Hopeful*; Diene, a mission teacher, and as fit a tool for any dirty work as the first; with another islander, named Toiamina.

After the "Commissioners" had completed their

labours, it was extensively rumoured that, at the different plantations visited, the interpreters, especially Cago, had been amongst the boys previous to their examination, and had schooled them in the replies they were to make to the Commissioners' questions. So instructed, the boys were to say that they had understood, at the time of their several engagements, that they were to remain in Queensland only a few months, not for three years. They were persuaded that, if they admitted they had been engaged for three years, they would have to stay, and work out that term; but if, on the contrary, they said two or three months, they would be sent home at once, with plenty of trade.

It was in consequence of these reports, I suppose, that Mr. Kinnaird Rose addressed a letter to "The Brisbane Courier," which made its appearance in the issue of August 4, 1885. In this he stated:—

Cago was never permitted to speak to the labourers, except in the presence of the Commission. He accompanied the Commissioners, in the same buggy, to and from Ingham and Hamleigh; he stayed in the same hotel with the Commissioners at Ingham; he had no possible opportunity of visiting the plantation alone, without the knowledge of the Commissioners; he never did so visit the plantation for the purpose described, or for any other purpose. Moreover, Cago was under my own eye for six months. I made a careful study of his character and disposition, and I assert—of course, for what it is worth—not that he was incapable of so acting and lying, but that, as a matter of fact, he did not so act and lie.

Well might Mr. Rose say that his assertion was to be taken "for what it is worth!" Fancy keeping Cago "under his own eye" for six months, while travelling about from one place to another! And where were the other interpreters all the while?

As a matter of fact, several persons connected with the Commission, and one or other of the interpreters—Cago, I was told—*did* visit a number of islanders one evening at the Immigration Depot on Ross I., Townsville, previous to their examination, conversed on that subject,

and distributed tobacco among them. Similar things were done at other places, and witnesses could be found, even at the present day, who would prove it.

There can be little doubt that no opportunity was missed of coaching up the islanders beforehand, so that they should say only what was convenient. Whether this was done with the knowledge of the Commissioners, or not, of course I am unable to say.

The Commissioners commenced their work at Townsville, on January 6, 1885. They visited every plantation where natives from New Guinea or its vicinity were employed; on the Johnstone, Herbert, and Pioneer Rivers, and in the delta of the Burdekin. They held thirty meetings, and examined 480 islanders, presumably labourers, among them "two natives of the South Sea Islands, being a portion of the boats' crew of the *Hopeful*."

Are we to suppose, then, that no other islanders, who had been boatmen in any of the vessels concerned, were examined? Well, I know that some *were* examined; yet their testimony was not included in the Commissioners' Report. Four of the boatmen I had employed in the *Louisiade* were then working as free labourers on the Herbert River. I met them there myself the following year. These boys gave me a long account of the questions that had been put to them by the Commissioners, together with their answers.

The Commissioners stated in their Report, that "It would have been desirable, the Commission thought, to have examined the Government agents on board the vessels which had recruited the islanders, the subject of inquiry; but it was found that they had either left the colony, or were out of reach."

The three Government agents who had accompanied me on my cruises in the *Louisiade* *were all in Brisbane*, where they were well known, at the very time the Commissioners made their Report; and they had been there for a good while before.

The Report itself, as submitted to the Governor on April 10, is too long for insertion, but the gist of it is contained in the following extract from a Mackay paper :—

Report of the Polynesian Commission.

The Report of the Polynesian Commission has been published. The report is a lengthy document, and deals fully with the whole subject of recruiting on eight different voyages. The recruiting vessels are dealt with in detail. The conclusions arrived at by the Commission are as follows :—“ Regarding the voyage of the *Ceara*, our opinion is that all the recruits brought on this voyage were induced to go on board on false pretences ; that the nature of their agreements was never fully explained to them ; that they had little or no comprehension of the kind of work they had to perform ; and that the period for which they had agreed to come was in no single instance three years. Regarding the voyage of the *Lizzie*, we are of opinion that the nature of their agreement was never clearly explained to or understood by them, and that the method of recruiting was cruelly deceptive, and altogether illegal. Regarding the second voyage of the *Ceara*, the Commission are of opinion that a system of deliberate fraud was practised in engaging all recruits during that voyage. As to the second voyage of the *Lizzie*, on a review of the whole of the evidence as to the recruiting on this voyage, we are of opinion that while some natives were forcibly kidnapped, all were allured on board by false statements ; that the nature of the agreements to which they subsequently attached their marks, was deliberately misrepresented to them, and that they had no clear understanding that they were coming to Queensland to work on sugar plantations for three years.” Somewhat similar opinions are expressed with regard to the voyages of the *Sibyl*, the *Forest King*, and the *Heath*. With reference to the notorious voyage of the *Hopeful*, the Report states that the history of this cruise is one long record of deceit, cruel treachery, deliberate kidnapping, and cold-blooded murder. The number of human beings whose lives were sacrificed can never be accurately known, but in addition to the two men killed at Sonorod, for which offence McNeil and Williams were convicted, there is, in the opinion of the Commission, abundant evidence of many other murders.”

I was then in Brisbane, and learning from a Maryborough paper that Mr. Griffith, who had perused the Report before it was presented to the Governor, had, in a speech at that place, made some allusion to it in connection with kidnapping, I addressed the following letter to the editor of “The Brisbane Courier,” which ap-

peared in the same issue as the full Report of the Royal Commission.

To the Editor of "The Brisbane Courier."

SIR,—Three weeks ago I addressed a letter to you, which appeared in your columns, commenting on some words of Mr. Griffith's at the late Maryborough banquet. He accused me and others of obtaining Polynesian recruits from the vicinity of New Guinea—I took none from the mainland—by fraud or force. His accusation was founded on the lying and interested evidence of Kanakas. Mr. Griffith further stated that the Commissioners' Report would be published shortly. He has been in possession of this Report three weeks, but I have heard nothing of any result. Weeks previous to the Report, I was told at the Immigration Office that I was debarred from going to the islands in the labour trade, until, at any rate, the Report was published, but no specific reasons were assigned.

Twice I applied for an interview with the Premier, but was told it was impossible, through press of public business. I have had employment offered me twice, but was debarred from accepting it. Even here this groundless accusation stands in my way.

I have been ten years in the trade, and have always acted in accordance with both the letter and the spirit of the law to the best of my ability; I court inquiry into all my actions; the only unpleasantness with the Immigration Office having been when I could not agree with drunken or otherwise incompetent Government agents.

If I have done wrong, how is it that I am at liberty and not hunted into gaol alongside of the *Hopeful* and *Ethel* unfortunates? But, if not guilty, why should I be punished by being debarred from engaging in that branch of my profession for which my long experience peculiarly fits me?

It is a Briton's birthright to have a fair trial before punishment; when Mr. Griffith denies me that, he may be acting as a Queensland politician and minister, but not as an impartial judge.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

W. T. WAWN,

Late Master, Polynesian Labour Trade.

What more could I say? I think this letter was a fair challenge to the Government to put me on my trial for kidnapping. For, surely, if there was sufficient evidence to prove that the islanders I had brought had been kidnapped, and that they must be sent back home, and that their employers, who had already spent so much money to introduce them into the Colony, should be deprived of

their services, then I, who had brought them, must have been guilty of kidnapping. But "the glorious uncertainty of the law" is often a very puzzling thing to a sailor.

I remained unmolested, as did all the other masters, Government agents, and crews of the five vessels in which those islanders who had been examined before the Royal Commissioners had been brought to the Colony.

The labour trade being now closed to me, I went to Sydney, about the latter end of May, to try and find other employment. At that time, the Geographical Society of New South Wales was preparing to send a party to explore the Fly River, in New Guinea. A ship-master who had had experience amongst savages was required to take the command. I put in an application for the post, along with about forty others, and I stood a very fair chance of obtaining the appointment. Unluckily for me, I was informed that Sir Edward Strickland, the President of the Society, objected to employ any one who had had any connection with the labour trade. So, the evening before the committee made its decision, I withdrew my name.

I think it was in the last week of April, that, one morning, my attention was called to a "personal" in "The Sydney Morning Herald":—

"Captain Wawn call on manager A.S.N. Co."

Away I went, accordingly, to the Company's offices on Circular Quay, wondering what was in the wind. Captain Tronton, the manager, soon enlightened me. The Queensland Government was treating with the A.S.N. Co. for the charter of one of their steamers—the *Victoria*, a roomy but slow vessel of some 900 tons register. She was to carry back to their homes those islanders the late Royal Commission had declared to have been kidnapped. Captain Tronton wished to know if I would give my services as pilot, and what my terms

would be. Of course I jumped at the offer. As to terms, since it was impossible to say how long the trip might last, considering that, from what Captain Tronton told me, it seemed that it was to be a sort of "Royal Progress," I asked for a first-class master's monthly wages, which were granted.

As soon as our agreement had been signed, Captain Tronton wired the news to the manager in Brisbane. I went on board the *Victoria*, finding carpenters already busy fitting her "'tween decks" with the usual bunks, constructing hatch-covers, a cooking galley for the islanders, etc.

The intention was to return about four hundred and sixty boys. As soon as I descended to the lower deck of the steamer, however, I was certain that there would not be sufficient accommodation for that number, if the regulations of the Queensland Polynesian Labour Act were adhered to. Subsequent measurements proved that I was right; for the whole space in the "'tween decks" was sufficient for only two hundred and fifty-eight, while some of that was occupied by the machinery of the steam-launch.

For two days I hung about the *Victoria*, with nothing to do but to give a little information about the fittings and the requisite charts, etc. Then "a change came o'er the spirit of my dream." A telegram arrived from the Company's manager in Brisbane, who informed us that Mr. Griffith objected to Captain Wawn accompanying the *Victoria*.

"Never mind," said Captain Tronton, "we'll make that all right. At any rate, they shall not have the ship unless they find me a pilot as experienced as yourself; and, if all is true that is said about you, they won't be able to do that. This is Thursday; give a look in on Monday, say, and I think the matter will be settled then. Meantime, put in your account for two days' pay."

This I did. On Monday the manager showed me another telegram, saying that I was to accompany the *Victoria* as pilot. The Queensland ministry had had to give in. No other pilot was forthcoming, and it was a case of "no pilot, no ship." So there was I, the reputed kidnapper of about half of the islanders to be returned in the *Victoria*, receiving good wages to take them back home again!

Verily, I think that those who stigmatized the cruise of the *Victoria* a ridiculous farce, were not far out in their reckoning.

I left Sydney in the *Victoria* for Brisbane, our first port of call in Queensland, on Tuesday, June 2, 1885, arriving at Brisbane on the following Friday. Of course I was not then doing any pilotage duty, but was simply a passenger. My bargain was to act as responsible pilot in waters I was acquainted with, viz., the Louisiade Archipelago, and to assist the master, Captain Ballistier, whenever we encountered any intricate navigation among reefs and islands, whether I was acquainted with them or not.

We had just steamed up alongside the A.S.N. Co.'s wharf at Brisbane, and the crew were engaged in mooring the ship, when an individual with a long red-sealed envelope in his hand popped his head into Captain Ballistier's cabin on deck—where he and I were then sitting—and asked:—

"Is Captain Wawn on board here?"

I answered in the affirmative, and was promptly served with a writ, or summons, or something of the sort. It came from the Bailiff of the Supreme Court, and was a demand for the payment by me of the sum of £1,500 bond money, £500 for each of my three voyages to the Louisiade Archipelago—two in the *Lizzie* and one in the *Heath*—under the "Pacific Island Labourers' Act" of 1880!!

I felt proud. I had never owed so much in my life

before, and I knew, by this time, that I was tolerably safe from any prosecution for kidnapping. I handed this precious paper to my bondsmen's lawyer in Brisbane, and heard nothing more of it until more than a year after. The bonds were never paid, so my bondsmen—Messrs. Burns, Philp & Co., owners of the *Lizzie* and the *Heath*—informed me. But I was told that some much smaller sum *was* paid to the Queensland Government, to avoid the expense of an action. Burns, Philp & Co. are a commercial firm, and they looked to cash profit before honour.

The *Victoria*, having discharged such passengers and cargo as she had brought from Sydney—notably, a portion of Chiarini's Circus—left Brisbane again on June 8. She now had on board the party of officials who were to superintend the landing of the islanders; with their guard, twelve men of the Naval Brigade, under a non-commissioned officer.

The officials were—Mr. Hugh Romilly, representing the Imperial Government, with his Secretary, Mr. Stanley Harris, and his under-Secretary, Mr. Geo. Harris; Mr. Chester, representing the Queensland Government, whom we may call the G.A. of the party, with *his* Secretary, Mr. Lawrie, lately Secretary to the Royal Commission; Dr. Patrick Smith, a "new-chum" emigrant medico, correspondent of a Glasgow religious paper, who wrote glowing accounts of the missionaries' work in the islands, carefully keeping back such incidents as would not redound to their credit; and Cago, the interpreter.

We had also three newspaper reporters—Messrs. W. B. Livesey, of "The Brisbane Courier," Mr. W. J. Lyne, of "The Sydney Morning Herald," and Mr. Herbert, of "The Townsville Standard," whose presence appeared anything but welcome to the Government party. These did not care to have "a chiel" among them "takin' notes" while they were enjoying what they evidently

intended to be a picnic. Last of all came a piano. Abundant "grog" of all descriptions had been shipped early, to make sure that *it* was not left behind.

Mr. A. Musgrave, nephew of the Governor of Queensland, also travelled in the *Victoria* from Brisbane, as a passenger, as far as Port Moresby, New Guinea.

Our fighting strength, in case of any collision with the natives, which the Government party seemed to think was very probable, amounted to ten gentlemen in the cuddy, armed with rifles of the latest fashion, shot guns, and revolvers; twelve men of the Naval Brigade and one non-commissioned officer, with their rifles and bayonets; the ship's company of thirty-seven whites and two Kanakas, for whom Snider rifles and revolvers were provided. Lastly, there was myself, with a "double barrel" and a revolver. This imposing force was strong enough to sweep the whole of the Louisiade! Yet it was not enough, apparently, for it was actually proposed that we should ship two Nordenfeldt guns as well! Possibly this might even have been done, had not somebody growled out that "they had better ship a hundred pounder 'Armstrong' whilst they were about it, and so *prove* themselves to be d——d fools, and not leave people in doubt!"

The Nordenfeldts were *not* shipped!

A friend and old schoolfellow of mine, the late Mr. Samuel Hodgson, merchant and shipowner, told me that he had offered to take the four hundred and odd islanders back to their homes in his vessels, subject to the regulations of the Polynesian Labour Act, for £5 per head. The Griffith Ministry declined his offer, preferring to throw away considerably more of the public money by making a virtuous "anti-slavery" splatter over "the cruise of the *Victoria*."

Leaving Brisbane, the comfortable old *Vic* steamed eight knots an hour to Mackay, off which port we anchored on the 11th, and went on again the same even-

ing. There we received some thirty boys on board—the exact number I cannot remember—and proceeded on to Townsville, where we shipped the rest of the return islanders, making up the total number to four hundred and four.

Shortly after we anchored, a telegram was received by Captain Ballistier from the manager of the A.S.N. Co. in Brisbane, saying that Mr. Griffith desired that the pilot (myself) should not be allowed to land at any place where boys were to be put ashore, for fear of retaliation and consequent bloodshed. I determined that whenever a convenient opportunity should occur I *would* land, in spite of Mr. Griffith, and I subsequently did so. I was serving the A.S.N. Co., not Mr. Griffith, and was, to a certain extent, even independent of the master of the ship.

By this time I had found out that my berth was not “all skittles and beer.” If I had, so far, no pilotage work to do, at any rate I had to put up with a good deal of “after-guard” abuse.

Before leaving Sydney, one of the state-rooms in the main cabin was allotted to me by Captain Tronton. I slept in it, and had my meals at the cabin table with the other passengers until we arrived at the *Louisiade*. After that I generally slept in the chart-room, on the bridge, and often had my meals there; not only in order to keep a better watch over the safety of the ship, but on account of the frequent references to “slavers,” “kidnappers,” etcetera, which too often greeted my ears when I went aft.

Nevertheless, I kept possession of my state-room throughout the trip, notwithstanding all efforts to dispossess me of it. As for unpleasant allusions, I had been used to them so long in Queensland that I did not pay much heed to the whiskey-begotten epithets I heard on board the *Victoria*—between eight and nine in the evening was the time when they became loudest. When my navigation was impugned, however, I got riled.

One evening, when we were off Cape Pierson, Normanby I., I took the bull by the horns and faced Mr. Chester, who boasted he had served Her Majesty as an officer (E.I.C.) for twenty years—nine months of each year in harbour, I suppose, and the other three getting in and out of it!—and gave him such a talking to as I think he little expected; and then Mr. Romilly chipped in, and, I think, *he* made little by *his* motion either. After that they let me alone, confining themselves to their own troubles; for they had already begun to squabble amongst themselves.

And no mean squabbling either, when one potentate applies the term “whiskey-skin” to another potentate, and that potentate looks as if he would like to “go for” the first potentate, and is only restrained from doing so by the first potentate’s big stick! A scene such as I have faintly hinted at occurred one day in the saloon of the *Victoria*, causing me to chuckle—inwardly.

But let us go back to Townsville. Before we sailed, the Admiral of the Australian Squadron had been telegraphed to with a request that one of the war-ships should be sent to attend on the *Victoria*, in case of her getting on a reef! Luckily, all the Admiral’s ships were better employed, so we were spared this crowning act of folly.

After all, the whole of the Louisiade and New Guinea boys, then in Queensland, did not return home with us. Notwithstanding all the inducements held out to them, *fifty-eight refused to abandon their employers and break their agreement!* These fifty-eight worked out their three years’ in Queensland.

The Rev. Mr. Lawes, a missionary in New Guinea, addressed a letter to “The Brisbane Courier,” July 25, 1885. In this he regretted that these fifty-eight boys were not *obliged* by the Government to return home. He considered that the chiefs and their friends would not be satisfied by the assertions of Messrs. Romilly and Chester

that the boys did not *want* to return home till they had fulfilled their engagements. Apparently, Mr. Lawes considered that these boys ought not to enjoy any free-will at all in the matter.

Many of the islanders we had shipped at Townsville had been brought to Queensland by me. When they came on board I was on shore. On my return to the ship, I think some of the Government party were rather astonished to see several of these natives meet me at the gangway, shake hands with me, and greet me in a most friendly manner. Even such of them as could not speak more than a word or two of English, gave me a friendly grin, and often a hand-clasp. This was not the sort of welcome one would have expected a kidnapper to receive from his victims!

Among those who greeted me was one named Dixon, a European name given to him by the *bêche-de-mer* collectors for whom he had worked. Dixon and another, "Sandfly,"—he had served for some time on board H.M.S. *Sandfly*,—had been specially mentioned in the Report of the Royal Commission, and what they had said to the Commissioners had "knocked" me.

In their Report of the first voyage of the *Lizzie*, the Commissioners had said :—

"The first boy presented—at Hamleigh plantation—was Dixon, who had quite a pat story that he had been recruited to 'work sugar in Queensland for three yams' (years)."

Then, a little further on, they say :—

"At the close of our examination of the Hamleigh labourers, which lasted a week, Dixon and Sandfly appeared and withdrew their former statements, which had been made under fear of Mr. Cowley, and said they had been recruited for only three moons."

It was this that had puzzled me—that two islanders should come forward and *voluntarily* admit to the Commissioners themselves that they had told them a lie a

week before. Much more likely they would have said to themselves: "A week has passed; the white men have not found out the lie; let it go."

No. There must have been somebody in the background; and very possibly, I thought, Cago had been that somebody.

When I questioned Dixon that day on the deck of the *Victoria* about this recantation of theirs, he said:—

"Cappen, you been take me along three year. Me, Sandfly, both speak, three year. By-and-by, boy belong island; he speak: 'What for you speak three *year*? Very good, you speak three *moon*. Suppose you no speak three moon, altogether, boy, he stop Queensland three year. No good.' Me think all the boy want to kill me; then me, Sandfly, go back and speak we come along three moon."

"Did Cago ever talk to you about what you should say? Did he say you would go back soon if you said 'three moon'?" I asked.

"Yes; Cago, he speak all-a-same plenty time."

Not much time was lost at Townsville, for we steamed out of Cleveland Bay again, going north, about 11 p.m. the same night, June 13. The following afternoon we ran through the Barrier by the Flora Pass, and headed for Port Moresby in New Guinea.

It took us two days to run the distance—420 miles, across to Port Moresby; for the old *Vic* was quite contented with eight knots an hour, and occasionally a little better when she had her square canvas set, and a fresh breeze aft. I think it was during one of these two evenings at sea that the three newspaper reporters paid a visit with me to the islanders' quarters on the lower deck. Of course they were on the look-out for material for their different papers, so I took care to point out to them anything that seemed worth their attention.

It was supposed that the ship had been fitted out in accordance with the regulations of the Polynesian Labour

Act. However, the amount of space allotted for the islanders' accommodation was far less than it should have been. We had 404 islanders on board, and the space between decks was not more than sufficient for 258. I took the trouble to measure it, and make calculations. Out of this, sufficient room for nine or ten men had been allotted to two sick boys alone.

Looking down the fore-hatch, we saw 128 boys scattered, asleep on planks thrown down on the top of the coals in the lower hold. As we peered down the open hatch, and the dim rays of our lantern made visible the figures of the slumbering islanders, sprawling about in all sorts of attitudes on the coals, some ten or twelve feet beneath us, somebody remarked that the sight reminded him of an illustration in Dante's "Inferno."

"Hell asleep, with the fire out!" rejoined another.

The smell arising from 404 "nigs" would not be a pleasant one at any time. When jammed together as these were, on a warm night in the tropics, on board a steamer with furnaces at full blast, the smell of that lower deck was something that no man would revel in. To make matters worse, when the first mate spoke of washing and cleansing the lower deck, the morning after we left Townsville, Mr. Chester and Dr. Smith objected to it, being under the impression that the damp would cause many of the islanders to catch cold.

It seems almost incredible that from June 11, when the first batch was shipped at Mackay, and the 13th, when we took the rest on board at Townsville, notwithstanding that many of the boys, when outside the "Barrier," were sea-sick and unable to get on deck to the latrines, that lower deck in the mainhold was not cleansed, except for a very slight touch with the broom, for nearly three weeks. It is a wonder to me how even the islanders were able to sleep there and keep their health. Surely a good washing could have done them no more harm on board the *Victoria* than on board a "labour"

schooner, where the "tween decks" are washed out thoroughly every morning when the weather suits.

But, of course, "new chum" doctors must know more about islanders than a "slaving skipper."

This was my first and last visit to the lower deck of the *Victoria*. One of the Naval Brigade men, who, in his turn, was "shadowed" by one of the crew, had followed us round the islanders' quarters, and reported every word and action of ours to the authorities.

Next day an order was issued to the sentry at the main-hatch by Mr. Chester, which ran to this effect :—

"The pilot is not to be allowed below in the islanders' quarters, as his presence and conversation tend to make the boys discontented."

On the evening of the 17th, Captain Ballistier reckoned we were about twenty miles from the opening in the New Guinea barrier reef leading to Port Moresby. The wind was then blowing a moderate south-east "trade," with a good deal of sea on, and fine but very hazy weather. The ship was brought to the wind at half-speed, first on one tack and then on the other, and we rolled and tumbled about all night in a most uncomfortable manner. At daylight next morning no land was in sight, the haze preventing us from making out anything beyond five or six miles from the ship. However, we were steaming in what Captain Ballistier thought was the right direction for Port Moresby.

About 10 a.m. there was a cry of "Land ahead!" Looming up through the haze, a small, low, wooded islet of inconsiderable size appeared right ahead.

Fisherman I., near the entrance to Port Moresby, the captain thought. Mr. Chester presently came up on to the bridge with two Port Moresby boys we were taking home. They had been serving as interpreters on board a man-of-war. He was of the same opinion.

This gentleman, by the way, had been to Port Moresby on two former occasions. As an old naval officer, he

might have been supposed to have "taken stock" of its surroundings.

The ship was then kept away to pass to leeward of the island, as Mr. Chester and the boys said there was a good passage on that side, although the passage that has been recommended and surveyed is on the south-east.

Now, it happened that the island ahead of us seemed to me to be hardly a quarter the size of Fisherman I., as it was represented on the Admiralty Chart. I ventured to give the captain a hint that perhaps they were mistaken, *although* Mr. Chester had been to Port Moresby, and I had never been near it.

I ran my eye over the chart, getting the coast-line— islets and reefs—for twenty miles on each side of the port well impressed on my mind. Then I went up to the fore-yard, whence I had a good "bird's-eye" view.

The islet was small, and from it a barrier reef, enclosing a lagoon, with the loom of high land beyond it, stretched away south-east for miles, until lost in the haze. To the north-west, on the other side of the islet, there were no breakers. A long, sunken coral spit, showing a bright light green amidst the blue of the deep water, ran out for a mile or more. The ship was then heading straight for this spit at half-speed. I saw immediately where we were.

I was soon down from aloft, and in the chart-room on the bridge.

"Here's where we are, Captain," I said, putting my finger on "Aplin I." on the chart. "That's not Fisherman I.; we are miles to leeward of it."

"That *is* Fisherman I.," asserted a gruff voice outside.

The skipper was puzzled for a moment.

"Do as you think fit, Captain," I continued. "Keep on, and in a quarter of an hour you'll have your ship on that spit ahead. We're close to it now."

Captain Ballistier then saw the danger.

"Pilot, will you take the ship into Port Moresby?"

You've had more experience than I have amongst reefs."

"I will," I said.

Then to the man at the wheel:—

"Hard-a-starboard!" At the same moment I jerked the telegraph handle to "Full speed ahead!"

We were so close to the reef, with the ship's head lying about north, that there was hardly room to turn her eastward, the shortest way to bring her head to south-east, in which direction we now had to steer, dead in the teeth of wind and sea.

"By Jove!" I thought to myself; "if I've made a mistake and a fool of myself, *what* a commencement to my piloting, and won't they grin aft!"

But I had made no mistake. Three hours' hard steaming brought us up to the real Fisherman I., low and wooded like Aplin I., but six times as long, and thus easily distinguishable from it.

On our way, I had made a rough sketch on paper of the entrance to, and anchorage in, Port Moresby, from the Admiralty plan. With this stowed into the breast-pocket of my grey shirt—white shirts and blue cloth won't do for a fore-yard, with the smoky top of a steamer's funnel near you—I climbed up aloft, and piloted the ship into harbour and safe anchorage.

This mode of piloting may seem *infra dig.* to many masters of ships, but it is absolutely necessary in the unsurveyed waters of coral seas. Even where surveyed, if they have not been beaconed or buoyed, it is impossible to distinguish a sunken patch with, say, ten or twelve feet of water on it, from the bridge or quarter-deck, in time to avoid "knocking it."

I know three or four skippers in the labour trade who would scorn to go above the shear poles. But they have all left their marks, here and there, on coral patches among the New Hebrides and the Solomon groups.

I thank my stars that I have a good eye for colour, so

as to detect shallow water. Also that I have some ability for climbing—first contracted in my apple-stealing days, I suppose—so that I have managed to get through my Pacific experience without damaging any reefs, barring once, in the *Bobtail Nag*, and then it took a whole hurricane to put me ashore.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE CRUISE OF THE *VICTORIA* (continued).

Port Moresby—Anabata—Native houses—Our steam-launch and boats—Complaints—Jerry, the interpreter—Prohibitions—Trading not permitted—Planning the route—My duties—First mistake of the officials—Protection Bay—I am forbidden to go ashore—And disobey—Interviewing the natives—Official “funk”—“Savage and warlike!”—Killerton—An imposing ceremony—Mr. Romilly’s great speech—“A fair acquaintance with the dialects!”—Backwards and forwards—Kidnapped!—A peace-offering declined—The Samoa—My letters opened—Another ceremony—A “jolly” reception—The Woodlark Is.—Hazy weather—Landing in the dark—The lower deck washed—Hiliwao—Last speech of the voyage—I take a nap—A glass of whiskey—Pumping the pilot!—Direction of the voyage accorded to me—Our list of passengers—Dodging about—Bramble Pass—Difficult navigation—My skirmishes with the skipper—Coral Haven—Sudest I.—The last boy landed—Extract from “The Brisbane Courier”—How the boys were coached up—The doctor’s stories—An unpublished incident—Return to Sydney—End of the cruise.

PORT Moresby has been so often described in various books on New Guinea, that I need say but little about it. It is a large bay, about four miles long, on the south-western coast of the south-eastern promontory of New Guinea. Mt. Owen Stanley, supposed to be the highest mountain in the island, towers up 13,000 feet above it, some forty miles inland.

The land surrounding Port Moresby is poor, and fresh water is not plentiful. The principal native village, Anabata, is close to the European settlement, on the south-eastern shore. I rambled through this village during our stay, which only lasted twenty-four hours.

Anabata strongly reminded me of what I have read of the abodes of the ancient lake-dwellers. The houses are all built on piles over the water, just below high-water mark, which obviates any necessity for sewers, apparently. They are generally two-storied, the lower floor being open at the sides and ends. They have high thatched roofs, peaked up at either end. The lower storey usually serves as a depository for fishing gear, provisions, etc., the inmates living on the uppermost. Capital houses are these in case of attack from native enemies, armed with no better weapons than spears and arrows. Nor would a gale of wind hurt them much; for the barrier reef effectually prevents heavy seas from entering the port.

Two English missionaries were settled here: the Revs. Lawes and Chalmers. Our officials were desirous that one of these gentlemen should accompany them on the cruise, but Mr. Chalmers was absent somewhere along the coast, and Mr. Lawes could not leave on that account.

I have already intimated that we carried a steam-launch, the engine of which occupied a portion of the space below, in the islanders' quarters, the boat itself taking up no little room on deck. The ship also carried six ordinary boats, more than sufficient for all the work required. Besides the regular crew, two Polynesian boatmen had been shipped in Sydney, and two or three more were engaged at Port Moresby.

However, neither our own boats nor our boatmen suited the officials. They saw fit to borrow the missionaries' surf-boat, erroneously termed a "whale-boat." When the work of landing commenced, the Kanaka boatmen were rejected in favour of Naval Brigade men. They would have found out the difference had any of the boats been capsized!

Great complaints were made, on our return, that the A.S.N. Co. had not provided the ship with proper boatmen—quite without reason. But, from the very

beginning of the voyage, it seemed to be the bounden duty of some of the officials to find all the faults they could, or imagine them, in the ship and her outfit.

Mr. Musgrave left us, landing at Port Moresby on the morning of the eighteenth. We then weighed anchor, and, passing out through the barrier, we steamed along the coast towards South Cape, where it was supposed we had two boys to land. On nearing the cape, however, it was discovered that no natives of that part were on board; so we kept away again for Suckling Reef, on the south-west of the Louisiade. On the eastern side of this is Basilisk Passage, through which Teste I. and the south-eastern capes of New Guinea can be reached.

Shortly after daylight on the twentieth, we cleared Suckling Reef, and steamed northward to Teste I., off which we brought to, allowing the Government party to visit the shore. There they engaged Jerry, a well-known mission teacher. He had been one of the witnesses in the *Forest King* case, and when under cross-examination then had proved himself to be an accomplished successor of Ananias. Jerry's services were now required as an interpreter.

That morning a written notice was displayed on the quarter-deck of the *Victoria*, which occasioned no little sensation and adverse criticism. It informed the gentlemen of the Press that, during the cruise, *only one of them at a time would be allowed to accompany landing parties, and then, only when there was no chance of overcrowding the landing or covering boats.*

What a lot of difference it made, whether one or three of the Press correspondents joined a party comprising from a dozen to twenty Europeans!

Second, the ship's company in general was informed that *trading on shore was prohibited, as tending to create dangerous excitement and confusion!*

The last regulation was more absurd than the first.

Here we had two men, Romilly and Chester, whose names were affixed to the document, and who were *supposed* to have some acquaintance with native character, actually prohibiting what would most please the natives, viz., buying whatever they had to sell!

Before we left Sydney, a quantity of "trade" had been put on board the *Victoria*, for the purpose of enabling the steward to purchase fresh provisions—pigs, fowls, etc. Of this Messrs. Romilly and Chester were well aware, and I think they must have wished to baulk the steward. Pigs and fowls were obtainable in the western islands of the Louisiade, near the mainland of New Guinea; but they would not permit trading until we got to the south-eastern portion of the Archipelago, where neither pigs nor fowls could be had for love or money.

There was a small matter I ought to mention, which occurred either just before, or very shortly after, our visit to Port Moresby.

We were all seated at the cuddy table at dinner one day, when, after a pause in the general conversation, Mr. Romilly observed to Captain Ballistier, that it would be well if he, the captain, Mr. Chester, "and—er—er—the pilot!" were to plan out the route through the islands that the vessel should take for landing the boys.

Now, whether the representative of the Imperial Government thought that I, as an inferior, should have "chipped in" there and then, and given my advice, I cannot say; but I heard nothing more of the matter.

I had nothing to do with the landing of the islanders. My business was to take the ship wherever Captain Ballistier might direct me. If Mr. Romilly or Captain Ballistier had asked my advice as to our route, I would have given it willingly, for the sake of my employers. But this neither of them did, and, consequently, a nice mess they made of it. At last, in the middle of the voyage, after wasting both time and coals, they were obliged to leave the route entirely at my discretion.

They cannot say that, after we left Normanby I. for good, we ever passed twice over the same ground unnecessarily.

From Teste I., by the captain's direction, I took the ship into China Strait, between Hayter I. and the mainland of New Guinea. There, as the day was drawing to a close, I anchored her in Protection Bay.

This was the first mistake made by Messrs. Romilly and Chester. The Engineer Is. should have been previously visited; then Kitai and Moresby Is. Next, we should have gone on to Killerton, thence to Lydia and Normanby Is., passing close to the East Cape of New Guinea, by the channel I had taken the *Lizzie* through.

When we anchored in Protection Bay, there were still two hours of daylight remaining. So the newspaper correspondents asked Captain Ballistier to let them have one of the smaller boats in which to go ashore. For there was no danger to an armed party, at that place, at any rate, so long as they kept within rifle-shot of the ship. The matter was referred to Messrs. Romilly and Chester. The latter at first refused to give his consent, and I believe Mr. Romilly declined to interfere. I was not acquainted with the full details of the ship's charter-party, but I very much doubt if the Queensland G.A. had the power to forbid the sending away of a boat, if the master chose to do so.

At last, after a good deal of growling, leave was granted to the three Press-men to take the dingy—the smallest and also the worst boat in the ship, had there really been any danger in venturing ashore. They were to pull the boat themselves, though, and the whole party was placed in charge of one of the secretaries.

I buckled on my revolver, and, with my double-barrelled gun, set about taking my seat in the boat also.

"Pilot!" murmured the skipper in my ear, as I stood at the gangway. "Mr. Griffith telegraphed that you

were not to be allowed to go ashore anywhere in the islands."

"D——n Mr. Griffith! I'm not *his* servant, and *you* can't stop me!"

Then, in answer to my inquiries, Messrs. Romilly and Chester said that they objected, but had not the power to prevent me. So away I went.

We pulled to the shore, with visions of pigeon shooting. For the creamy and black New Guinea pigeon abounds in these islands. But, before I had gone a dozen yards into the bush, I was called back. They were going to visit a village on the south side of the bay. Here also we landed, but did not go far from the boat.

There were about half a dozen houses in this village, built on piles, about fifty yards from the water. They had the usual low walls, with thatched roofs peaked up at the ends, gable-wise. Not a native was visible when the boat touched the rocks, but presently, when we landed, an ugly old woman, clad in a long loose calico bag—I cannot call it a gown—appeared, and shook hands with us all. Then half a dozen more women, a shade less ugly, turned up, with half a score of children. Lastly, three old men, all unarmed, put in an appearance.

We did a little jabbering in broken English, which lasted a few minutes. Then one of the old men innocently rambled towards the boat.

"Don't let them get between us and the boat!" exclaimed our *pro tem.* guardian, the secretary; and immediately darted into it, calling us all to follow. One of the correspondents and myself exchanged expressive looks, as we obeyed orders; and then we returned to the ship.

I mention this little incident, which was but one of scores like it that occurred later on, to show the amount of "funk" exhibited by some of our officials. Either they were really frightened, or else they wished to make

their work appear much more dangerous than it actually was. There was hardly any probability of natives attacking white men in the presence of such a large vessel as the *Victoria*, with sixty Europeans on board of her.

I remember that, later on, when we were anchored in Coral Haven, I was refused permission to take a boat a few hundred yards away from the ship in order to get some mangrove oysters. I was told, though I had already visited that place three times, that the natives were "savage and warlike." That phrase came out of "Findlay's Directory." There would be danger in venturing near them, it was said. At that very time there was a small ketch, with a three-foot free-board, and only three white men in her, lying at anchor half a mile off, trading with natives in canoes alongside.

I never went to the South Sea Islands with such a seemingly timid lot in my life, either before or since!

Next morning we steamed to Killerton, on the south side of the East Cape of New Guinea. This was the "show-place" of the trip.

As soon as we had anchored, steam was got up in the launch, which had been hoisted off the ship's deck and lowered into the water, previous to our arrival. Then the Killerton boys, fifty in number, the largest batch to be landed at any one place, were mustered and told off into two of the ship's boats, their property, in the shape of blankets and "trade," being conveyed in another boat. The launch towed these boats away from the gangway, and then waited for the Port Moresby surf-boat. This was manned by Naval Brigade men, and conveyed the Government officials. The little dingy was allotted to the members of the Press.

To do honour to the occasion, our officials made a grand display of blue cloth, gold lace, and gilt buttons, as well as of clean white linen. Towards the end of the voyage, however, the gold lace and finery were stowed

away in portmanteaux, and the linen had contracted a somewhat discoloured appearance.

A prominent feature of the official's boat was an arm-chair. Mr. Romilly was lame, and required a seat when interviewing the chiefs and elders. All the boats were towed in a string by the launch to a sandy beach on one of the Killerton islets, where the entire party landed.

The men of the Naval Brigade were drawn up in line; Mr. Romilly placed himself in his chair, with Cago beside him to interpret, and lit a cigar, while a crowd of natives squatted or stood around.

I watched the proceedings from the ship, and was furnished with full details by the newspaper reporters, when they returned on board, an hour or two later.

One of Mr. Romilly's speeches, as reported by the correspondent of "The Courier," was a caution!

Mr. R. to Cago.—"You speak same time as yesterday, you say we bring plenty [boy] along ship; Government of Queensland send him back. Man no savee why he come. Queen Victoria, he send him back home; plenty tomahawk, plenty tobacco, you speak!" Then Cago interpreted.

Mr. R., continuing.—"You speak; man he stop long time Queensland, some man he die, some man he dead." (Cago interprets.) "Queensland Government, every man he die, he send him one fellow all the same them," pointing to the bundles of trade. "Five man he die, he send five all the same." Mr. Chester, pointing, says, "Presents, tomahawk, blanket, knife." Then Cago again interprets.

Mr. R.—"You savee friend along him die, father, mother; he take him that fellow!" (Cago interprets.) "You speak, Queen Victoria, he look out all man stop this place. Ship, he no come. Queen Victoria, he look out no man he come here."

Cago interprets.

"I don't think there's any more to say."

Mr. Chester.—“No.”

On subsequent occasions the speeches were shorter, and as we progressed towards the end of the voyage, were dispensed with altogether. Business having been finished at Killerton, the anchor was tripped, and we ran towards East Cape, near which a few other boys were to be landed.

Unluckily, Mr. Chester and his secretary—who “had a fair acquaintance with the dialects!”—were but poor hands at making themselves understood, and equally incapable of comprehending the meaning of the islanders’ broken English and signs. Cago and his brethren were not much better.

The landing-place turned out to be on the farther side of the cape. So much time was taken up in reaching it in the boats, and in returning from it, that night had fallen before I could get the steamer back to Protection Bay. I had to keep her under way all night, in Milne Bay;—not a pleasant job in such narrow waters, on a dark night with hazy weather. At sunrise, next morning, I ran back through China Strait, and, coasting eastward along the southern shores of Hayter, Basilisk, and Moresby Is., anchored in Pitt Bay, on the east of the last mentioned.

Off the southern arm of this bay lies the small island of Kitai. Now, when I was running through the deep channel separating Moresby and Kitai, during my second voyage in the *Lizzie*, I picked up a native who swam off to the ship. This man could have had no object in so doing, if it were not to join the ship, which he signified his wish to do directly he got on deck. Yet the Royal Commission reported that he had been kidnapped!

I attempted to converse with this man on several occasions, but his knowledge of English was extremely limited, and he seemed rather indisposed to talk at all, so that I could get no satisfaction out of him. Besides, it was not pleasant that, every time one spoke to an

islander, a Naval Brigade man should lounge carelessly up, within hearing, taking stock of all one said. But why particularize each day's doings?

From Moresby I. we went on to the Engineer Is., a few miles east, landing men on each of them. A night was passed at anchor under Slade I.

There, a short time previously, a trader named Reid had been murdered by the natives. They seemed to think that the *Victoria* was a ship of war, which had been sent to punish them. Pigs were presented to Mr. Romilly, as a peace-offering, but were declined with thanks. The women brought heavy loads of native vegetables to the beach, to barter; but no trading was allowed, much to the disgust of the natives, as well as of the steward, who was quite prepared to buy pigs, fowls, or vegetables. However, it is comforting to reflect that the officials had to suffer for it afterwards, when there was nothing but "salt horse" to set before them!

From the Engineer Is. we went on to Lydia I., passing through a deep though narrow channel between Cape Ventenat, on the south-east of Normanby I., and the extensive "Gallows Reef." We became pretty intimate with this channel; for I navigated it no less than four times, before our officials discovered that I was more competent than themselves to determine what route we should pursue, in order to get our coloured passengers landed without waste of time, and without traversing the ground twice over.

From Lydia I. we steamed past Cape Ventenat again, where we spoke the German steamer *Samoa*, bound to the German portion of New Guinea, and thence to Cooktown, Queensland. On board of her was the well-known Dr. Finsch. Messrs. Chester and Lawrie, with the newspaper correspondents, went on board of her. I seized the opportunity, also, to send a letter to my friend, the late Mr. Samuel Hodgson, of Brisbane.

This letter arrived safely, but was delivered to Mr.

Hodgson with the envelope unfastened. It had been opened, and, of course, perused, by order of Mr. Griffith. Several other letters of mine were also opened in the Post Office about this time. I suppose Mr. Griffith was hunting for evidence upon which to prosecute me. If he was, he was sold!

A few boys were landed near Cape Ventenat, and, at one place, there appeared a very great chance of a row.

The officials landed in force at a spot where some five hundred natives were assembled. The Naval Brigade men were quickly surrounded by an excited mob of natives, all armed, whereas not a single rifle of theirs contained a cartridge. Had the natives attacked them, all the whites must have gone down to a man.

My notes, taken from a description of the scene by one of the correspondents, have—"Chester excited, giving away tobacco; Brigade men in line, with empty rifles, surrounded; confusion; no speech heard, shouting and bawling on both sides." The whole party got away safely, however.

Two or three days were spent at Normanby I., and then Welle I. was visited. There, at Sonoroa village, the crew of the *Hopeful* had committed some of their evil deeds. Trouble was consequently expected; so this time the Brigade men landed with loaded arms. But they met with quite "a jolly reception," according to the correspondents. The natives were all in good temper, shouting and laughing. As soon as Mr. Romilly had delivered his speech, however, and a few pounds of tobacco had been distributed, the visitors got away back to the ship as speedily as possible.

The ship's head was then turned north-east, towards the Woodlark Is. As we had to tow the steam-launch, we were only able to make half-speed, owing to the head wind and the sea. Arrived at the group, no landing was attempted. Several natives, who approached the boats when they were in shallow water, seemed sulky, and as

though on their guard. The majority of the inhabitants kept themselves aloof, close to the cover of the forest.

At last, about a dozen or more strolled down towards the boats. The returning islanders were quickly bundled into the shallow water, with their effects, and the boats shoved off again.

So far on our voyage the wind had blown continuously from east-south-east, with remarkably hazy weather. So thick, in fact, was this haze, that it almost amounted to a fog. While we were in China Straits, it was so dense that, at times, objects were barely visible at a distance of two or three miles. Once, I remember, I was hardly able to make out a point not much more than a mile off.

The atmosphere now became bright and clear—a sign of northerly winds. The refraction was so great, that when we were steaming up to the Marshall Bennett Is., quite half of the peak on Goodenough I. (7,000 ft.) was visible from the deck, though we were ninety miles distant from the island.

After calling at the Marshall Bennett group, we visited Jouveney I., and then Jurien I., landing men at each. We then went back to Evans I., a coral atoll we had already passed, while going from Normanby to Woodlark I. We had only one boy to land there. I hove to after dark in the evening, and he was bundled ashore, anyhow—by the light of a policeman's lantern—at the first smooth landing-place that the boat's crew could find; being left to make his way home as best he could.

By this time our officials had discovered that even they, despite the assistance of their precious interpreters, were liable to make a mistake occasionally; also, that it was not such an easy matter, as they had at first imagined, to discover the exact positions of the different native villages the several "returns" belonged to. For instance, after all their questioning of the boys through Cago & Co., Hiliwao village was undiscoverable where they thought to have found it. When its true position

was at last ascertained, I had to take the ship between Cape Ventenat and Gallows Reef again, and so on to the south-west of Fergusson I.

It was while we were steaming up to Hiliwao, on July 1, that the after-part of the lower deck was washed down, for the first time since the embarkation of the islanders. The greasy filth that was then expelled from the scuppers sufficed to keep our wake smooth for more than a mile astern, though the fresh trade-wind then blowing covered all the rest of the sea with "white caps." Fortunate it was for us that, so far, we had experienced no bad weather, and only two or three showers of rain, of very short duration. The hatchways had thus been always open, affording thorough ventilation to the islanders' quarters. Otherwise, such an accumulation of filth would infallibly have caused disease, in some form or other.

Heaving to off Hiliwao, rather late in the afternoon, we landed eight men who had been brought thence by the *Hopeful*, with bundles of "trade" for the relatives of eight more who had died in Queensland. Mr. Romilly made the last speech of the voyage there. As soon as it had been delivered, the party returned on board—and not too soon, for night was coming on, the wind was rising, the sky becoming clouded, and there was every prospect of a dirty night in unsurveyed waters. As it was impossible to tow the launch against the wind, and such a sea as was then on, it had to be hoisted on board:

Luckily the night turned out better than I had hoped. The wind died away, and the sky cleared, very soon after we started. Before one o'clock in the morning, we were abreast of the south-western cape of Normanby I. There I slowed down, and headed for the channel I had thrice before travelled, between Gallows Reef and Cape Ventenat. Even a pilot must have a sleep now and then; so I gave orders that I was to be called when the first of

the two islets—"Jack" and "Ketch"—on Gallows Reef should be sighted, and laid myself down to get a nap on the settee in the chart-room.

Now, there was only one man of the entire ship's company who had "cottoned" to the Government party. This was the chief mate. Even the hands forward had their squabbles with the "Brigade" men. As for the skipper, as he told me himself, he wished to keep friends with everybody—a very laudable wish, no doubt. Unfortunately, I fancy he fell between two stools. These were—the Queensland Government, as represented by Chester & Co., and the A.S.N. Co. According to the first, everything about the ship was wrong. The outfit, the boatmen, the boats, and the provisions, were all deficient. So was the navigation. All the ship's company, excepting the chief mate, resented the expression of these opinions.

I had just turned down the lamp in the chart-room, and stretched myself on the settee, when "tap, tap," went somebody's knuckles on the door.

"Who's there?" I asked; and the door opened and admitted the chief mate, with a tumbler in his hand.

"Would you like a glass of whiskey, Pilot?" said he.

"Will a duck swim?" rejoined I.

The steward had "turned in" some time before, and I had consequently missed my usual night-cap; so the mate's whiskey was welcome. "But what's in the wind now?" thought I, for the mate and I were at loggerheads, and some hard words had even passed between us already.

"Where are you going to steer for next, Pilot?" he presently asked. Then I felt happy, for this apprised me that the official party were puzzled what to do, and wanted my assistance.

"Don't know," I said; "better ask 'em aft. I go where 'the old man' tells me. Good-night!"

I rolled over on the settee with my face from the light, and the mate took his departure for the quarter-deck, no doubt with the conviction that he had wasted a glass of whiskey. It was not ship's whiskey, either; I perceived that. Most likely it had come out of Mr. Chester's own bottle. What a duffer they must have thought me!

At dawn, the second mate—"Jack Bluff," we called him—roused me up. We were then close to the passage. By six o'clock we had passed through it, heading eastward at half-speed. Then I went aft to ask Captain Ballistier where I was to take the ship next. Five minutes later he was on the bridge with me.

"Pilot," said the skipper, as nearly as I remember, "Mr. Romilly and Mr. Chester will leave the route to you for the future. Take the ship to the boys' homes by the shortest way. They leave it all to you."

For a moment I was inclined to refuse the responsibility, which, after all, did not amount to much. But I remembered that I had promised Captain Tronton that I would shove the ship through as quickly as I could.

They had ignored me at the beginning of the voyage, when planning out their intended route; although Mr. Romilly had mentioned me, in the presence of all, as one of the committee—I suppose I may call it that. Now, after slighting and even insulting me, with their talk about "slavers" and "kidnappers"—one of them called me "a d——d kidnapper" to my face, one day on deck—they wanted my help, and were not men enough to ask me for it themselves.

However, I agreed to what the skipper—as their mouth-piece—asked of me, provided I was furnished with the Immigration Office list of the remaining boys' names, with their respective islands and villages. This of course was forthcoming, and a nice old list it was. Each Government agent had adopted his own peculiar style of orthography, and the whole had been so hashed up and bedevilled by the office clerks, that I had to personally

question all the boys on board, so as to ascertain their real names, and where they were to be landed.

I chose my own interpreters, dispensing with the aid of Cago & Co. The inevitable Naval Brigade man also got—and *took*—a broad hint to keep clear of me. After that the work of landing went on as quickly as any one could wish, no ground being passed over twice or time unnecessarily lost.

From Cape Ventenat, I went eastward to the Redlick Is., where two or three boys were landed, miles away from any village. Then I crossed the intervening channel to St. Aignan, along which we coasted. Then the Renard Is. received a few of their lost ones. During the following night the ship was kept "dodging" outside the northern barrier reef, abreast of Piron and Sudest Is.

I might have gone eastward, round the archipelago to its south side, entering the lagoon by Johnston Pass. But the sea was running heavily, and I hoped to save time and coal, by taking the "Bramble" Pass into "Coral Haven." I had never before used this channel, though I had viewed it from the inside. H.M.S. *Bramble*, though only "a little 'un," had gone through it in years long gone by, and given it the name it bears.

Early next morning I steamed in for the "barrier," a little to the north-west of Piron I. Skirting the reef, I soon came to the Pass, and took a good look at it from aloft, "end on." It appeared straight enough, certainly, with a spit from the eastern side overlapping the inner end. But it was very narrow for a vessel the size of the *Victoria*. Her bows, since she had been lightened of passengers and coals, stuck up in the air, and would surely cause her to "pay off," if the trade-wind freshened up while we were in the passage. However, at present it was calm, and I put her to it at full speed, conning her from the foreyard.

The skipper was on the bridge, and as soon as the ship was fairly in the "alley-way," he was "on pins-and-

needles," evidently. First he had a look at the reef, a few yards off on one side; then he ran to the other, and found himself as close to danger on that. Next moment his hand was on the engine-room telegraph.

"Don't move that telegraph, Captain!" I roared out; for I was watching him as well as the ship.

"I'm not going to have the ship's bottom torn out!" I expected to hear him reply, for he said as much when we were going into Port Moresby, under similar circumstances.

"If you *don't* let that telegraph alone," I continued, "I'll come down, and you may get her through as you can! The worst is to come yet."

That brought him to his senses, and he let the telegraph alone. We had had two or three little skirmishes on the voyage, and he had learnt by experience that he would be left in the lurch, if he did not give me full control of the navigation.

A few minutes took her through; the rudder, hard-a-port, bringing her head to westward, clear of the overlapping spit. Once past that, we were in the more open water of Coral Haven. We lay there in a secure anchorage, whilst the boats landed the boys belonging to that neighbourhood.

About this time, the officials gave permission to us to trade for food with the natives. But it came too late, for nothing was to be got, either for love or for money. Cabin stores, which had been intended only to supplement supplies obtained at the islands, began to run short. Consequently, there was considerable growling, both forward and aft.

We next coasted Sudest I., calling at Grass (or Garnim) and Briarley (or Duddakai), islands lying on our course. At Condé Point we turned back, and passing along the Calvados Chain, steered westward for Teste I. There we landed the last boy, Bakara. He was a native of Teste, but had been recruited by me at Condé Point,

Sudest I. I think I have mentioned that I released him from a state of slavery, in which he had been held there.

When we were in the neighbourhood of Grass I., one of the reporters, Mr. Livesey, interviewed some of the boys who had been brought to Queensland by me. The result may be gathered from the following extract from his account of the voyage, published in "The Brisbane Courier":—

Several of the boys from the neighbourhood of Sudest could speak very fair English, and it was with these I spoke on the eve of their leaving the ship. A native of Grass Island, Sandfly by name, according to the evidence printed by the Commission, made two very conflicting statements when examined at the Hamleigh sugar plantation, on the Herbert River. When first examined, he stated glibly enough that he had been engaged for three yams, and understood he was to remain for three years to work in a sugar plantation. About a week afterwards he came forward with another boy, said he had been frightened by Mr. Cowley, and that he had been told he was only to work for three moons or months, and contradicted his former evidence. Now in Townsville it was openly asserted that boys had been tampered with and instructed what to say before the Commission; but it must be admitted that proofs of such assertions seem to be entirely lacking. Nevertheless, it seemed a strange thing for a South Sea Islander to voluntarily come forward and make any statement whatsoever, and I thought that I would hear what he had got to say on the subject a third time. Accordingly I found him out one evening, and questioned him. The date was 4th July, and the next morning he was going to be landed with his countrymen at Grass Island. I told him he was close to his island, and he would be landed there in the morning, whether he spoke the truth or told me a lie, for that would make no difference now. He had seen the other boys landed, and had nothing to be afraid of. I asked him if he remembered the labour schooner coming to his place, and he replied that he did. I then asked him how long the captain had told him he would have to stay in Queensland. He replied three years; and in answer to a further question said he understood how long that meant. On asking him how many moons there were in a year, he said, 'All the same yam,' and held up all his fingers. I next asked how it was, if he had been engaged for three years, he told the Commissioners that he had only been engaged for three months, and he said that Cago, the missionary boy (one of the interpreters), had gone among them on the plantation and told the boys that they were to say three months, and

that then they would all be sent back to their islands with plenty of trade. He also told me, in reply to questions, that the other boys from his island understood well that they were to go for three years, and mentioned especially Cockroach and Dixon, who can both speak English. This boy had a fair knowledge of English before the schooner came to his island, and said he had been engaged in the *bêche-de-mer* fishery and had been to Cooktown. The above, though divested of its pigeon English and made intelligible, is a true and faithful report of the brief conversation I held with Sandfly, who had no motive to tell me anything that was untrue. I subsequently, in company with another representative of the Press, spoke to two or three other boys, who each had the same tale of missionary boys coming among them and instructing or advising them what to say.

Now, let my reader compare this story about Sandfly having been coached by Cago the interpreter, previous to examination before the Royal Commission, with Mr. Kinnaird Rose's letter in "The Courier," and my remarks thereon, in the last chapter.

We remained only an hour or two at Teste I. to land interpreters. We then steamed away for Port Moresby, passing out into the open ocean about a mile from Suckling Reef, on its north-western side.

That evening I heard the doctor giving an account of some experiences of his in Teste I.

On our first visit there, he had gone ashore in the officials' boat. While on shore he had purchased some small article of native manufacture—a comb, I think—and paid for it. Somehow or other the native vendor managed to retain the article, as well as the "trade" given for it. When the *Victoria* paid her second visit, this native, no doubt thinking it better to deliver up the article than to be punished for theft, met the doctor as he landed, and delivered up his plunder. The doctor said he looked upon this incident as a proof of the good effects of missionary teaching, and that he should send an account of it to some Glasgow paper.

Then he told another story.

An old man and a girl—supposed to be father and

daughter—had met him near the boat, and by words and signs, invited him to visit their house, at the back of the village. He went with them; but, when the old man demanded “plenty tobacco,” and the girl—well—made love to him, he fled the scene, at least he said so. I asked him if he would retail this story, also, to his Glasgow paper, as the outcome of missionary teaching!



POLYNESIAN WOMEN IN QUEENSLAND.

But one or two bystanders burst out laughing, and the doctor retired to his berth without giving me a civil answer. I suspect he omitted to mention *that* incident in his correspondence!

At Port Moresby we obtained some supplies from Mr. Goldie's store, and then steamed away for Brisbane, on July 13. A few hours after leaving, it was found that the old *Vic* made such slow progress, with the wind and sea

on the port bow, that there was a probability of our eating all our provisions before we arrived at Brisbane. So the ship was kept away for Townsville, where we anchored on the evening of the sixteenth, arriving at Brisbane on the twenty-third. After one night there we went on to Sydney, where we moored at the A.S.N. Co.'s wharf on July 27. Next day I made my report, got my "cheque," and said good-bye to the old *Vic*.

CHAPTER XXIV.

VOYAGE OF THE *ARIEL*, 1888.

I am debarred—The Griffith Ministry—Change of Government—Free once more—The Ariel—I sail for the New Hebrides—Waisori—White residents—The Lulu—The Windward Ho.—A woman swims off to recruit—French landmarks—French methods of recruiting—Coasting Espiritu Santo—Making for the Solomons—The chief, Faulanga—Port Adams—An uncertain recruit—Sinnarango—Good fortune of the Meg Merrilies—Porpoise teeth—Fortified islets—A wife a purchasable commodity—Billy Fidei—His two wives—The Lord Howe Is.—A coral atoll—James Roberts—His escape from the Carolines—An adventurous voyage—King Wilan—A reception at Court—Native houses—Manners and customs—Royal appetites—The Tasman Is.—Another kingly glutton—A meal for a recruit!—The Floridas—Billy Mahualla—Tavaniakia—Through the Maramasiki Passage—Malaria—A very friendly chief—Big Joe—Hostile tribes—Vessels attacked—Deep Bay—The crew prostrated by malarial fever—Coasting Malayta—Kwaisulia, a Malayta chief—Manoba I.—The G.A. scoffs at danger—A treacherous envoy—The mate's story—How the G.A. landed—A yell!—The mate to the rescue!—Driven back—How Joe jumped out of his trousers—The G.A. killed—Shall we avenge him?—Judge Gorry's words—To sea—Natives put a price on white men's heads—Back at Bundaberg—An inquiry—Published in the papers—Disappearance of my chief witness.

FOR three years after my trip in the *Victoria*, I had no connection with the labour trade. In common with other masters, crews, and Government agents, who had brought boys from New Guinea or the neighbouring islands, I was debarred from employment in it, by the Griffith Ministry. This I had been told by various

officials, though I had not put it to the proof by making application for a licence.

I was informed at Townsville, in April, 1888, that my name was no longer included in the lists of the proscribed, which were furnished to the immigration officers at the various ports. I wrote, therefore, to the head office in Brisbane, and on my arrival in Sydney received an answer that had been awaiting me there for more than a fortnight. By this I was informed, in a very curt and decisive manner, that I *was* debarred from employment in the labour trade. Still, I cherished great hope of returning to it, and that before long. Election times were drawing nigh! and the Griffith party would have to take a back seat, for a time at least.

At the end of June, the *Pendle Hill*, an intercolonial trader I had been in command of, was sold, and I was thrown out of employment thereby. I then made another application to the Queensland Immigration Department. A new Ministry had just been formed; so the reply I now got was to the effect that my name had been removed from the list of persons debarred from employment in the labour trade. All I had to do, therefore, was to get a ship, and then apply for my licence.

I had not long to wait, and, in the meantime, I went to Brisbane, where I stayed about a week. I was then offered, and accepted, the command of the *Ariel* brigantine, which was lying in the port of Bundaberg. Leaving Brisbane in a little coasting steamer, the *Lady Musgrave*, I went thither and joined my ship on July 19.

The *Ariel* had previously commenced a voyage to the New Hebrides, but, before reaching the islands, she had to return to Queensland, her G.A., Mr. Murray, having committed suicide on board of her, from the effects of drink. Captain Lewis, my predecessor, was debarred from holding a command, in consequence, I believe, of having allowed the G.A. to indulge in his fatal weakness.

The requisite licences for the voyage arrived from Brisbane on July 26. Next day, the *Ariel* was towed down the river Burnett, discharged the pilot at the Heads, and put to sea by 2 p.m. My G.A. was Mr. Armstrong, and I had thirty-five men and one woman on board, return islanders.

After a most unusual course of variable winds and weather, I sighted Aneiteum I. on August 10. Passing it during the night, I hove to, early in the morning, off the south-east coast of Tanna I.

Port Resolution, or Waisori, was the first place I visited. There I hove to close to the mouth of the harbour, sending the boats ashore to engage boatmen for the round trip. If it should prove necessary to take them to Queensland, they were to be discharged on the vessel's return to the island, on her next voyage. Such an arrangement was usual.

During the absence of my boats, I was visited by two copra traders—Larresky, of Port Resolution, and Anderson, a resident on the coast about two miles north of the port. Besides these, there were two other traders on the island—Major W. A. Carter, late of the East Indian service, who lived a short distance from Anderson's station, and Antonio Francisco, at Waisissi. The Rev. Mr. Watts, a missionary, also resided at Gwamera, on the south-eastern coast.

I worked all round Tanna I., shipped the boatmen I required, obtained one recruit, and landed four returns, with their effects. On the fourteenth and fifteenth four recruits were engaged, and two returns landed, at Erromanga I., besides two boatmen from the previous voyage paid off and landed. Then I squared away north-westward.

On the sixteenth I visited Pango Bay, Sandwich I., paying off and landing two boatmen on Mele islet.

The *Lulu*, a French schooner, was now in company with the *Ariel*. This vessel was painted a very light

slate colour, though perhaps it may have been *white* once, and had a dark red stripe round her top sides. Her boats were also painted red—a pretty close copy of the Queensland regulation colours.

On the seventeenth the anchor was dropped in Port Sandwich, Mallicolo I., where a French steamer, *Le Caledonien*, was taking in cargo at one of the two trading stations. Next day, she departed, the schooners *Lulu* and *Windward Ho* arriving. The last flew British colours. She was owned by the old New Hebrides trader, Captain MacLeod, but was commanded by a Frenchman. I wonder what the Board of Trade would have said about that ?

At dawn, on the morning of the nineteenth, when I turned out to get the vessel under way, I found that a young native woman had swum off during the night from the eastern shore, and was now on board. Of course, Mr. Griffith's "cast-iron" regulations had to be attended to. So, as there was no husband forthcoming, she was landed again, but, at her own urgent request, on the other shore. Very probably she got clubbed, ultimately, for her escapade. Then I got under way, and, towards evening, anchored again off Champion's station, on the south-west coast of Ambrym. This was the place where I had been so nearly shot in 1876, during my third voyage in the *Stanley*.

Next morning, the recruiter obtained seven recruits, apparently run aways from their friends. Weighing anchor in the afternoon, I stood over to the south coast of Mallicolo, dropping anchor next morning in South-West Bay. There I watered ship, and lay for a couple of nights without obtaining recruits. In the lagoon, at the head of the bay, I found part of the wreck of the *Sibyl*, which had been driven ashore during the last hurricane season. Then, coasting northward, we passed two nights at anchor in the west bay of the island.

About this part of Mallicolo, I noticed several of the

stone landmarks of the French New Hebrides Company, by which, during the last few years, all the best land throughout the group—chiefly water frontages—has been bought from the natives. The Company's steamer, *Le Caledonien*, had taken seventeen natives to Noumea, two or three weeks previous to my visit. Snider rifles are the principal pay the natives receive, with a little ammunition. When Sniders are given to the friends of recruits, they themselves receive no pay until the "present" has been worked out. Many of these boys, it is said, are persuaded to go to Sydney from Noumea, and take service there, for which their late French masters receive a money equivalent as high as £10 per head. This information was gleaned from a French recruiter.

From Mallicolo I. we ran down to Cape Lisburne, Espiritu Santo I., and landed a return about a mile north of it. Keeping along that coast, the trade-wind fell light and baffling under the land. Consequently, it was not until the following forenoon that I got to the northern end of the island, and felt the wind again, steady and fresh enough to make my little craft jump in a most lively manner. Soon I had to shorten sail, and it was as much as the *Ariel* could do to hold her own at times. However, by next morning, August 28, I got into smoother water, under the lee of Vanua Lava I., where I anchored off the "Double Waterfall." Here we filled up all the water-tanks and cut a sufficiency of firewood. All the New Hebrides returns had now been landed, those still on board being natives of the Solomon group, where I intended to do most of my recruiting. One day more was spent in ineffectual attempts to obtain recruits, and then I weighed anchor.

The next two days were unpleasant—the wind being variable, with frequent rain and squalls. As we neared the Solomons the weather became better, and by daylight on September 1, I sighted Ulaua, or Contrariete I. Off this island I hove to, and purchased, by barter,

a couple of boat-loads of small round yams ; but I could obtain no recruits. During the night I remained hove to most of the time, and drifted down towards Cape Zelée, Maramasiki I.

The following morning I picked up Faulanga, a chief, residing in the neighbourhood of Port Adams. He had come off to meet us in his canoe, with half a dozen others. Faulanga was a well-known chief, and, through policy, a friend to the white man. He acted as a "crimp" for recruits in his neighbourhood. He stayed on board for awhile, until I got close into the land at Saa, a few miles north, when he and his men left us and went home.

Between Saa and Port Adams I landed six returns, with their boxes. Then I ran down to Port Adams, where I anchored close under the lee of Elizabeth I., or Tettava. While entering the port between Elizabeth and Mary Is., I passed the schooner *Saucy Lass*, Captain Gibbs, Mr. Potts, G.A., standing out. She was recruiting for Fiji.

I remained there until the seventh, for the weather was boisterous and wet. Then I sailed along the coast northward, with five additional recruits.

The next return to be landed was a man named Nio, who seemed very uncertain as to where he wished to go on shore. First, he said Port Adams, where he had friends. But the temper of these friends had altered in his absence, so he proposed to land at the north end of the channel between Maramasiki and Malayta Is. Then he "bucked" on that, so I sent him ashore at Ulimburi, in Double Bay. There, he said, he found his friends all dead ; upon which he returned on board and offered himself as a recruit again. I accepted him, though he would not sign his agreement until we left for the Lord Howe Is.

Nio's business having been settled so far, I stood northward, and, in the afternoon of September 9,

entered a large bay south of Cape Arsacides, where I anchored some three miles from Diamond Harbour, or Sinnarango, at which place Mr. Popham, G. A., and some of the crew of the *Young Dick* were murdered. There I sent away the boats, landing a return at Uru, some miles further south, within the bay.

Next morning I was under way again, coasting northward. I landed one return at Manu, and four at Sulabau. I then caught a steady south-easterly breeze, with fine weather, and, by sundown, arrived at the northern end of the island off Sio Bay, finding the *Meg Merrilies* of Fiji, and the *Saucy Lass* at anchor there.

According to the account of Mr. Delamere, mate of the first-mentioned vessel, who boarded us after dark, she had not been out two months, and had eighty-two recruits on board already. Captain Meredith, her master, afterwards told me that he never missed a chance of acquiring porpoise teeth; he was willing to give a pound for a hundred of them. Eighty to a hundred were considered sufficient "pay" or present for one recruit in the Solomons, where porpoise teeth are in great request and serve for money.

That night we lay becalmed, tossing about on the south-easterly swell, now and then deluged with rain, while the ship drifted northward. It was not till the afternoon of the next day that I was again able to get close enough to Sio to send the boats in with two returns. In the evening, the *Meg Merrilies* was close to me, under way. My old acquaintance, Captain Meredith, came on board the *Ariel*, and exchanged experiences with me, as well as certain stores. Next day I landed seven men and one woman at Auki, about twenty miles south-south-east of Cape Astrolabe, Malayta I. It is a small harbour, open to the south-west. There are two "fortified" islets within it.

These fortified islets are, I think, peculiar to Malayta, and are numerous along the northern coasts. They

are, originally, sandy reef islets, close to the coast, elevated two or three feet above the level of the highest tides. Round the edges of the coral foundation of the islet, walls have been built up of coral blocks, rising some four feet above the interior surface of the islet. Every here and there are openings in the wall—which at a distance resemble embrasures—and into which canoes can be floated. Once inside, they can be hauled up safely amongst the low thatched houses, which are crowded close together beneath the cocoanut trees, with very narrow footways between them. A low rough wall, or fence of sticks, divides each islet between separate communities—the male and the female. The sexes live apart, although wives are always purchasable, being regarded as the personal property of the men who may have bought them.

About noon, on the twelfth, I anchored in North Alite Bay, some five miles south-east of Auki. This bay is closely connected with the larger Alite Bay by a narrow but deep channel. Both bays are protected to seaward, on west and south, by low, wooded reef islets.

I secured two recruits there. The first, Billy Fidei, was an old hand. He had previously worked out a three years' term in Queensland. His two wives followed him. However, as bigamy is not allowed in Queensland, the eldest one, an ugly dame, gave her more favoured and younger rival a beating with a paddle, in their canoe, before she could climb on board, where I engaged her also as a recruit.

No other recruits offering—the bushmen wanted Sniders for their men—I sailed next day. Currents and wind proving unfavourable, I was unable to get to Coleridge Bay, between Alite and Cape Astrolabe, until the sixteenth. There I took in supplies of water and firewood, landed a return, and obtained one recruit. I had then only three returns left to land, while I had recruited twenty men and one woman—tolerably satisfac-

tory for seven weeks' work, including the passage from Queensland.

I had not heard that any labour vessel had lately visited the Lord Howe Is. on the north. The mate had been told by a copra trader, during his last voyage, too, that there was a probability of men being willing to emigrate from the Tasman Is., which lie some forty miles still further north.

I sailed from Coleridge Bay on the evening of the 19th, and on the 21st, I sighted the low islets on the southern side of the Lord Howe, or Leueneuwa group. This is an immense irregularly shaped atoll, or ring-reef, studded with a great number of low, wooded islets. Three or four of the largest of these are permanently inhabited. The natives are pure Polynesians; big, lusty people in appearance, but not nearly such good workers as the Papuans.

I sailed into the lagoon through a small but deep passage, on the south-western side, and beat up to the eastern end, where I anchored close to the largest island, Leueneuwa. While nearing it, and looking out from aloft for any appearance of an anchorage, I was rather surprised to see a cutter-rigged decked boat sailing towards me, with a white man at her helm, and two or three natives as a crew.

When we had anchored, this boat ranged alongside of us, and her white steersman boarded the *Ariel*. He introduced himself as James Roberts, an Englishman. He informed us that he had left Ascension or Bonape I., one of the Caroline group, in the decked boat alongside, his only companion being his "wife," a native of one of the small Ant Is. close to Bonape. The reason he had left was because he was "wanted" by the Spanish authorities in the Carolines, for selling firearms to the natives. According to his own account, he had been previously employed in the sealing trade, in Behring Strait. How long he had taken to come from the Caro-

lines, I cannot now say ; but it seems he had had a rough time of it. Short of provisions and water, and most of the time without his compass, which had been washed overboard, he drifted and sailed to Leueneuwa, where the natives, going out in their canoes, had piloted him safely into the lagoon.

Roberts had been about three weeks in this island, and had promised to give his boat to the head chief, " King " Wilan, whenever he got a chance of a passage to Australia. He was not without means, for, besides his boat, he had some hundreds of dollars in cash, and, so he said, an order on some Australian bank for a larger amount. A bargain was soon struck between us. For £10 Roberts was to have a passage in the *Ariel* to Queensland, messing with the hands forward, and sleeping where he could. As for the woman, she elected, so he said, to remain on the island, and his boat went to King Wilan.

I afterwards heard that Roberts let drop it was his intention to return to Leueneuwa, but he never gave me a hint of it.

After anchoring, the G.A. and I landed and interviewed the king, and also his brother and prime minister, Kabbi. To them we explained the object of our visit. Then about twenty of the ladies favoured us with a dance on an open green space, after which we strolled through the village ; and, no doubt, the inhabitants considered us a very inquisitive lot.

Both sexes of the Lord Howe Islanders ornament their persons profusely with tattooing. The national dress of the men consists of a wisp of thin matting round the loins. The women wear a longer mat wrapped round the waist, and hanging down to the knees. The women's heads are shaved close, but the men allow their frizzly locks to grow long at the sides and back of their heads, cutting them short on the top. We saw no weapons of warfare.

It was here that the *James Birnie*, brig, was captured in 1874; her crew, with the exception of one white man and four foreign islanders who escaped, were massacred. The "dressing down" that the natives received for it effectually prevented similar outrages afterwards.

Their houses are stoutly built, generally twenty feet or so in length, with walls five feet high, and lofty peaked roofs, all thatched with palm or pandanus leaves. The



WOMAN—LORD HOWE I.

floors are of hard beaten earth, often having a layer of coral gravel on top. Their canoes do not amount to much. They are rather small, low, and light, and are only fit for lagoon work. They are balanced by outriggers, and the larger ones often spread a triangular mat sail when before the wind. The dead are buried in a piece of ground set apart for that purpose, about half a mile from the village. Each grave is marked by a heap of stones piled on top. Polygamy is practised, the king having seven wives; but the marriage vow is not

very binding. Chastity among grown-up girls is unknown. The chief articles of food are fish and cocoanuts, with a little bread-fruit, and very coarse taro. As is the case on all the low coral islands of the Pacific, the earth is far from fertile, being only a thin layer of black vegetable mould.

I engaged four recruits there, and then sailed westward, on the twenty-fourth, to Kala I., on the southwestern side of the atoll. There we lay for a night, but all I obtained was a score of fowls, for each of which I paid three sticks of tobacco, equivalent to three-halfpence per fowl. Next morning, as none of the Kala people were inclined to leave, I ran down north to Palau I., where, immediately after anchoring, I engaged three men.

Kala is under the rule of King Wilan, but Palau boasts of a ruler of its own—King Wailua. The last potentate visited the ship in the evening, and made an awful feed of fowl and yams. In fact, the whole of the inhabitants would have “loafed” on the ship, if they had been encouraged. I think that, now and then, Palau suffers from short commons.

After dark, when the natives had all gone ashore, a stowaway was discovered, and was recruited. He had already been to Queensland for one term of service, during which he was a fellow-labourer of Billy Fidei's.

Next morning the king and his retinue came off—but too late—for another feed. However, he allowed two more lads to recruit. I then got under way for the northern passage, five or six miles westward of Palau. The wind dropped when I was in the passage, and, the tide setting in also, I was obliged to anchor until eleven p.m., when, the breeze freshening up, I ran out in the dark, and steered for the Tasman Is., or Niumango, another atoll, smaller than the Lord Howe group, though of similar formation. These I sighted ahead about 6 a.m. next morning.

My plan of the Tasman atoll, together with some others

I made of Malayta harbours and anchorages, has since been published by the British Hydrographic Department.

This atoll much resembles the shape of a human skull. It extends for about ten miles by seven, with deep water within, and only three coral patches in the lagoon. The entrances, about five in number, are all on the west. I went in by the southernmost of them. Just inside it there is a dangerous coral patch, close to which I anchored, until the sun should bear more favourably for me to see dangers ahead. I afterwards went out by the next passage, in which there are also patches, though not dangerous ones, having five and ten fathoms of water on them respectively. That entrance is a double one, being divided by a small coral reef, awash at low water. Perhaps it should be considered as two separate entrances.

At noon I weighed anchor again, and beat up the lagoon to the eastern and largest island, where the only village on the atoll is situated. The "King," and nearly all his subjects—some two hundred, I think—were temporarily camped on Lotto, a neighbouring islet, to enjoy the fishing, which, about this season, was better there than at Niumango, the capital.

It seemed as though this people, also, were often afflicted with short commons, for they loafed persistently on board the ship all the time we lay there. His majesty never missed coming off at meal-times, though he did not always get what he wanted; for, as he refused to allow his subjects to leave home, he was given to understand that my rule was, "No boys! no grub!"

During the first night we lay there, a boy swam off to the ship during the middle watch. Just before breakfast time his majesty arrived, and demanded the boy back. Luckily, the breakfast table was being prepared in the cabin, and curried fowl, boiled yam, soft bread, and well-sweetened tea, purchased the royal permission. The king got a good square meal. Lord, how he did tuck in! And I gained a recruit.

On the following morning—just before breakfast, of course—the king came off again with another recruit, and got a good meal once more. But he assured me that no more of the islanders would leave home, so I got under way, and beat back westward with a very light wind. This soon dying away, I was obliged to anchor again before I had gone two miles.

The next two days also were spent in the lagoon, for a similar reason. It was not until the morning of October 2 that I was able to get outside the atoll, with a rather light breeze from south. Then I commenced to beat



back to the southern islands of the Solomon group, where, on the 10th, I landed one of my three remaining returns. I then worked back to the Florida Is., where I anchored in the evening in Sandfly Passage, between the northern and the middle islands. Next day I landed the last of my return passengers there—a good riddance!

I worked the Floridas without success until the fourteenth. During the following night I crossed over to Malayta I., where I first visited Alite Bay to replenish my stock of fresh water and firewood. As I had expected, I could get no recruits there; but, luckily, I made

the acquaintance of Billy Mahualla, a minor chief of Mgwai-Fau, one of the three fortified islets in the harbour. Billy was a travelled "nig," and had visited Queensland. At some previous period of his life he had committed an offence which had caused him to leave home. Then he became acquainted with the tribes on the southern coast, and all through the narrow channel which divides Malayta from Maramasiki I. he was now commonly called Okarrowa. He offered his services as interpreter for a trip round Malayta, and I accepted the offer. His price was to be a box of tobacco for the trip. He indicated one weighing eighty-four pounds, and earned it well.

I weighed anchor and left Alite on the 18th. As Billy had not much hope of getting men on that side of the island, I worked to windward. The first place visited was Tavaniahia, on the western coast of Maramasiki, since called Ariel Harbour. It is a very small anchorage, suitable only for the smallest decked craft, in fact, but tolerably well sheltered. I was obliged to moor the ship there, close to the entrance, with an anchor ahead, upon the reef, nearly, and warps astern to the mainland. By warping further in to the southward, however, I might have got bare room to swing in with a short scope of cable, in seven fathoms.

At this place I engaged two men, one of whom was accompanied by his wife. On the 23rd I unmoored, and, running back five or six miles northward, entered the Maramasiki Passage at its southern end. Billy, my interpreter, assured me that he knew the passage well, and could take the *Ariel* safely through it with the southerly wind then blowing, although it had never yet been navigated by any vessel of her size. He proved a good pilot, and directed me how to get safely through the whole length of the Passage.

For a distance of about twelve miles the Passage is, in many places, not more than half a cable broad. The

depth of water varies excessively. Near the southern mouth I got no bottom with the lead at twenty fathoms, towards the other end I found it at two and a half. The banks are thickly lined with mangroves. Here and there occur openings—"arms"—leading to the foot of the hills that fall back from the main channel. The native villages are built well up on these hills, for the air of the Passage is malarious and unhealthy. Of this we had proof, for, shortly after clearing the Passage, several of my crew and recruits suffered for several days from malarial poisoning. The same thing occurred when I afterwards traversed the Passage in the *Borough Belle*.

We spent the four following nights at anchor in the Half-way Reach. There I picked up five recruits, and another after I moved the ship into the estuary, who belonged to the Passage, however.

Sunima, chief of the village of Arlua, seemed unusually friendly. He passed two nights on board, but his followers were sent ashore at sundown. During the daytime I allowed Sunima on the half-poop deck, which was strictly tabooed to the crowd. Two New Hebrideans were placed on guard there, while one of the crew stood under arms forward. All of us wore our revolvers loaded, for there was no telling but what these savages might prove treacherous. If they had been so disposed, and had made a sudden rush, we should have been overwhelmed if not armed. It was dangerous to let them come on board at all, but I was obliged to humour them with a view to getting recruits.

The last day we were there I had a visit from Big Joe, chief of Bullahah, a coast village about a mile south of the Passage. This potentate had travelled. He had been to the colonies, spoke English, and was friendly to white men. He advised me to be very careful in my dealings with the natives along the Passage. He said they would not let slip any opportunity that offered of taking a ship and killing all her people. Sunima's own

tribe were not hostile. The Torrosi tribe, under chiefs Kokki and Lahu, inhabiting the Aimaia arm, near our anchorage, had, only three weeks before, attacked the boat of a Fijian ketch, without provocation. Some months previous to that, they had also attacked the boats of another vessel, but were beaten off.

While Big Joe was on board, a messenger arrived in a canoe from Kokki, the Torrosi chief, who wished to present me with a pig and some taro. He probably expected I should visit him; but, following Big Joe's advice, I declined to do so.

Next morning I got under way, and ran through the northern half of the Narrows. Emerging thence into the broader reef and islet-studded waters of the estuary, I anchored on the Flats in two and a half fathoms. There I lay quietly at anchor until the morning of the thirty-first, when, with a light southerly breeze, I stood northward along the Flats as far as Orlu I., a distance of not more than three miles.

The estuary occupied our attention until the morning of November 3. Then, getting under way, I ran northward and anchored again off Takataka, a very convenient watering-place and good anchorage in Deep Bay, off the northern mouth of the Maramasiki Passage.

There the *Ariel* lay from the forenoon of November 3 until the 9th. Two-thirds of the crew, white and coloured, and several recruits, were on the sick-list. Their ailment was a kind of colic, which at first I feared was cholera, and it no doubt resulted from malarial poison contracted in the Passage. My recruit list then numbered fifty, two of whom were women.

I worked on from Deep Bay along the whole of the north-eastern coast of Malayta I. My anchorages were at Unter I., Mannakwoi, Ulimburi, Panchinchi, Sinnarango, Uru, Kwakwaru, Attar, and Uras. The last I reached on December 5, having then on board seventy-three male and two female recruits.

It was at Uras that John Renton was rescued in 1875, as I mentioned in a former chapter. He had lived among the natives for several years, while Kabbau was chief of this part of the coast, his residence being on the small fortified islet named Attargeggei, close to Uras. One of Kabbau's best warriors, Kwaisulia, had succeeded him as head chief, and it was not long before he made his appearance on board with a number of his followers.

Kwaisulia was and is a good specimen of the Malayta people, and has always shown himself friendly towards



AN ATTAR BELLE—MALAYTA I.

white men. He and his men were allowed to roam about the *Ariel* as they pleased. Natives of the neighbouring tribes, living only a couple of miles off on either side of Uras, are not to be trusted, however.

While I was working down this coast from the estuary, the G.A., the mate, who was also recruiter, and I, frequently speculated as to the possibility or otherwise of safely obtaining recruits from Manoba. This is a long low reef island, six or seven miles northward of Uras. It lies about half a mile from the mainland, but is connected with it by a coral reef.

Some experience of the Manoba people had taught me that they were not to be trusted. In truth, they had

always borne a bad reputation. So I told both the G.A. and the mate to be very careful if they went there. The G.A., however, held a contrary opinion to mine. Having landed returns at Manoba on a previous voyage in the *Helena*, he rather pooh-poohed my counsel, being sure that he would be received in a most friendly manner. The sequel proved I was right, unhappily.

Two recruits, the last engaged, were obtained shortly after I anchored. Next day the two boats worked along the coast northward; but I had no idea that they would get as far as Manoba. Shortly before they left in the forenoon, a canoe came alongside. In her was a man, afterwards stated to be Lakkida, once a boatman in the *Fearless*, and an actor in what was to occur. He said that the chief of the village of Warlo had a bad leg, and wanted some "blue water" (blue-stone). None of us then knew that Warlo lay at the south end of Manoba. Accordingly, the G.A. took with him a bottle containing blue-stone in solution. The boats returned about 1 p.m., but without the G.A., and the mate reported as follows.

The two boats—one in charge of the mate, and the other containing the G.A.—pulled along the coast, passing Fulafau islet, and then diverging to Warlo, on the south of Manoba. The G.A.'s boat arrived first, and was backed in upon the beach, where were several men, but no women, to receive them—a most significant sign—before the mate could get within speaking distance. Joe Enau, one of the boatmen, a native of Sio, a few miles west, carried the G.A. ashore on his back over the shallow water. Joe warned him not to venture away from the boat, but the G.A. only laughed at him. Calling on Joe to follow him, he ran up the narrow sandy strip of beach, with the bottle of medicine in his hand. He had his revolver in his belt, but had left his Winchester rifle in the boat. Joe followed reluctantly at a distance.

A minute or two passed, and then the mate—who had

just backed his boat in to the beach, from which all the natives had disappeared—heard a long-drawn, blood-curdling yell coming from the village amongst the trees, about a hundred yards from the boats. Then Joe appeared again, running for the boats, minus two-thirds of his clothing.

Jumping ashore with his rifle, the mate called on his men to follow him to the G.A.'s rescue. Before he had gone twenty yards the natives appeared in force, obliging him to retreat, which he did by wading and pushing the boats off through the shallow water, for the tide was falling fast, while arrows and spears fell thickly around them. Luckily none were hit, and as soon as deeper water was attained, out of reach of bullet or arrow, a council was held, and Joe stated what he had seen.

He had followed the G.A., who was some twenty yards ahead of him, until just within the outskirts of the timber, close to the village. Some half a dozen men were close to the G.A., beside a canoe-house or shed. He saw several men jump out from behind a house in the village, seize the G.A., pinning his arms to his sides, while others struck him with their tomahawks. The G.A. shouted, "Look out!" and then Joe saw him fall. Joe then turned and made for the boats, but the natives near by attacked him also. According to his own account, he fairly jumped out of his trousers, which one of his assailants had got hold of, while making play with his sheath-knife. When he returned, he had certainly left his indispensables behind him!

There could be no doubt that the G.A. was dead. Malayta warriors never make prisoners. Joe had seen the tomahawks cut into the back of his neck. So the boats were pulled back to the ship.

Kwaisulia was on board when the boats came alongside, and the sad news was made known. He immediately proposed to muster his men, and, in conjunction with my crew, attack Manoba, and avenge the death of

the G.A. Of course this would not do. I remembered Judge Gorry's words to Captain Kilgour, in consequence of his having defended himself, while removing his employer's boat from the beach of Aoba I. after the murder of Renton :—

“ If I had had proof of the death of a single native, I would have hanged you, sir ! hanged you ! ”

The G.A. was dead without a doubt, and the law forbade me to interfere further. All I could do was to leave the matter to the authorities ; for I was in a British Protectorate, worse luck !

The *Fearless*, I knew, was on the coast, for I had spoken her and the *Archimedes* at Kwakwaru ; but her presence could do no good. So after waiting till evening, to see if anything fresh turned up, I weighed anchor and put to sea. I was unwilling to pass another night at Uras, for half my recruits were from Malayta I., and it was quite on the cards that, fearful of vengeance being wreaked on them, they might swim ashore in the dark.

Coasting along the shore, I ran past Warlo, which appeared lifeless and deserted. Rounding the north end of Malayta the same night, I anchored in Alite Bay on the eighth, where I paid off and discharged Billy Mahualla, and took in wood and water.

After my return to Queensland, I learned that the *Fearless* arrived at Uras the day after my departure. During the night following, according to the natives, a large canoe left Manoba, conveying the head of the murdered man to Sinnarango, there to secure a reward which had been offered by the inhabitants of that place for white men's heads.

For, in the affair with the schooner *Young Dick*, when Mr. Popham, G.A., and several of her crew were treacherously murdered, the vessel itself being nearly captured, a score or more of the assailants were killed. The relatives of these subsequently offered a considerable amount in native shell-money for the heads of Europeans,

by way of retaliation. The action of H.M.S. *Diamond*, which vessel carried out the usual farce of cutting down cocoanut trees and destroying houses and canoes, only made matters worse. It served merely to exasperate the savages still more.

I left Alite Bay on December 9, and anchored off the Burnett Heads after dark on the 22nd. The following afternoon I moored the ship in the river at Bundaberg.

When I was consulting with the mate in the cabin of the *Ariel* at Uras, just after he had arrived on board from Manoba, as to which was the best course to take—whether to remain where we were, or to put to sea before half of our recruits deserted—I remember saying to him, “No matter what I do, somebody is sure to find fault with me!” And I was correct in my conjecture.

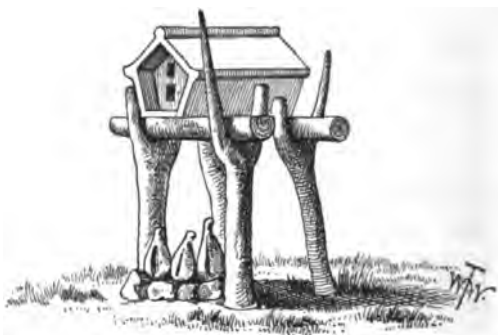
The sub-immigration agent at Bundaberg was instructed to hold an inquiry into the circumstances attending the death of my late G.A. In accordance therewith, he had interviews at different times with each man of my crew, as well as with me. He had also access to the ship’s official log. In this were the reports of the mate and the boatman, Joe Enau, which I had taken down, and which were signed by the two men in the presence of all hands at Uras. These interviews were strictly private, no person being present besides the sub-immigration agent and the man under examination.

Of course this was supposed to be a private inquiry, instituted for the purpose of ascertaining if there was any need of a formal one being held before the police magistrate. However, the sub-immigration agent wofully exceeded his powers. After he had interviewed Joe Enau, and before his report to his superiors in Brisbane had left Bundaberg, he furnished one of the local papers with the whole story, which was published next morning. His opinion was also published. He had arrived at the conclusion that there was no legal proof of the man’s death, and that by leaving Uras before I had such

proof, I had displayed "an entire disregard for the value of a human life." He also said that Joe Enau denied that he had witnessed the murder.

Immediately after his examination, Joe Enau disappeared, and although hunted for, could not be found. It still remains a mystery to me why and how he disappeared so quickly. In the inquiry held before the police magistrate at Bundaberg in February following, I wanted Joe's evidence most particularly. Had he been there to give it, I hardly think he would have "gone back" on what he told the mate in the boat just after they had retreated from the beach at Warlo, and which he had repeated to me in the cabin of the *Ariel* in the presence of the crew.

However, Joe did turn up eventually at Mackay, where he tried to get engaged as a boatman on board the *Fearless*. He was arrested, but the inquiry was then over, and after a very short detention in the "lock-up," he was released; and so the matter dropped. By then I had gone to Rockhampton, where I was engaged in a mining venture; so I had other things to attend to, or else it is certain I should have made a stir in the matter.



A HEAD-COFFIN.

CHAPTER XXV.

VOYAGE OF THE *BOROUGH BELLE*, 1890-91.

Incidents—Kwaisulia's attack on Manoba—H.M.S. Royalist there—Captain Brodie at the Lord Howe Is.—Malayta natives attack the Savo—Wrecks—Kwaisulia rescues the Fearless—The Maria threatened—I sail with the Borough Belle—Sick returns—A leaky ship—"Hammering" round New Caledonia—Presbyterian converts—Our invalids—Reputation of the Borough Belle—An accident—I shoot a man—Trapped at Mboli—A new channel—Going through with the tide—Lying idle—Working out—Waisis Harbour—Reef islands—Wairokai—In the lagoons—Uhu—Secure from the storm—At Waidaia—The Lochiel—Murders—Escape of the Meg Merrilies—Marau Sound—An unknown wreck—Massacre at San Christoval—I return to Mackay—My last voyage ended—A retrospect—British arms introduced into the islands by French and Germans—Stoppage of the Queensland Polynesian labour traffic—My view of it—Fins.

AFTER leaving the *Ariel*, at the close of 1888, I was absent from salt water until September, 1890. During this interval there happened several incidents in connection with the labour trade that I will briefly note.

Soon after I left Uras, with the *Ariel*, the chief Kwaisulia mustered his forces and attacked Manoba I. Five of the Manoba warriors were killed, among them being the leader of the party which had murdered Mr. Armstrong, my late G.A. During 1889, H.M.S. *Royalist* was sent to the island. Her commander dispatched the usual warning to the natives to send their women and children away, and then shelled the island. Little damage was done, and no one hurt; the inhabitants enjoying the "fireworks" from a safe distance.

About the same time, Captain Brodie, master of an island trader sailing out of Sydney, visited the Lord

Howe Is., as had been his wont for some years. He was ordered to leave the group, by the new German authorities. Meanwhile, German vessels were trading without stint among the islands under British protection.

During 1889, too, the *Savo*, a little trading schooner, anchored in Waisissi Harbour, Malayta I. Natives were allowed on board to trade, and they made a sudden attack upon the crew. The mate, and Mr. Cooper, a trader from Marau Sound, Guadalcanar I., were cut down by tomahawks. Captain Keating was badly wounded, but, contriving to get into the cabin, opened fire on his assailants from its shelter, and finally drove them out of the ship. Several of the Kanaka crew were killed or wounded, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that Keating and the survivors could get the vessel under way and out to sea again. The perpetrators of this outrage were never punished. Captain Keating subsequently spent eight months in hospital, at Sydney.

The labour schooner, *Northern Belle*, Captain Spence, Mr. McMurdo, G.A., was wrecked about the middle of March, 1889, at Motalava I., in a hurricane. This was probably the same storm which did so much damage to the shipping in the harbour of Apia, Samoa Is., when H.M.S. *Calliope* had such a narrow escape.

Towards the end of the year, or very early in 1890, another labour vessel, the *Gael*, was wrecked on the north-eastern coast of Mallicolo I., a little south of Port Stanley. Not long after, on March 6, another hurricane drove the *Eliza Mary*, schooner, Captain Campbell, Mr. McMurdo, G.A.—the same who was wrecked in the *Northern Belle*—ashore near the remains of the *Gael*.

The *Fearless*, Captain Norman, anchored in Uru Harbour, Malayta I., about the middle of 1890. The natives there conceived the idea of capturing her. Luckily, Kwaisulia, the chief of Uras, thirty miles to the north, knew that the Uru men meant to have a ship

if a good opportunity presented itself. So he crowded thirty of his warriors into a war canoe, and arrived alongside the *Fearless* just in time to prevent her capture. He remained with her until she left Uru.

This incident was told me by Mr. Lewis, the mate. During the same voyage the *Fearless* had visited Port Adams, Maramasiki. A short time before, the *Maria*, brigantine, recruiting for Samoa, under German colours, had taken over seventy men from that neighbourhood, giving a Snider and ammunition for each of them. For some unknown reason, the natives all along the north-east coasts of Maramasiki and Malayta Is. as far as Uras, had become incensed against the crew of the *Maria*. A fleet of canoes, coming from various places, assembled to attack her; but her crew were too wary, and no fighting ensued.

Leaving all the gold in Australia to take care of itself, I threw down the pick and shovel I had been wielding, and took command of the *Borough Belle*, in September, 1890. She was a brigantine of 205 tons register, and was then lying at Mackay, and about to be despatched on her last recruiting voyage in the Queensland labour trade. For, by the Act of November 10, 1885, it had been decreed that "*After the thirty-first day of December, one thousand eight hundred and ninety, no licence to introduce islanders shall be granted.*"

From one cause and another, I had to spend more than a month in port, before my papers arrived from Brisbane. It was not until the evening of October 21 that the anchor was tripped, and the ship got under way for the islands.

Besides the G.A., an old friend who had sailed on three voyages with me before in the same capacity, I had on board ninety-seven men, six women, and three children for the New Hebrides, with twelve men for the Solomons, all return islanders. Some half a dozen of these were shipped under sick certificates, and three

others were decidedly wrong in the upper storey. Five of the sick men died on board; thus the vessel acquired a bad reputation, which accounted, to a great extent, for the poor success of the voyage.

Another circumstance materially contributed to deter natives from engaging with me. The ship leaked, and, when plunging into a head sea—especially on the port tack—the “deluge” pump had to be kept going pretty frequently. This was not so much to be wondered at, for the vessel’s copper sheathing, as well as her caulking, was in a bad state, being nearly five years old. During the voyage, flakes of the copper peeled off here and there, so that the bottom was as ragged as the trunk of an old ti-tree, diminishing her speed considerably—and she never was a clipper.

I left Mackay with the last of the westerly winter winds, which carried me about half-way across to New Caledonia. Then I encountered the trade coming up fresh and squally from south-east. This raised a pretty “jump” of a head-sea, making the old craft pitch bows under, and necessitating constant use of the “deluge” pump. As it was not safe to press the ship, her progress was slow, and after a week’s buffeting, my stock of firewood and water got to a very low ebb.

On November 3, I anchored in Port Uarai, on the south-west coast of New Caledonia. I lay there four days, filling up my tanks and wood-locker, while a stiff breeze, almost amounting to a gale, blew outside from south-east. Then came another “hammering” round the southern point of the island, and it was not until November 15 that I landed the first of my returns on the south coast of Tanna I. Thence I passed through the whole length of the New Hebrides group, gradually dropping my passengers at their various homes on the islands, as we passed them going northward.

At Havannah Harbour, Sandwich I., I fell in with H.M.S. *Dart*, Commander Fredericks, and the *Truga-*

nini, a Sydney steamer. She was subsidized by the Presbyterian New Hebrides Mission, for the conveyance of missionaries and their stores to and fro.

The last two of my New Hebridean "returns" were landed at Ureparapara, in the extreme north of the group. Then, after working Vanua Lava and Meralaba Is. for recruits, I took my departure for the Solomons on December 18, with eleven returns and fourteen recruits on board, four of the last being women.

All the recruits, with the exception of one man, who was recruited at Havannah Harbour, were converts of the Presbyterian Mission. For some three months after their engagement, one of them used to officiate as teacher or minister, conducting morning and evening worship, and Sunday services. By the end of that time, however, these religious observances were neglected. A nameless disease had broken out among the congregation, and the teacher seems to have been the one who had introduced it.

Upon our arrival at Mackay, three of these Presbyterian saints—the teacher, another man, and a woman—were pronounced by the medical inspector to be unfit for plantation work. So my owners were put to the expense of doctoring and sending them home again.

Besides the *Dart* and the *Truganini*, I spoke or sighted some half a dozen other vessels, British and French, and one German schooner recruiting in the group. As usual, the French and Germans were trading away Snider rifles to the natives, of British pattern too.

I ran across to the Solomons from Meralaba with a rather light and variable easterly wind. I first visited San Christoval I., then Malayta, again passing through the Maramasiki Passage. Then I called at the Floridas, Savo, and the western coast of Guadalcanar, landing my returns, but not delaying much to seek for recruits. I had found that I must get rid of the former as quickly as possible. Five out of the six men who were ill when

shipped at Mackay died on the passage. The remaining invalid, a Florida man, had very little life left in him when he was landed. At every place where we hove to or anchored, the natives shunned us as a "sick" ship. At two different places, natives in their canoes alongside told me that if men went in my ship, "By-and-by he dead!" Travelling canoes spread the news about, and before I left the group the reputation of the *Borough Belle* had been irretrievably ruined.

A most lamentable accident also occurred while we were in the estuary of the Maramasiki Passage, which did not tend to improve matters, nor to lighten our feelings.

I had been overhauling and cleaning my revolver, preparatory to a trip to one of the islets, and, having loaded the chambers, fired them off over the side to make sure the weapon was in thoroughly serviceable order. One of the recruits, a Meralaba man, whose wife was on board, had been watching my proceedings. Just as I pulled the trigger, unaware of his vicinity, he suddenly moved in front of me, and received a ball in his breast.

Even now, it seems incredible to me how such an accident could have occurred—but the fact remains that it did. The evidence of the crew, who witnessed it, shows it was solely due to the man's own movement. The poor fellow died in less than an hour after. His wife attended on him to the last, but seemed to take his death very coolly. She was the woman I have referred to, who had to be returned home on account of her being diseased.

At Mboli, on the north-east of Florida I., I was fairly trapped by the weather. I anchored there in a small bay, the northern mouth of a narrow channel, similar to the Maramasiki Passage, separating the middle from the southern island, on February 1. This bay is open to the north. The day after I anchored, a strong breeze blew right into the harbour, raising such a sea,

especially when the tide ran out, that I was kept a prisoner for a week with two anchors down. At the end of that time, seeing no signs of a change of wind, or weather, I hove up my anchors, and, with the assistance of the kedge, to cant the ship, there being very little room, I headed her for the narrow "passage" between the two islands. Where it debouches into the little bay or estuary I had been anchored in, this is divided by a



MBOLI HARBOUR, FLORIDA IS.

reef into two very narrow but deep channels, one on each side of the reef. I steered through the western of these, anchoring as soon as I was clear of the reef. Even there, I had barely room to swing at a single anchor.

Previous to this, as I was told by the natives of the village and mission station near my anchorage, no vessel anything like so large as the *Borough Belle* had passed through this channel, with the exception of the *Southern Cross*, the mission vessel, which was an auxiliary screw steamer, and she had done it under steam.

The wind was now fair for the general direction of the passage, as far as Port Purvis at the other end ; and although I had no chart of the place, I judged that, if there was water enough for the steamer, there would be enough for the *Borough Belle*. I trusted a good deal to the tide, also, and eventually owed more to it than to the wind for getting through. Next morning I got under way, and went about a mile with the wind. Then I had to anchor for a few hours, and wait for the afternoon tide.

The breadth of the channel does not exceed two ship lengths in many places, so beating was impossible. We drove through as soon as the tide was at its full strength, going about three knots an hour, with the boats towing ahead to keep her clear of the banks. Only once, a sweep of the current round a sharp bend drove the ship against the mangroves lining the shores ; but this delayed us only about an hour, while the kedge was run out and hauled upon.

By sundown, I anchored about a mile from Port Purvis and five from Mboli. Next morning, I reached a safe land-locked anchorage at the head of the port, a spacious well-sheltered harbour on the south-western coast, about three miles long by one mile at its widest part. The western entrance is certainly very narrow, but, with the wind about nor'-nor'-west, was sheltered in part from any heavy sea by reefs and islets outside. I lay there until the 18th, for the weather was too boisterous to allow me to beat out against the sea then rolling in.

The worst of it was that all this time went for nothing. Not a recruit did I obtain, and very little native food—yams or taro—although the natives were most friendly. Even the mission teachers evinced no objection to visit the ship, begging for pipes and tobacco, although they had nothing to give in exchange. I have invariably found, that in the New Hebrides and Solomon groups, the so-called “Christian” natives cultivate the ground less than the unconverted savages do. Consequently,

they have less to barter, and are more liable to famine in bad seasons, when there are droughts or hurricanes.

At length, on the 18th, the weather cleared up; a steady north-westerly breeze sprang up, and there was less sea in the entrance to the harbour. I did not like the job of thrashing the *Borough Belle* through such a narrow channel; but by making some dozen short tacks, and by venturing, before going about, much nearer to the reefs on either side than was comfortable, I managed to get her through—as much by good luck as by good management. Once in the open sea, I ran round the south coast, passing the labour schooner *Helena*, from Bundaberg, at anchor off Ghieta. During the ensuing night, I crossed over to Malayta again, where I anchored next day in Waisissi Harbour, a snug and safe refuge from all winds and sea, sufficiently roomy for several vessels of large tonnage, though the entrance is not much wider than a cable-length.

It was here that, a year or so before, the little schooner *Savo* had been nearly taken by the natives, when two of the three whites on board were killed, and Keating, the master, was desperately wounded. But the natives were quiet enough during my stay. I did not allow them on board, besides which we were well armed and on our guard.

Waisis, or Waisissi Harbour, like all the harbours on this coast, is enclosed by the mountainous mainland on the north-east, and to seaward by long, low, coral islands. These are elevated only three or four feet above high-water mark, and are thickly covered with lofty trees, of those species that can stand a good drenching of salt water occasionally. In strong westerly gales, such as we were presently to experience, the heavy breakers make a clean breach over the projecting reef into the forest, sending their spray clean up to the tree-tops.

We lay at this place until the 24th, and then put to sea again with six additional recruits. One of these

afterwards deserted the ship at Marau Sound, just before my final departure for Queensland.

My next anchorage was in Wairokai Bay, a land-locked harbour some four or five miles south-east of Waisis. This is a roomy bay, but inconveniently deep in the centre, where it is twenty-three fathoms. It is well sheltered from the trade-wind, and there is good anchorage, in moderate weather, off the sandy beach on the main, facing the entrance. This anchorage, however, is open to the southward, and when the wind is in that quarter, the only good shelter is in the south arm, just land-locked, with eleven fathoms, and room for a vessel of 200 tons.

Wairokai is the northern ship entrance to a long chain of five smooth-water, deep lagoons, extending for a distance of some nineteen miles. These lagoons vary from a quarter of a mile to nearly one mile in width. They are enclosed between the mainland and a slightly curved line of long, low, thickly wooded reef islands, averaging a hundred yards in width, and two or three miles in length, and lying parallel with the coast.

These lagoons form magnificent harbours. There are half a dozen deep, though rather narrow entrances. With care, a fair wind, the sun astern, and a good mast-head look-out, a vessel of the size of the *Borough Belle* might be safely navigated from one end to the other. But there are about six different places where the channel is very much contracted by reefs or islets. The deepest and clearest water is almost invariably close to the outer barrier islets.

We lay there for five nights. On March 4 we weighed anchor and stood out of the harbour to the south-east, closely hugging the coast. Three of the narrow entrances to the lagoons were passed, for they trended out so much to the westward that I was afraid, if I took the ship in, I might be entrapped by the wind, as I was at Florida. But for the last few days my baro-

meter had been gradually falling, and the weather had now assumed a threatening aspect. So, deeming it better to be safe—even if in a trap—than outside in a cyclone, I made for the southernmost lagoon entrance, and, about noon, anchored in eleven fathoms in the small but safe harbour of Uhu.

The entrance to Uhu is very narrow, and, for a sailing vessel, anything but good, owing to the lofty trees on either side, which are apt to becalm the sails. In fact, the only way to get out through it, is to take advantage of a land breeze in the morning, about sunrise.

As soon as I had anchored, I almost repented of having come in, land winds on this coast being rare and very light at that season. But, after lying there a day, I became reconciled to the position. For the sky soon became overcast, whilst the wind came up from the west in squalls, accompanied by thick rain, my barometer falling rapidly.

Next day, the squalls and the breeze generally became stronger, backing towards north. The two following days it blew a hard gale from north-west, the barometer falling to 29.46—far below the point usually indicating an ordinary north-westerly gale. Luckily, the ship was well sheltered; but even then she needed both bowers down, assisted by the stream anchor.

This breeze over, the wind shifted to south-east for a few days, with fine weather. Seeing small chance of my getting safely out of the place through the same passage I had entered by, one morning early I weighed anchor, and, with the boats ahead, got through a narrow and tortuous lagoon passage to the next opening on the north—Waidaia. There I lay for a few days longer, vainly striving to obtain recruits. Then the sea went down, outside, and I sailed out of the lagoons again on the 17th.

My stores were now running short, and I had been nearly five months out, and had only secured 27 recruits instead of the 128 I was licensed to carry. I therefore

began to think about returning to Queensland. However, I determined to try my luck for another fortnight, although the reputation of the ship as an unhealthy and leaky craft was now well established on every island of the Southern Solomons.

Alite Bay or Harbour was my next anchorage. There I took in wood and water; but even my old acquaintance, Billy Mahualla, to whom a liberal inducement was held out, could persuade none of the natives to engage.

Then, a little further north, I anchored off Fiu, an open anchorage, in company with the barquentine *Lochiel*—Captain Pearn, Mr. Thompson, G.A. She was recruiting for Queensland. Still I had no better luck. At this place, the boatmen of the *Lochiel* found part of a vessel's masthead on the beach. It was of bright (unpainted) pine, and very likely had belonged to some vessel of 100 to 200 tons. Other wreckage was reported further down the coast.

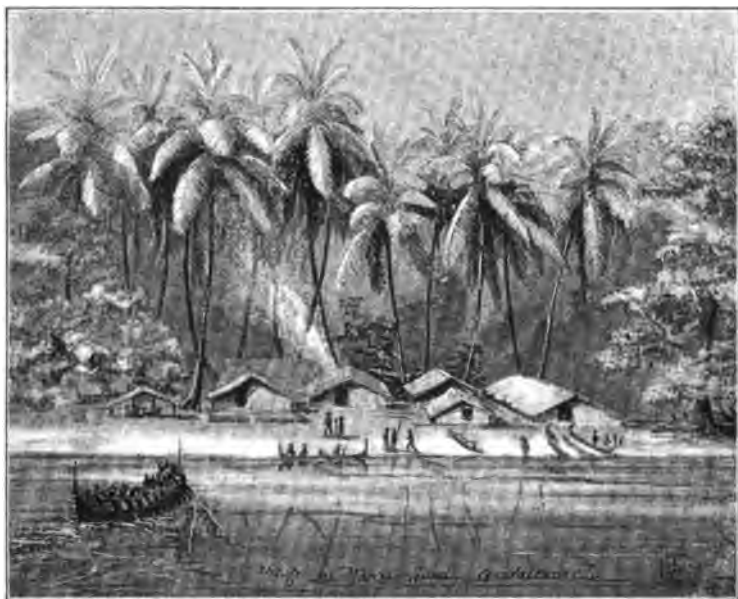
Among other news, Captain Pearn had heard of the murder of Sam Craig, a well-known Sydney trader, by natives at Makira Harbour. Also of the murder of Frank Howard, trader on Ugi I. Pearn had lately met the Samoan schooner *Upolu* at Kwai, on the north-east coast. Through a warning from him the Samoan got under way and left, for the natives meant to attack her on the first opportunity.

Very shortly after the *Upolu* and the *Lochiel* had left Kwai, the *Meg Merrilies* from Fiji anchored there. Some thirty Kwai warriors, pretending friendship, boarded her, but with short-handled tomahawks and clubs concealed in their bags. Every Malayta man carries a betel-nut and chunam bag slung to his neck. Some of them were in the forecastle, and had possession of a sleeping seaman's Snider, when the boats luckily returned, most probably preventing the massacre of all who had been left on board.

The *Lochiel* had lately visited the Lord Howe Is.,

where Captain Pearn purchased a quantity of porpoise teeth—considered to be of great value in Malayta. So, as I saw I had no chance of competing successfully with him, I weighed anchor and stood towards Guadalcanar.

Through light winds and calms it took me three days to get there. I anchored at length in Danæ Bay, in Marau Sound, a snug haven. It has the mainland on the west, and is shut in by numerous reefs and islets. There we found the *Myrtle*, a little trading schooner.



VILLAGE AT MARAU SOUND, GUADALCANAR I.

Shortly after the severe storm we had experienced when lying at Uhu, a large canoe came across from Waisis to Marau. On the way, she passed near the hull of a vessel, bottom up—probably capsized in the gale. This wreck had two masts apparently, and was painted white, or perhaps light slate colour. Such a number of sharks were round her that the natives were afraid to venture near in their frail canoe.

What vessel this was, I cannot say. From the reports

of Captain Pearn, Captain Ericson, of the *Myrtle*, and the natives we met with, I was able to account for all the Queensland vessels that were in the Solomon group during the recent gale, with the exception of the *Archimedes*, and she shortly afterwards turned up in the New Hebrides.

At Marau, I heard that canoes had recently come across from San Christoval I., bringing news that two boats of a French recruiting vessel had been capsized in the surf, eastward of Makira Harbour. The crews, consisting of four white men and eight islanders, were massacred by the natives.

I obtained two recruits at Marau and lost one deserter, who swam ashore during the night. I sailed for Queensland on April 7, with only twenty-five men and four women.

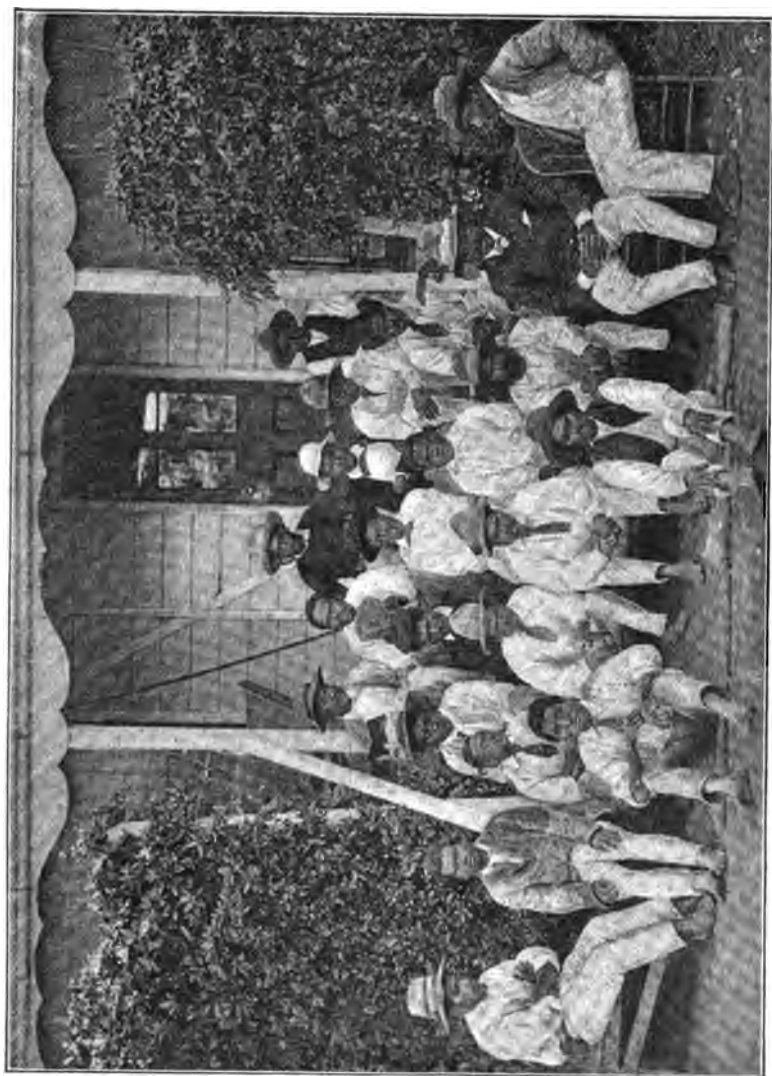
My passage home was uneventful. Light south-easterly winds prevailed at first, with a thunderstorm or two from westward. Afterwards it freshened up, becoming squally as I drew towards the south. I anchored off the mouth of the Pioneer River on April 24, getting up to Mackay next day. On the 27th I paid off my crew, and handed the ship over to the care of a ship-keeper.

So ended my last voyage in the Queensland Polynesian labour trade.

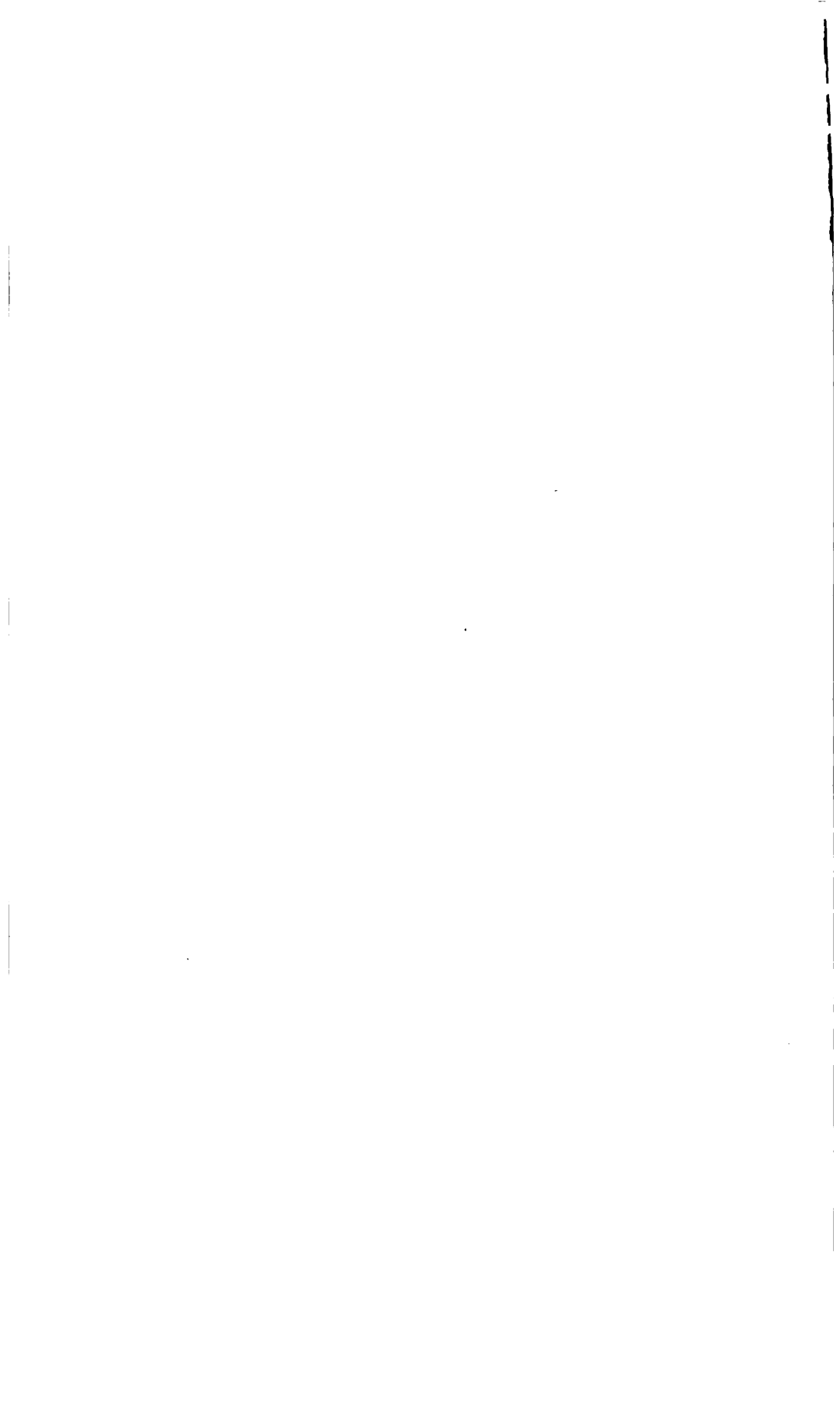
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As I sit in my room in Glass's Hotel, facing the wharves at Mackay, where the *Borough Belle* has been laid up for sale, I cast a retrospective glance on my experience of sixteen years past. I do not regret one single hour of it.

Notwithstanding all the tales of bloodshed, murder, and kidnapping, in connection with the labour trade, which have been dinned into the ears of the public, for the last few years especially, I conscientiously affirm that it has been, in the main, equally beneficial to the colony and to the islanders themselves.



MRS. ROBINSON'S PUPILS.



What are now the conditions of the sugar industry and of the seaports of Queensland that depended on it? Since the trade has been stopped, will the islanders remain at home? No! Samoa and its German plantations, New Caledonia and its French ones, continue to employ them and reap the benefit of their labour. Has the trading of firearms to the islanders been stopped? No! again. The use of bows and arrows, and even of spears, has gone out of fashion in the New Hebrides and the Solomon Is. Every warrior now owns his British-made Snider and ammunition, sold to him by French or German recruiting vessels. These simply buy their recruits, even in the British Protectorate, from the chiefs and leading men of the tribes.

It may occur to my readers, from my not having made any mention of it, that the South Sea Islander in Queensland has been treated simply as a labouring animal, no attention being paid to his mental or moral education. But such has not been the case.

Private missions have been established in every district with good success, but the only one with which I am personally acquainted is that conducted by Mrs. H. J. Goodwin Robinson, at the Marian Mill, Mackay.

A fine and commodious school-house was erected there, with excellent fittings, prettily decorated walls, and a harmonium. At the time of my visit, Mrs. Robinson was teaching over eighty pupils.

As a further proof of the success of these missions, I quote the following extract from "The Mackay Standard" for June 1, 1891, with reference to the departure of the Anglican clergyman:—

On Saturday evening, a number of Canon Edwards' South Sea Island pupils, to whom he has been in the habit of giving instructions on Saturday evenings for many years past, also waited upon him and presented him with a handsomely bound Bible, on the fly-leaf of which were recorded the signatures of the donors, and this gift the Canon publicly acknowledged in the church on the following day.

In this relation of my experiences in the Labour Trade, and of my voyages to the South Seas, I have confined myself strictly to facts. These have led me to the conclusion that the stoppage of the Polynesian Labour Trade, and, in consequence, the enormous loss of capital and development to the rich tropical land of Northern Queensland, was due to a purely political cry; that the public was grievously misled; that the so-called "Anti-Slavery" party — consisting almost entirely of southern men—know no more about plantation work in tropical Queensland and its labour requirements than an infant in arms!

I trust that the reader who has perused this "log" will be better able to exercise an impartial judgment. At any rate, I have endeavoured to lay before him a plain and truthful statement of my view of the Polynesian Labour Trade.



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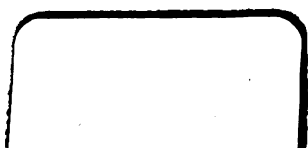
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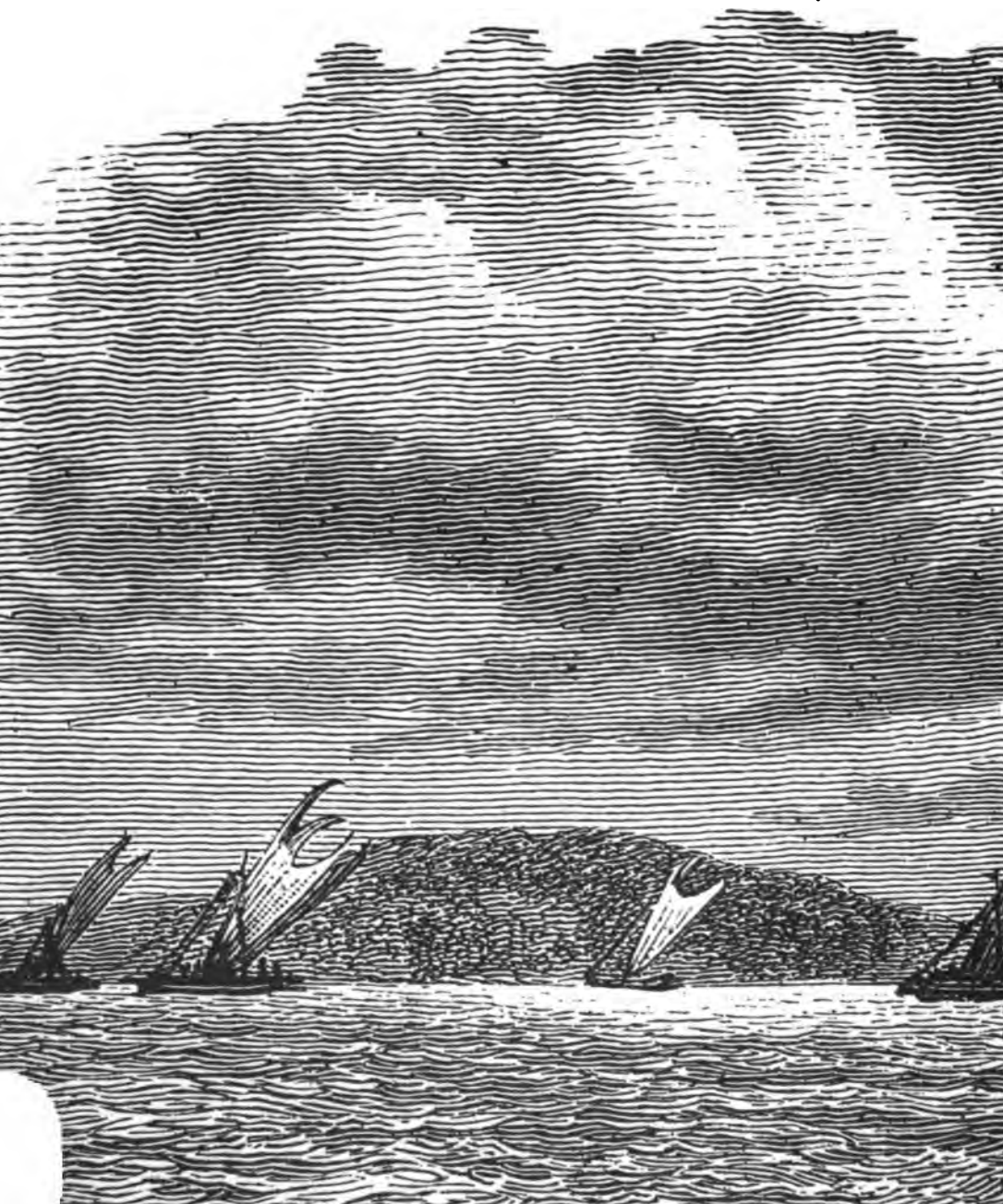




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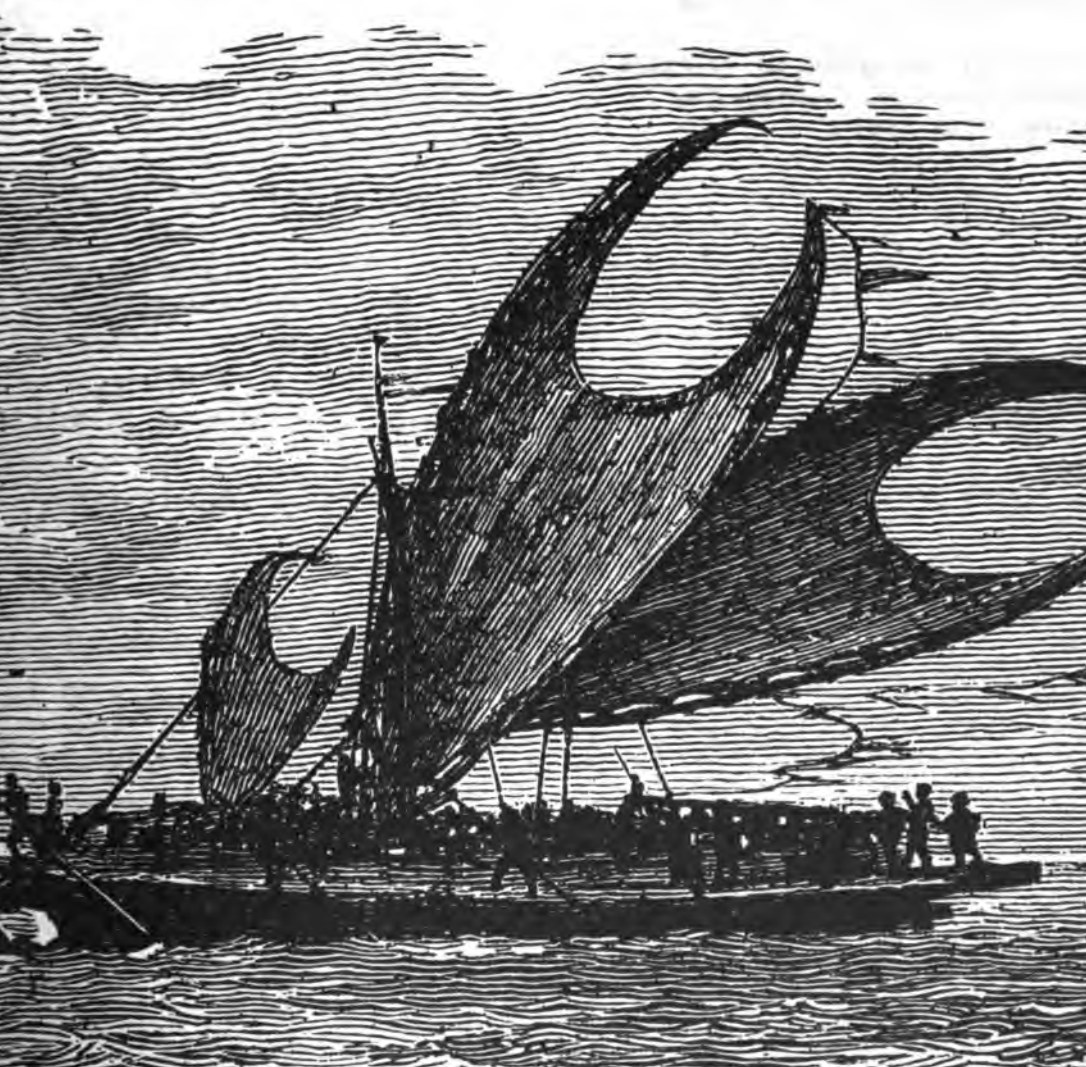
Research School of Pacific Studies,
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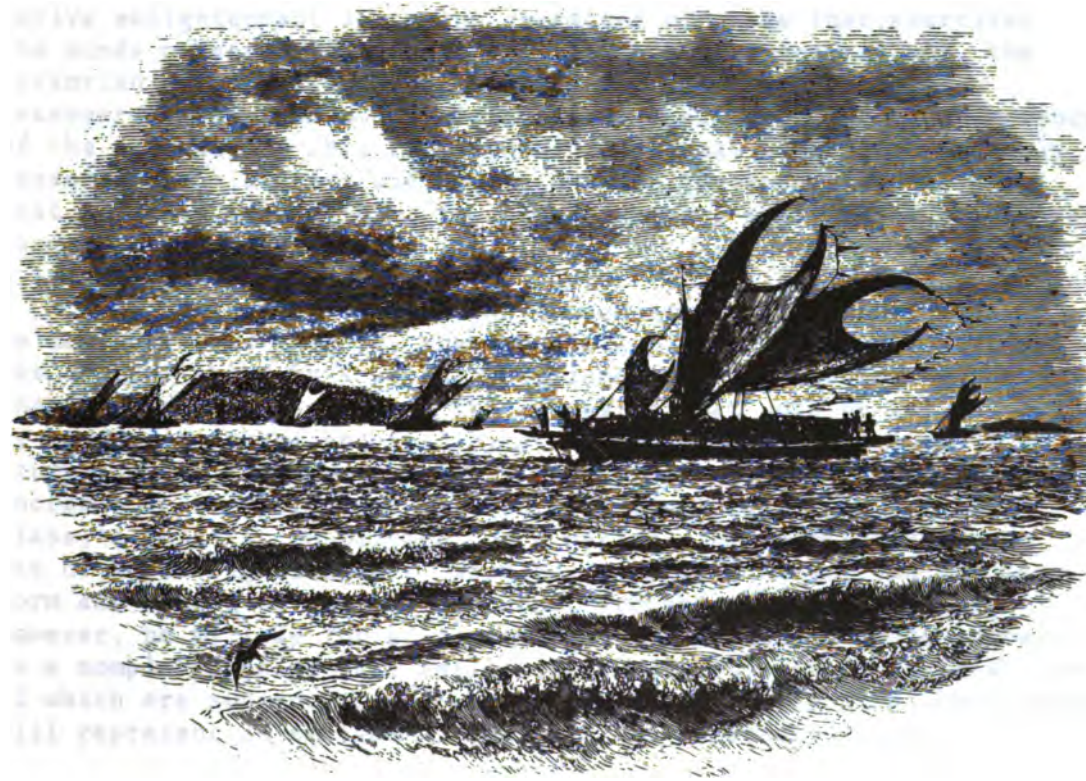
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UNDERSTANDING PACIFIC HISTORY:

THE PARTICIPANT AS HISTORIAN

J.W. Davidson

TO any scholar of quality, the field of study within which he works is not an isolated fragment of the body of human knowledge but a discipline which he uses to interpret the whole of his experience. Conversely, he regards his experience - of men, of art, of ideas - as the background to his understanding of his chosen field. To the historian, directly concerned, as he is, with the analysis of human motives, the relationship between personal experience and intellectual discipline is perhaps of rather special importance. From study of the past he clarifies and extends his understanding of the present; and from preoccupation with present problems he may derive enlightenment as to the character of those that exercised the minds of earlier generations. In this very general way, the historian's role as a participant in the life around him is necessarily related to his professional work. But, as a consequence of the intimacy of this relationship, personal experience not only presents the historian with opportunities for understanding the past but also exposes him, in ways to which I shall refer, to the danger of misunderstanding it.

The historian is never wholly concerned with certainties. He may know, for example, that the fall of a particular government was brought about by a vote in parliament or the electorate. But, when he begins his study of the causes of that vote he will be guided by an assessment of probabilities - based perhaps on comparative study - or by informed guesses. He may be reasonably sure that an increase in the political influence or awareness of a particular class, a shift in population, or a period of economic depression are of major significance. When he comes to consider the precise form and timing of the movement that brought about the change, however, he will be forced to immerse himself in its whole context, in a complex mass of data reflecting a multiplicity of factors, few of which are susceptible of exact measurement. His final conclusions will represent an amalgam of analysis and personal judgment.

This, I suggest, lies at the centre of history's appeal to its practitioners: the commitment it entails to the search for total explanations, the involvement it requires, so far as the data permit, in the full range of relevant thought and action. Some find this satisfaction in the study of remote periods for which the available sources are limited in range and extent. For them, perhaps, the pursuit of history has a special purity and austerity as they re-examine long-known documents in the light of new hypotheses or consider the relevance of archaeological findings

to conclusions reached from documentary study. Other historians - a far greater number - concern themselves with more recent times, for which the sources are both more ample and more varied. It is among this latter group that Pacific historians - if I may exclude pre-historians and ethnohistorians - take their place.

The initial impetus towards the study of modern history not infrequently derives, I think, from the student's sense of involvement in his own society. It was so, I know, in my own case. As a New Zealand school boy, I was interested in my first history textbook - on the history of England from the Roman conquest to the twentieth century - but I was not excited by it. When the subject of study shifted to New Zealand history, however, the subject became one that gave me a preponderant intellectual satisfaction and imaginative delight. The Maori pa that I visited the old buildings that I knew, the railway tracks running straight across the Canterbury plains or winding through the valleys and gorges of the North Island, the reminiscences of old people - all these gave substance to the narratives of human action published by historians. They helped to make me conscious of the sense of success or failure, of progress or retrogression, of conflict or of its resolution with which members of earlier generations had regarded contemporary events.

The comprehension of a student of history is not long confined, of course, to the study of his own society. But - if I may persist a little longer in this vein of personal reminiscence I was happy that both circumstance and convention prescribed a topic in New Zealand history when I began research for an Honours thesis. My first suggestion, the origin of the Maori wars, was criticized by John Beaglehole on the ground that I had little knowledge of the Maori language. I therefore settled for a study of Scandinavian settlement in New Zealand, on which the official records had recently become available. And I think that my work benefited from the fact that I was able to walk over the farms that the settlers had laboriously cut out of the Seventy Mile Bush and to talk to the few survivors of the original migrants.

But I have mentioned the two topics that I considered because they illustrate a point of some relevance to my present theme. As a rebel against established opinion, I had been irritated by the emphasis ordinarily placed upon the British origins of New Zealand society. Both topics had been attractive to me because they would give me a chance of studying non-British elements in the country's heritage. The attraction had been similar to that which has drawn Left-wing British historians towards studies of the English Civil War and their Australian counterparts, with a sometimes wearying persistence, towards studies of the Labor Party and the trade union movement.

This element of social involvement may be thought by some to imperil a historian's objectivity. The danger does, of course, exist; but I don't think it is a serious one. Moreover, it is a danger that also confronts those working in fields remote from their personal experience. Though a historian seeks, in his work, to guard himself against partiality, his underlying attitudes commonly affect his writing. In colonial history, the field from which our own subject has developed, a great deal of the work written in metropolitan countries is coloured by the author's acceptance of common national attitudes. I am not thinking of explicit partisanship, such as the unrepentant jingoism of Sir John Seeley's The Expansion of England, published in the later part of the Victorian era, or of the troubled defensiveness of Sir Keith Hancock's Argument of Empire, which appeared during the Second World War. I have in mind, on the contrary, the many overtly academic works that reveal unintentionally the writer's belief in the virtues of colonial rule. The policies of the governors, usually adequately documented, emerge as sensible and high-minded and the reactions of the governed, often little understood, as stubborn and misguided. A historian can be affected by his attitude towards public affairs whether his subject is remote from his personal experience or close to it. In the latter case, however, he enjoys an advantage not shared by others: he can draw more directly upon his personal experience as a source of understanding in his study of the past.

Every Pacific historian who belongs to the islands or has lived in them for a substantial time is, in a sense, a participant. At least in respect of the islands which have been his home, he possesses first-hand experience. He has come in contact with people of differing racial origins, ages, and social and economic interests. He has gained some knowledge of their beliefs, values and aspirations. He has formed impressions of the way in which members of different groups regard one another. He has learnt something of the character and extent of conflict and of co-operation within the community. Above all, he has himself been a part of that community and been dependent, for the conduct of his daily life, upon the maintenance of a workable relationship with men and women in positions different from his own.

Any participant, of course, sees society from a particular vantage point. An elderly Polynesian chief is unlikely to interpret social relationships in the same way, or to possess the same values, as a young man or woman recently returned from an overseas education. A public servant or university student in Port Moresby is unlikely to hold the same views as a cocoa planter in the Gazelle Peninsula or a member of a local government council in the Highlands. An expatriate may live largely in expatriate circles and have

relationships with indigenous people of only the most formal kind. But I am speaking of those who are, or who might become, historians, not of the population at large. Such people must, of necessity, possess an unusual curiosity about the social process and a capacity for disciplined thought. They are likely to be able to adapt themselves to the conventions of discussion of diverse groups - the village, the church or the seminar - with an ease that many others would not even aspire to possess. Though the participant historian's social role, or his political commitment, may affect his approach to his subject, it need not limit his understanding or impair his capacity for rigorous analysis.

The historian must be wary of applying his knowledge of the contemporary world to his interpretation of the past. This is a proposition that all historians would accept. But ideas and values change slowly; and the new is linked with the old. Christianity in Melanesia is not identical with Christianity in Canterbury or Rome. A member of the House of Assembly of Papua and New Guinea does not fill the same role in his electorate as a member of the Australian Parliament. A Samoan cocoa planter, though he may be a first-class man of business by European standards, generally holds his land under customary tenure and accepts obligations in regard to the distribution of his income that derive from the traditional culture. The importance of indigenous factors in the functioning of modern institutions is almost always imperfectly recorded in the documents available to historians - in missionaries' letters home recounting the progress of conversion, in Governors' despatches reporting the successful establishment of a legislature or the growth of exports. But the presence of these factors is more readily apparent to the historian who is at home in the area that he is studying. He is conscious of the gaps in the story told by the documents. He scrutinizes the latter with care to find hints, at least, of the working of forces that he believes must have been present. He looks for other evidence bearing upon his hypothesis, such as oral testimony or the vestiges of past practice surviving in existing institutions.

It is for reasons such as these that local experience forms a valuable part of a historian's resources. When it is combined with adequate formal training, a student is well equipped to make significant contributions to knowledge. A few men born in the islands have already brought their easy understanding of local languages and cultures to the service of historical scholarship; and it seems certain that in the years ahead many more will contribute to our knowledge of the history of the Pacific.

But, when it was suggested that I should speak on this subject, it was expected, I think, that I would concern myself primarily with

rather different type of participation - that of the historian who has actively participated in public affairs, as I have myself had the opportunity of doing in several Pacific countries. The position of the scholar who has had this experience should be considered, I think in relation to two main problems. First, how far can his participation assist him in understanding periods antecedent to his personal involvement in affairs? And, secondly, how is it likely to affect his analysis of that in which he was a participant? To these I would add a further problem: the extent to which things learnt in one Pacific country may assist a student to understand the history of another. In considering all three of these, I shall, perforce, largely concern myself with an examination of my own work.

The special character of the experience of a person in a political, administrative or advisory position is relatively easy to define. He has to win public support for his views, take and implement decisions, or make recommendations. To be successful he must possess sufficient knowledge of the structure of the society in which he is working and of the range of opinions and values held by groups within it. But this knowledge may be, in part at least, intuitive; and, to a greater extent, it is common knowledge that the participant could not set down in a series of formal propositions. He has, however, an opportunity to learn from his failures, as well as from his successes. If an act of his does not have the effect he had expected, the reasons are often embarrassingly obvious.

A substantial part of the participant's experience is gained through the contacts associated with his work. For myself, I acquired an understanding of many of the intricacies of Samoan life and thought while discussing practical problems with Samoan colleagues, both individually and in meetings of committees and commissions. I learnt much, too, from sitting through long weeks of debates as a member of the Legislative Assembly and as adviser to the Constitutional Convention of 1960. Subsequently in the Cook Islands and more recently in Nauru - where this paper was written - I have enjoyed similar opportunities. At times the proceedings of these legislative or constitution-making bodies have been dreary, like those of parliaments elsewhere, as member after member has made the same points or when the debate has drifted into triviality or irrelevancy. But not infrequently a line of argument, or a single sentence, has illuminated a whole area of local thinking that had previously been obscure to me. Sometimes a proposal that I had thought, as an outsider, to be indisputably right has aroused fierce controversy; and I have understood, for the first time, that local people saw it against a background of traditional proprieties, or of memories of expatriate domination, that has become more vivid and complex as debate has progressed. Often the response to a speech of my own has revealed flaws in my analysis of local attitudes.

But the participant in public affairs gains much of his experience also in the same way as any other resident in an island community. For my own part, I should have remained ignorant of a great deal but for the innumerable discussions in which I participated outside working hours: during weekends spent in villages; in the homes of friends who, through descent or experience possessed strong ties with both the indigenous and exotic cultures; at parties and other functions attended predominantly by people who took no active part in public affairs. Only in secondary ways was my social experience differed a little perhaps from that of most people who have lacked my professional interests. Everywhere I have gone in the islands I have consciously sought to make contact with people of widely differing ages, origins and interests; and I have tried to learn their attitudes towards the subjects - both contemporary and historical - that were of concern to me.

With these preliminary explanations disposed of, let me now turn to the first of my basic problems: in what ways can active participation in public affairs contribute to a historian's understanding of earlier periods? I shall attempt to answer this question mainly, but not wholly, in relation to the writing of my book, Samoa mo Samoa.

Till I had lived in Samoa, I was puzzled by many aspects of the country's history. I knew enough about the Pacific to realize that many of the explanations offered by historians or by the anthropologist Felix Keesing in his book, Modern Samoa, were inadequate or, at times, almost meaningless. But I was unable to offer any explanations of my own. What was the real basis of the authority and status possessed by the great chiefs who had sought the kingship during the nineteenth century? What was the political role of the groups of orators and orator-chiefs known as Tumua and Pule? Why had the American adventurer Albert B. Steinberger, of whom historians knew little but his defects, gained such an ascendancy over leading Samoans in the 1870s? Why had Christianity been so readily absorbed into the Samoan way of life? What were the factors that had caused the vast majority of Western Samoans to support the Mau movement during the 1920s and '30s? The Mau had, for a time, brought many government services to a standstill and had created a quasi-governmental structure of its own. Yet its leaders were men of most diverse interests - part-European merchants Samoans who had grasped the opportunities offered by the modern world, and conservative villagers who resented the encroachments of government and commerce upon their ancient mode of life. Its objectives - both explicit and implicit - stemmed, in part, from the traditional culture and, in part, from modern nationalism.

While I was working in Samoa, I gained a knowledge of Samoan

society that made these problems much less difficult to resolve. I became acquainted with the distinction that the Samoans make between titular status and executive power, a distinction represented most clearly in the respective roles of chiefs and orators. I learned how largely a man's position was determined by his descent, through both male and female lines, and by his personal quality, so that both his fitness for election to a high title and the standing of the title itself during his tenure were determined by these two factors. I saw how attainment of an important title affected others than the holder himself, in terms both of standing and of influence and opportunity, so that his relatives were anxious to enhance his prerogatives and members of rival families to diminish them. It was apparent, too, that the working of the traditional system had been to some extent re-shaped by the intrusion of modern institutions. The churches had provided new channels for the attainment of influence, both for matai (i.e., chiefs and orators) and for those who had become pastors. The former had, for example, used ties of kinship to bring groups of relatives into the particular church they had joined and thus created new links of political, as well as social and religious, utility. The latter, as preachers of the gospel, had attained positions of authority in the villages in which they served; but many, by their regard for education, had also founded families whose members rose to high positions through their knowledge of the modern world. Similarly, success in commerce had become a factor enhancing a man's eligibility for election to a matai title. Rather more slowly, I became aware that some elements in the traditional culture, as the Samoans regarded it, were of quite modern origin.

The sophisticated conventions of Samoan meetings - particularly those of traditional fono (councils) - reflected most of these characteristics of Samoan culture. The participants of highest rank were accorded a formal deference; and their statements were not contradicted. But they, in turn, generally accepted an obligation to await the emergence of a consensus, except on matters of major importance where they felt it necessary to give a lead. The practice of reaching decisions through conciliar discussion, moreover, favoured compromise and had thus facilitated the gradual acceptance of change. No less significant was the manner in which argument was conducted. The participants were as largely concerned with questions of power and influence and economic advantage as are men anywhere; but they were wont to base their particular case on an appeal to aspects of custom or of Christian teaching that suited their immediate purposes. Precedents or principles could nearly always be cited by both the supporters and the opponents of a particular proposal. Finally, within this framework of discussion, consciousness of the need for compromise was always present. Participants were concerned not only with promoting or resisting change but with preventing the emergence of irreconcilable differences that would split the group into warring factions.

When I returned to the study of Samoan history, I found that many of the simplicities and ambiguities of past interpretations had been removed by my experience of Samoan politics. The institution of the kingship in the nineteenth century was, of course, part of the Samoan attempt to create a form of government that could handle relations with Europeans. But it revived traditional contention for titular supremacy - for conferring on one of the great chiefs the status of tafa'ifa. It therefore deeply involved the orator groups at the principal political centres which served the interests of one or other of the families from which these chiefs came. Except in the case of the holders of the Malietoa title, the contenders for the kingship owed their positions not to the titles that they held but to the distinction of their ancestry and of their personal careers. The name 'Tamasese' was not, initially, regarded as a title at all, but as a name given to the able leader who became king as Tupua Tamasese Titimaea. And the title 'Mata'afa' was first given major national significance through the career of Mata'afa Iosefa. Contention for the kingship was thus a rivalry between able men who had emerged as the candidates of important sections of the population; and the success of any one of them brought honour to his adherents and humiliation to his opponent.

Steinberger owed his success to his ready understanding of this situation and to his ability to devise appropriate policies. Under the system of government that was introduced during his time in Samoa, every political group in the country - at both the national and the district level - had the immediate opportunity, or the future prospect, of sharing in the dignity that pertained to the tenure of public office. His success did not suit the interests of European residents, who laid emphasis on his undoubtedly shady dealings and promoted his deportation. But his attempt to overcome the destructive efforts of factional rivalries was in accord with an important element in Samoan thinking. Both Tupua Tamasese Titimaea and Malietoa Laupepa, towards the end of their lives, pleaded that the kingship should be held in turn by the representatives of the rival lineages. Along with the factionalism that past historians have dramatically, but superficially, portrayed, there was an abiding concern with the problem of finding a viable basis for political unity.

The history of the Mau can be regarded, to some extent, as a further stage in the struggle for Samoan unity. But, equally, it can be seen as a rejection of expatriate control in both government and commerce. In this latter aspect it touches on a field in which the historian, particularly if he is himself an expatriate by birth, stands to learn much from participation in island politics. Resentment goes deeper than is commonly allowed to appear; full confidence is withheld even when there is the outward appearance

of unity; suspicion lingers on long after formal agreement has been reached. But these feelings are developed and sustained not only by expatriate disrespect for indigenous institutions but also by indigenous involvement in the expatriate culture.

In Samoa this latter aspect of the situation is now of relatively small importance, though it was not so in the time of the Mau. But in other parts of the Pacific, such as Nauru, it continues significantly to affect inter-racial relations. Where expatriates have long continued to occupy most of the positions of power, ambitious local people have commonly sought to adopt their manners and customs. In so far as they have failed to do so effectively, or to reap the rewards that they believe conformity should bring, they have experienced an additional humiliation.

In nearly all parts of the Pacific the current attitudes of politicians have been deeply coloured by their past relations with an alien administering authority and its representatives. In Western Samoa, on the eve of independence, men who had been active in the Mau wanted full sovereignty to be attained before they considered a possible association with the Commonwealth of Nations. Younger men, who had entered politics in the more relaxed post-war years, on the other hand, would have been happy to discuss this question during the preparatory phase. In Nauru, where Australian policy had changed only belatedly and inadequately, many debates in the Constitutional Convention were dominated by Nauruan reaction against past paternalism. A draft constitutional proposal, for example, provided for the appointment of a Secretary to Cabinet. Some members of the Convention - younger men with a regard for administrative efficiency or older men with doubts about the present leaders - supported its inclusion; but a majority heatedly rejected it. To the latter, it seemed to be a device for the perpetuation of expatriate domination. They could not envisage a Nauruan as secretary, nor could they imagine an expatriate holder of the office who would not exercise a powerful influence on policy. As I listened to my own defence of the provision being dismissed or misconstrued, I became more completely aware of the strength and complexity of Nauruan reaction against the former Administration.

Australia had lagged far behind most other colonial powers. When housing for expatriate officers in many British colonies was being dispersed through local residential areas, as a matter of policy, the Australians began the construction of a segregated administration settlement in Nauru. When New Zealand, like Britain, had already recognized that effective political representation of indigenous peoples required the development of executive councils and legislative assemblies, Australia - in 1951 - created the Nauru Local Government Council, a primarily advisory body, comparable to the Fono of Faipule established by the Germans in Samoa or the

Fijian Council of Chiefs established by Sir Arthur Gordon in the 1870s. On the threshold of Nauruan independence, relations between government and governed were little closer than they had been in Western Samoa in the time of Sir George Richardson, nearly forty years earlier.

As I listened to the debates in the Constitutional Convention, I acquired a deeper understanding of the character of Australian rule. The record of a man such as Commander Rupert Garsia, who had administered the island in a spirit of well-intentioned but insensitive paternalism during the 1930s, gained colour and substance as the speeches of older members revealed how their attitudes towards expatriates had been moulded by the pro-consular pretensions with which he and, in varying degrees, his successors had approached their task. The strong difference of opinion between older and younger members as to the need to retain the Nauru Local Government Council emphasized another defect in past policies. Limited as the Council's power had been, it had come to occupy a central place in the thought and sentiments of Hammer De Roburt - now President of the Republic - and his colleagues, because in the past it had been the only institution through which they could exercise a direct influence upon the Administration. Younger members, on the other hand, were interested only in the new institutions established under the Constitution. To them the Council was only a relic - though a respected one, because of its past role - of the old, autocratic political structure. Present alignments in Nauruan politics are deeply coloured by past history.

Now, I think, I should answer explicitly the question I posed earlier. 'It is no accident', I once wrote, 'that most of the great figures in the development of modern history - like Macaulay, or De Tocqueville, or Acton - have either participated in politics or come from a section of society in touch with the political world.'¹ For students of Pacific history, I believe that political experience is of more than ordinary value. As historians, we are students of multi-cultural situations; but, as individuals, we have inherited the cultures of our own particular societies. In public life, a recognition of the diversity of traditions and of values is a pre-requisite to the framing of acceptable decisions. If recognition leads on - as it can and should - to an understanding of the elements which constitute that diversity, firm ground has been found from which to essay the interpretation of the past.

My second problem - that of the historian's role as an interpreter of a period in which he has himself been politically involved - is a more complex one. On some aspects of it, I think I can express myself unequivocally; but, on others - perhaps of greater importance - I can do little more than suggest a number of possibilities and leave my hearers to draw their own conclusions.

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The background to a decision is nearly always complex, and it is seldom fully recorded. The relevant documents may have been accepted with reluctance or incomplete understanding by some of those whose signatures they bear. They may have been drafted, intentionally or unintentionally, in misleading terms. Facts or opinions may have been distorted or suppressed. And crucial stages in the negotiations that made the decision a feasible one may have left no imprint upon the record at all. Conflicts may have been resolved in face-to-face discussions - or over the telephone. Moreover, few subjects are viewed in isolation by those directly concerned. Memories of past events, fears of establishing a precedent, sympathies or antipathies between individuals or social groups - all these are wont to colour people's attitudes towards even the simplest of proposals. They are constantly in the mind of a successful participant in public affairs. They explain why he thinks as carefully about the context and timing of his actions as about the actual framing of a decision. But, unless he is a diarist, they are unlikely to form part of the written record. The historian who was present when a proposal was being discussed and decided upon thus possesses an initial advantage. He has a knowledge of the background to events that others can acquire only with difficulty and less completeness.

On one other aspect of the problem I think I can speak with equal confidence. In this case, however, I shall be stating a limitation that the participant-historian must accept. In writing Samoa mo Samoa I decided not to mention by name any of those with whom I had worked when my comments on their actions were wholly derogatory. This, perhaps, was a restraint that I was not bound to observe. But my position was rather different where I possessed information gleaned from official discussions or confidential documents. In these cases I limited myself to simple assertion, to a statement of my conclusions unsupported by evidence. Reading reviews of the book by scholars acquainted with the public documentation, I have been struck by the number of times these points have been picked up. My conclusions may be right or wrong. But they cannot - as yet, at any rate - be fully examined; and I, as a participant, am under a special obligation not to explain or defend them.

Beyond this point, my course compels me to embark upon a sea of uncertainties. How far can a historian who has been involved in the events he describes write without partiality? It would be presumptuous perhaps to attempt to answer this question in general terms. Participants in public affairs differ in their capacity to see both sides of a case and in the degree of realism with which they assess their personal roles. Historians differ in their capacity to analyse the available documents or to see the relevance of those that impinge only marginally upon their topic of research. Let me therefore atten

to examine my own work.

In the Introduction to Samoa mo Samoa I wrote:

Often my position [as a participant] was that of a passionate partisan; and even now, recollecting experience in tranquility, the afterglow of past political involvement has, no doubt, affected my presentation of events. I believe that this involvement enabled me to see Samoan society in a clearer light, and not in false colours.

But I added the proviso that 'many fellow New Zealanders with whom I worked in Samoa would disagree with me on one subject or another'. I tried to deal justly with the opinions and actions of New Zealanders - and Samoans - with whom I had disagreed. I referred to judgments of my own that I had subsequently decided were erroneous. Looking back on events, I was able to examine them with a measure of detachment to which I could not have attained at the time of their occurrence. But fundamentally, I still believed that the policies I had espoused were the right ones and that the actions I had taken in support of them were legitimate. I was conscious, too, that what I wrote would be drawn upon by my successors. History that is tinged with autobiography inevitably becomes, in some degree, an apologia pro vita sua.

I mention these circumstances without apology. Only within limits can history ever become definitive. Facts can be ascertained. Social forces and the role of individuals can be defined and assessed with an increasing approximation to accuracy. But the answers that historians provide are always dependent on the questions that they ask. Changes in the framework of thought will always require the rewriting of history.

The questions that my experience of Samoan public life caused me to ask were as relevant to an understanding of the period that I knew at first-hand, as to those that had preceded it. Sir Keith Hancock once published a classic note on Mary Kingsley and her understanding of West Africa.

She wrote very little history, yet she possessed the three cardinal virtues which distinguish the great historian from the crowd of journeymen. These virtues are attachment, justice, and span. Attachment means self-implication in the thought and emotions and actions of the life which is being studied; it is that capacity for self-forgetfulness and sympathetic insight which enables the historian to handle the actual stuff of

the lives which others lead, and to share their experience from the inside.... By direct experience or imaginative understanding she implicated herself in the society which surrounded her and made herself a partner in its way of life.²

The 'self-implication' in Samoan life that was an inevitable concomitant of my role in public affairs enabled me to acquire, as a historian, at least one of Hancock's 'three cardinal virtues'. Within limits set by personal capacity, I gained the quality of 'attachment'; and, from this vantage point, I was able to venture an interpretation of Samoan history that would otherwise have been beyond my reach. The certainty that other historians, starting from a different background of knowledge and a different set of presuppositions, will eventually produce other interpretations is, I think, of no importance.

But let me, before I conclude, say a little about the third question that I asked earlier on. How far can things learnt in one Pacific country assist a student to understand the history of another? In part, the answer does not relate only to knowledge of the Pacific. The problem of politics, for example, in colonies and newly independent states has common elements wherever the countries may be. And similar statements could be made in regard to many aspects of economic, or even social, history. But, in part also, the answer does have a particular Pacific application. All the Pacific countries have now been exposed for a long time to the impact of Western civilization; but that impact has been experienced in widely differing forms. Territories have been governed by different Metropolitan Powers; peoples have been evangelized by different branches of the Christian church. The newcomers have followed different policies and made different assumptions about the character of indigenous institutions. As a result, the structure and functioning of indigenous societies has been changed. In most contemporary writings, and even in the beliefs of the indigenous people themselves, what is accepted as the traditional culture is, in fact, a mixture of tradition and modern innovation. The apparent differences, for example, between the character of chieftainship or of rights to land in the various Polynesian countries seem to derive as much from the circumstances of the last century as from ancient practice. A thorough knowledge of one Pacific country can make the student wary of accepting what he reads, or what he is told, about another. It can suggest questions that should be asked and lead to answers that will destroy some of the confusion of current thinking.

In my own case, however, I have found that work in one part of the Pacific has helped me in others in quite a different way, as well as the relative isolation of one island group from another has disappeared.

The leaders, at least, in the different countries have some acquaintance with one another and some knowledge of what is happening throughout the area. When I first visited the islands, I arrived as a stranger. Now, wherever I go, I am among people who know some of those with whom I have worked and who are generally aware of my own involvement in the affairs of the islands. The intricacies of local problems are thus explained to me more readily, since I have become a participant in Pacific politics.

My argument has been concerned with the specific problem of the relationship between participation in the life of a country and the understanding of its history. But the conclusions I have reached can be placed, I would suggest, in a far wider context. For any man, in his time, fills many roles; but he gains only one body of experience upon which he can draw. Nothing that he knows is without profit.

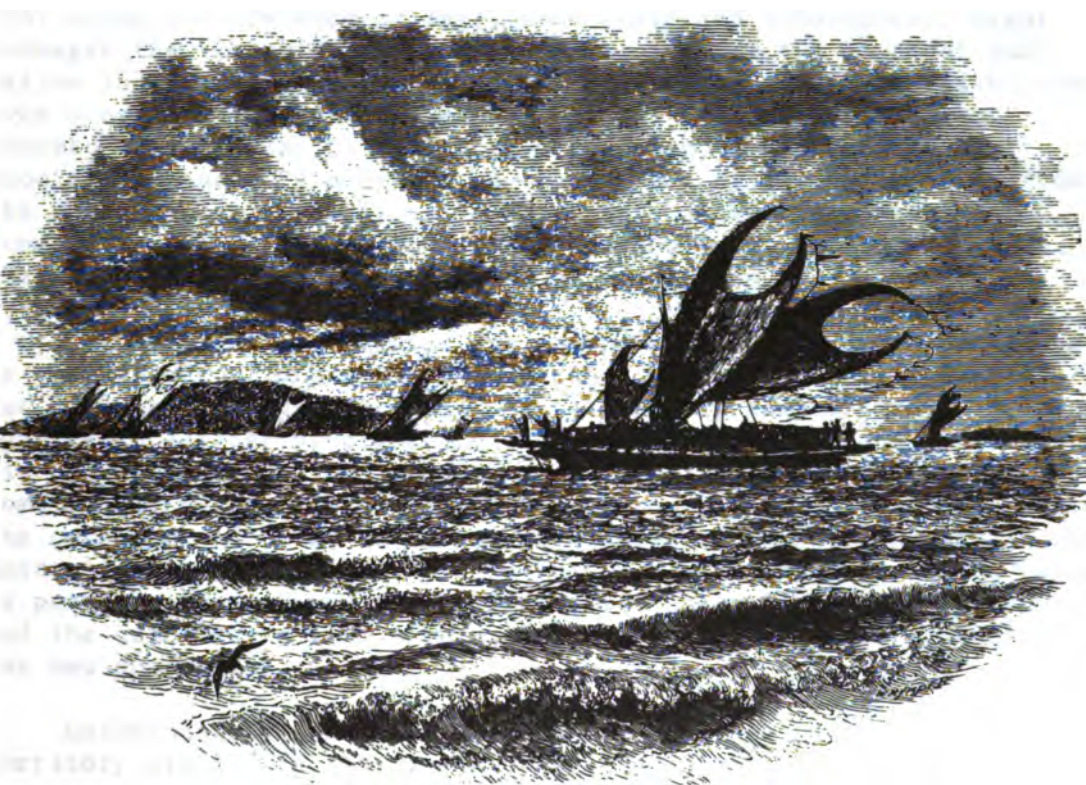
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UNDERSTANDING PACIFIC HISTORY

NOTES

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ADMINISTRATION AND THE ADMINISTRATOR



THE PROTECTORATE OF BRITISH NEW GUINEA 1884-1888:

AN ODDITY OF EMPIRE

John Mayo

On November 6th, 1884, Commodore James E. Erskine R.N. proclaimed the Protectorate of British New Guinea. This action was taken because in the words of the proclamation, "it has become essential for the protection of the lives and properties of the native inhabitants of New Guinea, and for the purpose of preventing the occupation of portions of that country by persons whose proceedings, unsanctioned by any lawful authority, might tend to injustice, strife, and bloodshed, and who, under the pretence of legitimate trade and intercourse, might endanger the liberties and possess themselves of the lands of such native inhabitants, that a British Protectorate should be established over a certain portion of such country and the islands adjacent thereto".¹ In order to give this protection, a Protectorate was proclaimed generally over the southern coast of New Guinea west from the Dutch border, as well as adjacent islands as described in a schedule to the proclamation. More particularly, notice was given that no acquisitions of land would be recognised.

The ceremony on November 6th marked both an end and a beginning in the history of Australia's connection with New Guinea. Carried out with pomp and due deliberation (especially deliberation - Erskine ignored an earlier proclamation on 23rd October, which had anticipated his own proceedings, and went to immense pains to ensure that at least some of his native listeners understood the significance of his actions) the ceremony indicated the final acquiescence of Great Britain in the Australian Colonies' long held desire to control as much of New Guinea as possible; and it was the beginning of a search by Great Britain and the Colonies to find a mutually acceptable system of administering the new possession.

Unfortunately, the proclamation settled only one point: the territory claimed in the schedule was thereafter internationally accepted as British. In fact, international opinion gave Britain far greater powers in the protected territory than the U.K. Government's own Law Officers were prepared to allow. The Crown had only limited powers in a Protectorate, and although it was realized in London almost immediately that a more satisfactory basis for the administration's power would have to be found, it was nearly four years before this was established. This paper is largely about the search for this new basis, and about what happened in British New Guinea while the search was on. However, before taking up these two themes, there is one further point which must be made about the proclamation.

This is that the Australian Colonies were dissatisfied with its scope: they wanted the whole of East New Guinea, not just the section claimed on November 6th, 1884, and were bitter that Germany had been allowed any of the island. This dissatisfaction had some bearing on their attitude towards the protectorate's administration, as also did their motives in desiring control over the island at all and so both must be considered.

Feeling against the size of the new colony was particularly strong in Victoria and Queensland. Sir S. Griffith, the Premier of Queensland, sent the other colonies a copy of a letter he had sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London, in which he had expressed his acceptance of what had been done, stated that the colonies were prepared to contribute £15,000 per annum, if the British Government would establish a High or Deputy Commissionership "with large powers of independent action"² on or near the East coast of New Guinea, but wanted to know why the Protectorate was limited to the coast line: "The announcement of this limitation had aroused much irritation and dissatisfaction, which was openly expressed in Queensland Parliament".² He made clear his regret that the German Empire had entered the area, and emphasized his complete ignorance of British plans. Others reacted more strongly. J. Service, the Premier of Victoria, pointed out that Great Britain had earlier refused to act in New Guinea, feeling it unnecessary, and reported great public dissatisfaction. He felt that inaction was in effect an open encouragement to other powers to move in.³

Both Service and Griffith were intimately connected with the Australian efforts to make England acquire New Guinea, the former having close connections with some of the missionaries, which gave him a personal interest in the area (not only New Guinea, but also the New Hebrides) and the latter being Premier of the Colony most likely to be affected by the appearance of a possible unfriendly Great Power in the near North. However, they were not alone in their dissatisfaction with the situation. Public meetings were held in various cities (as they had been after the Imperial Government disallowed Queensland's attempted annexation of the whole of East New Guinea in 1883) and resolutions passed, expressing various degrees of dissatisfaction or disgust. Even in Adelaide, where the Government had been notably restrained in its handling of the situation, a public meeting was held. Still, public interest soon waned, and this lack of popular interest, as well as Government disappointment at the size of the new territory, made it difficult for the Special Commissioner, as the Head of the Protectorate's Administration was titled, to get action from the colonies when he wanted it, usually in matters concerning finance.

In Queensland, the Protectorate officials always received a fair hearing, and various Queensland Government departments gave

great assistance to the new administration. However, Queensland had been one of the leaders in the movement for annexation, and the reasons for its part in the movement, largely strategic, remained obviously apparent. This was not so in the other colonies. N.S.W. had been content to agree with, and follow the lead of, Queensland and Victoria in the affair, and once the Imperial Government acted, it was content to let matters lie. In Victoria, the Government, and especially Service, had been much influenced by missionaries, led by the Rev. John Paton, who were more worried by French intentions in the New Hebrides than by the New Guinea position, so that when the situation in the New Hebrides cleared up, and Service was replaced as Premier, the Victorians became less interested in the islands. South Australia's interest had always been small, and once action was taken, its attention turned towards its own affairs - and the Northern Territory was a powerful counter to New Guinea. The other colonies (Tasmania, Western Australia, Fiji and New Zealand) in general limited their interest to paying the contributions to the Protectorate's revenue with varying enthusiasm and regularity.

The luke warm attitude of the Australian Colonies was only one of several crosses the Special Commissioner had to bear. From the point of view of the Imperial Government, a Protectorate had several advantages: it was cheap to run, as in theory anyway, internal administration was left to the indigenous authorities, and so no system of government had to be established and maintained; further, a Protectorate could be abandoned or given away without any of the loss involved in giving up sovereign territory. However, under British law as then interpreted, Imperial officials had virtually no legal powers within the Protectorate. In an opinion given to the Colonial Office by the Law Officers in December, 1884, it was stated that Great Britain had not acquired the territory by conquest or cession, but by settlement (at this time, Messrs. Lawes and Chalmers plus their South Sea Island helpers and a few beachcombers and Chinese comprised the settlers), and therefore the Crown could legislate by Order in Council - but the administering officer could not. "We are of opinion that it would be competent to Her Majesty, by Commission under Her Sign Manual, to appoint an Officer to be Administrator of the territory. Such officer would not have power to make laws by proclamation"⁴ as they put it. This situation was obviously administratively impossible, given the state of communication and the general ignorance of New Guinea conditions. Luckily, the solution was equally obvious, namely the proclamation of the Queen's sovereignty, that is the establishment of a Crown Colony; and it was decided to adopt this solution. On 21st January, 1885, Derby sent a short note from 10 Downing Street to the Colonial Office: "The Cabinet agrees that the Sovereignty of the Queen shall be declared over the territory which we have undertaken to protect in New Guinea. This was done on 4th September, 1888."

In the period between decision and implementation, the territory was administered, if that is the word, by the Special Commissioner and his assistants, who drew their powers from two main sources. One was the Orders in Council for the Western Pacific, issued in August 1877, and modified on later occasions. The object of those orders was to give the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific power to control British subjects who might take advantage of their superior technology and local ignorance to exploit the islanders in undesirable ways. The punishments could be quite heavy: a breach of regulations could be punished by three months' imprisonment and/or a fine, while if it could be shown that a subject was disaffected or about to commit an offence against the Pacific Islander Protection Acts, or was otherwise dangerous to peace and good order, he could be banned from an area for two years. There was provision to enforce the ban.⁶ However, many of the powers could be exercised only by the High Commissioner, not by a Deputy Commissioner, which was the position held by the Special Commissioner under the Western Pacific Orders in Council. His position was further weakened as not all the Protectorate was in the area covered by these Orders in Council, which meant that in some areas for which he was responsible, there were no regulations he could enforce, and neither had he the power to make them.

This leads on to the Special Commissioner's other source of authority: his Commission of Appointment from the Queen. Clause I of this stated "And we do require you, to the utmost of your power, to promote religion and civilization among the Native inhabitants of the Protectorate, and you are especially to take care to protect them in their persons and in the free engagement of their lands and other possessions, and by all lawful means to prevent and restrain all violence and injustice which may in any manner be practised or attempted against them". The only other power given him was to appoint officers "if provision shall have been made for their payment although the assistance of the Queen's subjects and officers was commanded⁷ - a not unimportant consideration in an area where the Royal Navy provided the ultimate sanction. Opinions varied as to the power conferred by the Commission: John Bramston felt that the Commission gave the Special Commissioner "executive authority in similar terms to those under which Her Majesty's High Commissioners and Special Commissioners in South Africa have acted in the native territories adjoining the Cape Colony Zululand and Bechuanaland. Under this Commission... he is specially directed by all lawful means to prevent and restrain all violence and injustice... against the natives", and therefore any orders resisted "might be enforced by such forcible means as might be at the disposal of the Special Commissioner".⁸ (One Gatling gun). However, although England's colonial history contains many examples of broadly interpreted (or exceeded) instructions, the Special Commissioners in New Guinea

ever put this opinion to the test, and an alternative, the granting of the same powers as the High Commissioner to the Special Commissioner was also never tried. In the first case, the resources of the Protectorate, both financial and material were never adequate for a "forward" policy, and in the second, the supposed imminence of annexation seemed to make it unnecessary - so the men on the spot did what they could, and to them I shall now turn.

The first Special Commissioner was Major-General Sir Peter Scratchley, a retired officer of the Royal Engineers, who had spent some time in Australia advising the colonies on their defences, and consequently was well known to the various governments with which he had to deal. His first task was to organise the finance of the Protectorate. This took him some time, as he had to visit most colonies and gain their approval for his plans. On 11th April, 1884, he circulated an estimate of the cost of government: he wanted an initial capital outlay of £20,000, and £20,000 annually.⁹ On the same day he asked for the money already promised, namely £15,000 per annum which was divided among the colonies on a population basis.¹⁰ Eventually all the moneys were forthcoming and he was able to finalise arrangements for proceeding to the Protectorate. However, a Russian war scare caused delay, as he returned to the N.S.W. Government their ship "Wolverene", which was to have been his floating base, and was asked to inspect some of the colonial defences. Eventually, the war scare passed, and he chartered the steamer "Governor Blackall" to carry his party to Port Moresby and along the coast.

Scratchley had not found his negotiations with the colonies very easy. Interest in New Guinea had quickly disappeared, and the war scare soon claimed everyone's attention, and he was under no illusions as to the colonies' interest in New Guinea in the event of war; he told Romilly "We shall be left very much to ourselves in the event of war and our lookout will not be particularly cheerful or encouraging" however, he was an energetic man and was able to lay his plans, even though ignorant of the conditions. He agreed with Captain Cyprian Bridge R.N. who suggested that "the principle of Government should be for the natives; for the benefit of the natives as well as of our fellow countrymen, by the natives themselves as much as possible."¹² This letter gave much other advice, such as to divide the Protectorate into districts, and to use the chiefs as agents - an unrealistic proposal in New Guinea conditions. Others were very much to the point on the equipment of "sub-commissioners" in their districts, the possible difficulties of using wifeless Fijians as policemen, the need for interpreters, the uses of the missions, the establishment of ports of entry, and so on. Unfortunately, Scratchley died without elaborating on his plans, and so except for an odd hint, we do not know his detailed intentions. One example is a letter he wrote to Romilly on 5th November, 1885: "I have made up my mind to recommend a modified Marl (sic) system for the Government, but of course do not wish it announced".¹³

In the meantime, he brought together his officials and began to issue regulations. His second-in-command was Hugh Hastings Romilly, already a Deputy Commissioner in the Western Pacific, a former protégé of Sir Arthur Gordon, and a man whose drinking caused attention even in Fiji, where alcohol was a generally accepted recreation, but apparently as efficient as circumstances allowed. He was to remain throughout the period of the Protectorate. Junior to Romilly was Captain Anthony Musgrave Jr. nephew of the Governor of Queensland, and destined to be in charge of Port Moresby for most of the Protectorate. He too became a Deputy Commissioner for the Western Pacific, and his salary was the same as Romilly's (£700 per annum). This appointment, and Scratchley's subsequent recommendation that Musgrave be Colonial Secretary after annexation caused some discontent at the Colonial Office: "It is no doubt convenient for Govrs (sic) and High Commissioners to pick up men in this way on the spot. The difficulty is when, later on, we are asked to promote these men to high offices, though we know next to nothing of them personally and not much of their work, and have had practically no control over the selection of them in the first instance".¹⁴ This situation continued throughout the Protectorate's life.

Other members of the administration were picked up as and when they were needed. Normally, there were fewer than ten officials in the Administration, not all of them in the territory, and some of them part time. Some were satisfactory, while others could only have been employed in the peculiar conditions of the territory. Even so, the cost of executive staff was high, as they had to be given leave so that they could maintain (or recover) their health. Amongst the officials appointed from New Guinea itself were the Hunter Brothers, whose appearance on the list of employees particularly annoyed the Colonial Office: "It appears that Sir P. Scratchley in disregard to the instructions given to him - and without troubling to report the circumstances - picked up two beachcombers named Hunter whom he took into Government employ at £240 per annum a piece".¹⁶ In this case the Colonial Office's displeasure can be understood, even though it made no allowance for conditions in the territory. The Hunter Brothers remained in positions of trust throughout the period of Protectorate, but they were not perfect colonial civil servants by any means. As Douglas wrote to Romilly: "I must remark that the intimate relations of both the Messrs. Hunter with the natives, by their co-habitation with native women, though useful in some respects, may lead to grave misunderstandings and heartburnings".¹⁷

Scratchley arrived in the territory early in August, and remained on the coast until the end of November, when he went South in an unsuccessful endeavour to restore his health. Romilly described the situation during Scratchley's visit: "The natives

re murdering away merrily, but in the present absurd stage of things we have no jurisdiction either to issue regulations or to punish. At present we are being successfully defied both by natives and whites".¹⁸ However, this was an unnecessarily pessimistic attitude, as the visit was by no means fruitless, even though it did end in Scratchley's death. The Special Commissioner spent a month establishing the seat of Government at Port Moresby and visiting places along the coast, then a few weeks conducting inquiries into attacks on Europeans, and finally a month of exploration.

The choice of Port Moresby was made obvious by three factors: it was the only place where any permanent attempt at establishing civilization had been made, (by missionaries), it was comparatively healthy, and it was handy to Cooktown and the telegraph station there.¹⁹ As it was to be the headquarters of Government "a considerable area of land, comprising the best sites in the harbour and nearly the whole of the frontage to the sea, was, with but small difficulty, purchased from the natives. In summoning together the claimants for this land, and in obtaining their assent to parting with their land in perpetuo, and thus securing a sound title for the Government, the assistance rendered by the Mission was invaluable".²⁰ Other land was also bought, and still more later on by Douglas, but in general the Government bought little, and rejected claims made by Europeans for lands acquired before the Protectorate was proclaimed. For example, a claim for 700 acres near Port Moresby was rejected, as Erskine's proclamation had stated no claims would be recognised, neither party in the transaction had legal or official authority, and no reason was shown why in equity any consideration should be shown. Much the same reasons were advanced for rejecting a claim for 15,000 acres at Kabadi.²¹ In the same way, all requests for leases or concessions were refused,²² although the refusals were not final, but caused by ignorance of the areas concerned, and the uncertainty about the legal position of the Government.

When Scratchley came to exercise his legal authority, he found himself in trouble because of the very undefined and indefinite nature of his authority, a problem not resolved until annexation in 1888. The first case concerned his power to act against Europeans. Romilly had deported two Europeans from Hula, where, according to the indignant chief, they had seduced ten women, not counting girls, as well as insulting the Commodore's authority.²³ Romilly had acted under Paragraph 6 of Erskine's regulations, which prohibited settlement and the acquisition of land.²⁴ However, undeterred, they had returned and resumed their old activities. Therefore Scratchley, after attempting to bring them to trial (the attempt failed because native witnesses were unable to cope with the court situation) reported them under his powers under the Western Pacific Orders in Council, only to find, on consulting Griffith, that "the Special

Commissioner for New Guinea does not possess powers under Clause 25 of the Western Pacific Orders in Council, 1877 to prohibit persons from being within the Protectorate, such powers being exercisable by the High Commissioner only".²⁵ This remained the situation until the end of the Protectorate, except that Port Moresby was officially gazetted a place where persons might be imprisoned.

Difficulties also arose in dealing with native attacks on white men. Scratchley investigated five cases, and found that in all there had been direct or indirect provocation of the natives by the Europeans. In three cases, native laws had been broken - Reid was immoral, Lumse unfair and unjust in his dealings, and Webb had ignored tribal feuds. In two other cases, those of Frier and Mille the effects of the labour trade and/or native superstition had led to the attacks. Even when a guilty man was found, the question of punishment was difficult: "So many and so various are the difficulties connected with the question of punishment, that to administer justice according to European notions for these outrages is impossible".²⁶ This created a situation in which it was difficult to see that justice was done without resorting in some way to indiscriminate punitive expeditions, which Scratchley was anxious to avoid. He came to three conclusions: the Government could not be responsible for traders and others who ignored warnings and entered dangerous areas in lightly manned vessels containing highly desirable trade goods; that warships were not really suitable for retaliatory raids: "they combine the least amount of efficiency with the greatest display of force", and that law and order could be best maintained by a patrolling force of Samoans or Fijians under English officers²⁷ - an expedient later partially adopted by Douglas.

The exploratory work done by Scratchley was relatively unimportant, being largely confined to the coast, although it seems likely that he caught the disease which killed him on a journey to Sogeri, the farthest inland he reached. It will be convenient to look briefly at all exploration during the Protectorate period here. One can be brief, as very little was done. The administration never had the resources to carry out any systematic exploration. It sent one expedition under H.O. Forbes to the Owen Stanleys, which failed. In addition, some requests for permission to mount expeditions were refused, as it was felt that the results, "had permits been granted them, would have been ruin to themselves, and would have made a breach in the relations with the natives which it might have taken years to heal".²⁸ Two men carried out private expeditions, Bevan twice with considerable success, although Douglas did not think it warranted a reward of 254,000 acres - a belief on which he acted, and which made Bevan a hostile critic of the Protectorate government. Captain Strachan also carried out an expedition, but Douglas also regarded his claims sceptically, so making another enemy.²⁹

However, the Protectorate was not a period of great expeditions, either private or official.

Scratchley died early in December, 1885, and was succeeded temporarily by Romilly, and finally on 27th February, 1886 by the Hon. John Douglas C.M.G., a former Premier of Queensland and currently Queensland Government Resident on Thursday Island. He inherited Scratchley's plans and Scratchley's staff and, in general, made little change to either. He had a new accountant, Bingham Hely and an honorary A.D.C., Richard Cholmondeley, but otherwise he made do with what he inherited and such local talent as was available. He seems to have been a competent administrator, and carried on what government there was, but his period was essentially one of marking time, waiting for the proclamation of sovereignty.

He did not spend much time in the territory, leaving Musgrave or Romilly in charge at Port Moresby, while he himself attended to other matters (he was still resident at Thursday Island, which occupied some of his time). Like Scratchley, he had to devote a good deal of attention to finance, partly because of late payments, and also because South Australia withdrew its contribution altogether.

On 23rd December, 1885, South Australia announced to the other colonies that it would contribute no more after 30/6/86: "it is deemed only right that the other colonies contributing towards said Protectorate should have an early intimation thereof".³⁰ The decision was made by the Government without reference to Parliament, but it was not unpopular. Mr. Spence, supporting it, said "He thought the less of New Guinea we had the better. (Hear, hear, and laughter). He thought it was the other colonies that urged the matter forward, and we were led into it by the representatives of our neighbours (hear, hear). He thought we were a little too easy about it. (Hear, hear). Certainly the expenditure so far had been rather extensive. (Hear, hear). It would have been all very well if they were going to settle the country, but to spend from fifteen to twenty thousand pounds for a settlement for the convenience of Sir Peter Scratchley was rather too much - (hear, hear) - and we should at least have some share in saying how the money was to be spent".³¹ Douglas, having to make do on £15,000 per annum, which arrived spasmodically, was understandably disappointed, and said so. As he said in his last annual report, "Mr. Gillies (Premier of Victoria) regarded some statements I had made as imputing a breach of faith to the Government of South Australia. I could not myself regard it in any other light ... South Australia by its Legislature had passed very strongly worded resolutions requesting Her Majesty's Government to annex New Guinea. The delegated representatives of South Australia, afterwards, in combination with the representatives of the other Australian Governments in conference assembled, pledged themselves by resolution to find the means to carry out this

annexation, and to pass Acts of Parliament securing the subsidy. Yet, after accepting this responsibility for two years, and without consulting the Legislature, the Government of South Australia discontinued its payments.

"This capricious action of a passing administration I have not hesitated to characterise as it deserves ..."32 His anger was doubtless increased by his inability to persuade the other colonies to make up South Australia's contribution.

However, despite his difficulties, Douglas was able to carry on his job, and handed over a debt-free administration to his successor, Dr. MacGregor.

Of course, one reason why it was debt-free was its small scope. The Western District was looked after by Milman, the resident on Thursday Island in Douglas' absence, in return for a small payment. An agent of Burns Philp, Edelfelt, looked after the station at Motu Motu, again for a small payment (later he joined the Government). Port Moresby, as the centre of Government, always had a Deputy Commissioner in residence, plus a few minor officials from time to time. Rigo was looked after by George Hunter while a succession of officials looked after Dinner Island, or Samarai, which was the territory's second port of entry. Amongst them were H.O. Forbes, F.E. Lawes, and Robert Hunter. In none of these areas did the Government agents and officials travel far from their headquarters, and the control they exercised over the surrounding tribes was limited.

This was partly because of sheer lack of resources - in the whole territory there was only one boat crew of South Sea police - about a dozen men. In part, it was because of the orders given men in the field. Douglas told Romilly, who had complained about conditions in and around Port Moresby "Do not, however, doubt your authority to maintain order though sovereignty has not yet been proclaimed. Be cautious and forbearing - but be very firm with the natives of Port Moresby. They know us well, and are not likely to be permanently at enmity with us. I must caution you, however, to be careful to avoid any real cause of offence, or of bitterness, and be especially careful to see that no persons in the employment of the Government nor indeed any white man, abuse their confidence by taking liberties with their women".33 Romilly's reaction in this situation was described in a letter home: "As you know, I have no legal power under the Order in Council by which the Protectorate is governed, to do anything to natives, and if a single native is shot by my orders I can legally be tried for murder. Therefore I intend to do nothing".34

In these circumstances, what justice there was tended to be administered by the Royal Navy proceeding to Act of War. Douglas was not against this. In a letter to Rear Admiral Tryon about the attack on the captain of H.M.S. "Swinger" he wrote "Offences of this kind against any of Her Majesty's subjects should not be overlooked. If they are, then the Protectorate which has been proclaimed becomes nullity, and security for life and property even in its most rudimentary forms does not exist". In these circumstances, he was quite prepared to see the Navy proceed to act of war if all else failed.³⁵ Indeed, one gets the impression that he was more willing to see such actions than the Navy itself. Certainly, it made matters much easier for Protectorate officials, who had, as has been indicated, very indefinite powers.

The indefinite nature of the administration made planning for development difficult, but in September 1886 Douglas sent a long confidential memorandum in which he discussed the territory and its future. He saw the problem before the Government as "how to civilise and humanise these savages and yet at the same time, how to encourage the settlement of the country in accordance with the prevailing principles of colonization".³⁶ He pointed out that successful settlement elsewhere had usually killed off the indigenous inhabitants. In this sense we are pledged to do our best that colonisation shall not succeed in New Guinea".³⁷ Still, he felt that some settlers would come, and feared that administration might be difficult, as the condition of the country required that it be ruled in a spirit of arbitrary benevolence.

In mentioning the L.M.S. missionaries he spoke highly of their past accomplishments, but felt that their influence was not growing, because of their dependence on South Sea Island Teachers, the younger of whom had impressed him very unfavourably.³⁸ He thought that "if the confidential correspondence of the Senior Missionary was accessible to us, I should not be surprised if it were to be found touched in the language which in the first century was addressed to the recalcitrant members of the church".³⁹ He was more optimistic about the new Catholic mission at Yule Island, and anticipated "no harm from the wholesome rivalry of these divergent societies", but had impressed on them the necessity to conserve their forces.⁴⁰ He had been impressed by the peace and order the L.M.S. had established along the coast.

On the land question, Douglas was definite: "The rights of the native proprietors being respected, I see no reason why Europeans should not be permitted to acquire land through the Government."⁴¹ This, of course, has become policy, and in anticipation of it, he had bought some 900 acres around Port Moresby some of which he had begun allotting to individuals like Goldie, in reward for their pioneering

and subject to the Secretary of State's approval (he had been told not to acquire land compulsorily though). He was the first town planner of Port Moresby, especially the Paga Point area, which he thought most healthy.

As I have indicated, the punishment of crimes was done by the Royal Navy, largely because of the indeterminate and inadequate powers given the Special Commissioner. Douglas suggested that a force of twelve men, Europeans, should enable the administration to guarantee peace and order for thirty miles inland from Port Moresby and for fifty miles East and West - "I do not think anything more should be attempted at present".⁴³ He saw order as a pre-condition to development, not a unique belief but one which the authority of the Protectorate was not sufficient to establish.

His report finished with five conclusions: the first that Port Moresby should be the centre of administration, and sovereignty proclaimed there - this was done two years later; the second was to reiterate his own (and Scratchley's) request for a steamer - this came with annexation; third, he reported that the internal prospects for raising revenue were bleak - a perfectly correct comment; fourth that progress would not occur unless Europeans were encouraged to come to the territory, and lastly, that these Europeans should be limited in number, and protection guaranteed them.⁴⁴

Little changed between the writing of this report and annexation. Everyday administration carried on, the missions continued their labours, and the natives went about their wars and daily activity largely undisturbed by the officials of the Protectorate. Annexation came nearer, and administration was more than ever a matter of lasting out.

The way was cleared by an act of the Queensland Parliament, under which Queensland was to be responsible for paying the administration £15,000 per annum, Queensland, Victoria and N.S.W. each contributing one third. After annexation these three colonies and Great Britain were to exercise joint control for ten years, with Queensland exercising a supervisory role. Douglas had played some part in the negotiations that attended the framing of the Act, starting in 1886, and it was fitting that he should have been the Special Commissioner who presided over the Protectorate's transformation into a colony. When he was given the position, he found the administration in being, with the limitations imposed by its meagre resources and unsatisfactory legal foundation already apparent. His contribution was to keep administration functioning, which he did very well, despite his bad relations with some explorers and his disagreements with Lawes over land, but most importantly to revive the negotiations over annexation, which had hung in suspended animation once the immediate fuss over New Guinea and its possible acquisition by other powers had died down.

THE PROTECTORATE OF BRITISH NEW GUINEA 1884-1888:

AN ODDITY OF EMPIRE

NOTES

1 Van der Veur, P.W.: Documents and Correspondence on New
 2 Guinea's Boundaries, Canberra 1966, p.10.

3 S.A.A. Chief Secretary's Corres. (Inwards) No. 482, Griffith
 4 to C.S. 24/2/85.

5 ibid.

6 C.O. 422/1 C.O. 21136 L.O. to S of S 11/12/84.

7 ibid., Derby to L.O's 21/1/85.

8 Scarr: "Fragments of Empire" Canberra 1967, pp.30-31.

9 S.A.A. op. cit., No. 283, Governor to C.S. 9/2/85.

0 C.O. 422/2 C.O. 11906 Minute on Desps., Nos. 26 & 35

1 S.A.A.C.S. Corres. (Inwards) No. 801 Scratchley to C.S. 11/4/85

2 ibid., No. 802.

3 Commonwealth Archives G5 (2) p.17, 9/4/85.

4 C.O. 422/1 C.O. 2804. This statement was of course very much
 5 the ideal, had the Protectorate functioned in the usual manner

6 Commonwealth Archives G5 (2) p.121.

7 C.O. 422/1 C.O. 19949. Minute on Scratchley's Despatch No. 49
 8 15/9/85.

9 Commonwealth Archives G4, p.280. 9/5/87, Douglas to C.O.
 0 "The ordinary rates of labour are also very high - such for
 1 instance as £10 per month for boatmen. - I am now paying that
 2 wage to acclimatised men..."

3 C.O. 422/2 C.O. 8358. Minute on statement of accounts of
 4 Scratchley's regime.

17 Commonwealth Archives G5 (2) p.272, 3/2/88.

18 H.H. Romilly Letters from the Western Pacific and Mashona Land, London 1893, p.265.

19 B.N.G. Annual Report for 1886.

20 *ibid.*, p.5.

21 *ibid.*, p.6.

22 *ibid.*

23 They told the natives they should have said to him "Go to Hell you bloody bugger". C.O. 422/1. Enclosure in C.O. 1175

24 C.O. 422/1 C.O. 11751 Scratchley to Colonial Office, 28/5/85

25 C.O. 422/2 C.O. 11906 C.O.'s concurrence with Griffith.

26 B.N.G. Report, 1886, p.9.

27 *ibid.*

28 *ibid.*, p.7.

29 B.N.G. 1888 Report, p.8. Strachan got his own back by writing of Douglas: "A man without confidence in himself, he naturally leaned on others who led him as their inclinations or interests prompted". "Explorations and Adventures in New Guinea", London, 1888, p.170.

30 S.A.A.C.S. letters outgoing 1885, p.333.

31 Parliamentary Proceedings Leg Co., p. 1541, 18/12/85.

32 B.N.G. Annual Report, 1888, p.10.

33 Commonwealth Archives G5 (2), p.272, 3/2/88.

34 Romilly *op. cit.*, p.301.

35 Commonwealth Archives G5 (1), p.48, Douglas to Tryon, 21/8/86 (See also p.46 for similar sentiments).

36 Commonwealth Archives G4 (1), p.205.

37 *ibid.*, p.206.

- 38 *ibid.*, p.208.
- 39 *ibid.*, p.209.
- 40 *ibid.*
- 41 *ibid.*, p.210.
- 42 *ibid.*, p.213.
- 43 *ibid.*, p.214.
- 44 *ibid.*, p.220.

WILLIAM MACGREGOR: THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

R.B. Joyce

William MacGregor was 41 when appointed in 1888 as administrator of British New Guinea. His age, the date and the status of this newly acquired unit of the British Empire are significant in assessing his achievements as colonial governor. Every historian must be aware of the individuality of every ruler and the uniqueness of the problems he faces. An appreciation of the uniqueness of William MacGregor gives a certain understanding of his role in New Guinea, but a full appraisal requires consideration of the limits set by surrounding circumstances. A consideration of the personal qualities of William MacGregor, Hubert Murray, and Colonel Murray will only give a partial understanding of the history of Papua. Yet there are constant problems faced by individuals and by rulers - whether of metropolitan or of dependent territories - just as there are constant problems in the history of Papua.

To revert to MacGregor's age. When he was appointed he had already served the British colonial service for sixteen years, working in many capacities other than in his original posting as a medical officer. In Fiji he had acted as governor for a brief period, he had been colonial secretary for several years, he had been treasurer (receiver general) for over ten years, he had been immigration officer. Earlier in the Seychelles he had acted as a magistrate and had worked conscientiously as inspector of liberated Africans and of schools for several months.¹

William MacGregor stressed the importance of his experience of colonial administration whenever he considered his role in British New Guinea. Thus he told his mentor, Sir Arthur Gordon, whose principles he had generally accepted in Fiji: "The lessons I have learnt from you are I feel lessons that fit me better for administration especially of the particular kind required in New Guinea, than for anything else. There I could put into practice many of the principles which I believe are founded on a high sense of justice..it might be that in New Guinea I might do more good or better prevent the doing of evil than a man that has had fewer opportunities of studying the government of native races than I have had the good luck to meet with. His statement also reflects MacGregor's realisation of his dependence on others - in this case his need to defer to potential patrons - since he wrote also to Sir Samuel Griffith, the premier of Queensland whose friendship eventually helped him to gain the New Guinea position. I have thought that I might be able to carry out your policy there as well as perhaps almost anyone else, because I believe your views on the matter are those that I consider right".³

MacGregor, however, sincerely believed that a common feature of both Gordon's and Griffith's views was the need to give priority to the interests of Papuans. MacGregor in 1886 argued that "the staff must be resident, and must establish itself in friendly relations with the chiefs and the people. Their ways of thinking, their language, their customs and manners, must all be carefully studied before any laws or regulations dealing with their future government can with safety be put in force". He also praised Gordon's Fijian experiment "where due respect has been paid to native customs and manners in so far as they were not inconsistent with our own European ideas, and where laws have been passed provided for the government of the native race through their own chiefs".⁴

MacGregor was, then, an experienced colonial administrator who came with firm ideas about the nature of rule he should impose. These ideas had been acquired in his sixteen years in British colonies, during which time he had changed from an "old-young" man of 26 to a middle-aged 42. The "old-young" stemmed from his background, his struggle to rise from poverty as the son of a Scottish crofter, his enrolment at a secondary school at the age of 19 (with fellow-students all much younger), his dedicated grind of work at his medical course which helped to age him prematurely. This had been followed by his struggle for recognition in an English colonial service in which he claimed he always found prejudice. An obscure Scottish doctor with an odd accent faced apparent opposition from representatives of the English establishment. Thus MacGregor wrote to Griffith in 1887, when he was despairing of obtaining the New Guinea appointment, "the fact of the matter is that without strong influence at home one in the ranks of the service has no chance of advancement. I have no influence at home and my destiny under ordinary circumstances is therefore clear".⁵

This struggle for recognition had soured him (perhaps an inevitable concomitant of an ambitious man?) so that he felt just before he reached New Guinea that he was a failure: "Time is an old deceiver: how he saddens and sobers the aspirations of the young and vigorous...There is a certain disease of the human eye that attacks the circumference of vision, and gradually eating into it symmetrically, makes the patient see as if looking through a decreasing series of round tubes. Such is the history for the last seven years of the mental view of my future".⁶ He looked on his rivals such as John Bates Thurston, bitterly: "I am told Sir John or I goes to New Guinea as Administrator. Had my competitor been any other I might have had some chance, but against him I have none. He has long stood between the sun and my tub, and will of course remain my evil genius until the end of the chapter...Have I not been the Ona man, the maid of all work, for this colony for years, and annually been going downhill whilst my fortunate colleague has as steadily been rising?".⁷

The conviction that New Guinea was his last opportunity to prove himself, to recover from this feeling of failure or to outshine such rivals, was important in his application to duty in New Guinea. His tireless attention to detail, his virtual inexhaustibility on patrol, his striving for perfection (and for recognition of his achievements by his superiors) was intensified by this background.⁸

Consciousness of age was always present in William MacGregor, who resented opposition to his policies partly because he felt his time as an effective ruler was limited. Thus he wrote after five years in the colony: "I am getting used up, and have had sharp attacks of fever lately. Great exposure and much anxiety are telling on me, and if I do not leave before long I shall stay here for ever". In 1894 he threatened never to return "unless brought back in irons" and complained to governor Norman: "I feel like one of Hobson's horses, tired and jaded drawing a four wheeled vehicle, but within sight of home, having nearly finished the longest stage...[The horse] will if not relieved by Hobson, slip his head out of the collar rather than be driven past [the changing station] by those that think not of his painful joints and quivering muscles".¹⁰ Although persuaded by several concessions to return for a second term, he was still conscious of his age: "my time here is slowly but surely drawing to a close and my sinews can't remain forever elastic", and soon after he reached 50 in 1896, he was convinced that he was too old to continue to rule British New Guinea: "You want a younger man. I have passed my 50th year and after man has passed 50 he is not fit to go over those mountains. I think I am becoming physically unfit for it".¹¹

This middle-aged experienced colonial administrator was appointed in 1888, eighty years ago. MacGregor was inevitably and axiomatically a man of his times, even if certain aspects of his rule deserve the sobriquet of a man of all seasons. In 1888, as he saw it, the dominant problem for the ruler of New Guinea was to ensure consideration for the rights of Papuans. Nothing could seem more "modern", when stated so baldly, yet MacGregor's protective paternalism, his view of undesirable features of the culture of primitive peoples (or alternatively his conviction of the desirability and superiority of British achievements), were essentially views shaped by his time.

In 1886 he feared possible neglect of Papuans, impliedly criticising Australians when he warned them that "nothing moreasperates a coloured race - or, for that matter, any race...than being dispossessed of their hereditary lands. Were that system once introduced, the consequence would be a long train of murders, reprisals and revenge, and finally a war of extermination. That system, I feel assured, will never with the consent of the colonies be introduced into the protectorate [, and] I am very much inclined to think that no recruiting should be allowed in New Guinea of men intended to proceed beyond that colony to work on sugar plantations".¹²

like Gordon, he saw Australians, because of their treatment of the aborigines, as the leading opponents of primitive peoples. Consequently as that Papuans should be protected, he was determined that Britain should dominate the colony. He refused to employ in Bill an ex Queensland, a Mr. Chapman, because "a man with a Queensland 'know[ledge] of blacks' would [not] be a desirable fellowman here".

This consideration of the rights of Papuans influenced much of his rule. He protected their lands, forbade labour recruiting for outside the colony, as well as restricting European plantation owners from exploiting their labour inside the colony. He closed much of the colony to private explorers. Although he realised that "it is impossible to civilize such people hurriedly...if we proceed too rapidly and try to do too much, if we pursue a destructive policy, I fear very much a very great evil will ensue",¹⁴ much of his work was destructive. He saw as the first task of government the imposition of British law and order (being here, of course, much a man of his times influenced by the legalistic nature of the then British Empire, as against later stress on development and welfare). Merely in being in New Guinea he continued the process of destroying the independence of the villagers.

Maitland's priority given to the spread of law and order was made plain in his own words: "I firmly hope and believe that the plans will be continued in a few years. Murders are still of fearful frequency; but they are not a tithe of what they were;... if I continue in good health I shall continue at work until the settlement is known over the whole possession".¹⁵

This view on imposing law and order was to be continued by a later Governor, Sir Maitland, who was succeeded by Sir John Godeffroy in 1891. Godeffroy's administration was the first to be concerned with the welfare of the natives. It is interesting to note that Godeffroy's administration was the first to be concerned with the welfare of the natives. It is interesting to note that Godeffroy's administration was the first to be concerned with the welfare of the natives.

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doctrinaire propaganda of those that would teach that the native murderer should be dealt with leniently, because it has been customary for the Papuans to treacherously butcher each other".¹⁷ He was, however, seeking individual punishment of murderers, not group punishment, and on no occasion did he order a punitive expedition. His patrols were peaceful, only if peaceful methods failed would force be threatened, only if this threat failed would shooting be ordered. When MacGregor decided that the death penalty (as in the Ancell case) should be imposed so as to inculcate the lesson of the folly of robbing and killing white men he told Gordon of his feelings: "It was with the greatest reluctance that I signed the warrant of execution for the Chief Murderer... Only the stern commands of duty would make one send such a man to the scaffold. I confess I would have given a year's salary to be able to commute that man's sentence. In all the years I have been near you I never heard you once say 'how will this or that affect me', and partly from this training, partly from entertaining so earnest a desire to do what I feel to be my duty I never think of the result to me personally".¹⁸

How much is this MacGregor as a man of his times, or how much does he represent the perpetual advocate of capital punishment? I suggest that it is only in the context of his times, as a pioneer governor who believed in his duty (which was to impose British law and order) can his approach be appreciated. This is the same MacGregor who had spent long hours with liberated Africans in the Seychelles, for whom he had taken the trouble to learn Swahili so as to be able to speak to them, and who had expressed much concern with the labour conditions of Indians and Polynesians in Fiji, and who later was to be disturbed by the continued neglect of Eskimos in Labrador and aborigines in Queensland.

MacGregor believed in force as a way to peace since "these natives, probably all natives in a certain stage of mental development are alike, respect first of all physical force... had we been defeated once, we were doomed ourselves, and it would have taken a military expedition to establish authority. But now being successful, the Government is becoming known and what is more is being obeyed".¹⁹ Yet his instructions to his resident magistrates and police were explicit in trying to avoid the use of force: "You will steadily bear in mind that no account whatever is a shot ever to be fired at a native by the constabulary save only in self-defence".²⁰

His use of force was not incompatible with a highly-developed nineteenth century humanitarian attitude towards primitive peoples. Further it is relevant that even while using force against Papuans MacGregor could criticise contemporary British and Germans for

adopting policies of military imperialism in Africa: "It seems to an onlooker, who is at such a distance that he might as well be in Mercury, that at no previous period has cant and hypocrisy ever been higher in the ascendant than they are now in Great Britain and Germany... They make of it in old Africa a headlong steep chase through human blood; killing when they do not stop to civilise... it has seemed a disgrace to the natives and to the century how Christian England has trafficked in African matters".²¹

The destructive nature of MacGregor's rule in Papua can, and has been, criticised in other ways. His attacks on "undesirable customs" included attacks on sorcery which the anthropologist Reo Fortune has alleged only intensified belief in sorcery;²² his insistence on health rules of burying bodies outside villages struck at basic beliefs; his creation of village constables upset the long established structure of authority based on reciprocity in the villages. In some ways MacGregor realised that his rule was destructive, but with his belief in the superiority of British customs he regarded such changes as both inevitable and desirable. He wanted to guide Papuans towards what he regarded as a better future, having "no manner of doubt" that "the paternal form is the most suitable for a native population in the act of stepping out savagery into civilisation".²³

He regarded positive constructive changes as similarly desirable. "On fair play, on mission teaching, and on the example of decent lives in the presence of native races, is built that intangible fabric of moral force by which alone we hold our footing in this colony".²⁴ He thought it better for Papuans to cast off their religious beliefs and to embrace the virtues of Christianity, even if these changes caused drastic difficulties. Yet he was sceptical enough to doubt the possibility of instant and mass conversions. In the year he arrived, he regarded "the Christian veneer of the natives here as painfully thin,"²⁵ and he thus appreciated the need for time before Christian virtues could aid him as governor. Although he admittedly relied in part on the missions he would have resented suggestions as later made by Father Dupreyat, that he regarded religion merely as an adjunct to British law and order,²⁶ and he tried to keep Church and state separate, disapproving when a Commandant borrowed a mission boat to arrest a thief. MacGregor "objected to mixing up missions with such work".²⁷

His personal Presbyterian beliefs inclined him to favour Protestants against Catholics. Privately he showed his distaste for Catholic religious ideas, and bewailed the presence of French missionaries whom he thought would urge French control of the colony. He feared the leader of the Sacred Heart Mission Archbishop Navarre's posing "as the friend of the natives and to

protect them from the English...This will enable you...to understand clearly what advantages the Archbishop - a Frenchman of the ultra anti-English type - would try to derive from the visit here of a French ship of war".²⁸ Yet officially he tried to maintain an objective approach, and to treat all missionaries as potential allies (but not substitutes) for government officials.

With his chronic lack of money MacGregor was forced to rely on missions for the little education given to Papuans, and seemed usually gratified by the achievements, whether at Wedau (where in 1898 he was "satisfied that a substantial educational foundation has already been well begun")²⁹ or elsewhere. In 1897 he introduced a regulation, making school attendance compulsory, which the Colonial Office criticised - since all schools were mission schools - as "practically a measure for compulsory conversion".³⁰

His "native regulations" whether ordering Papuans to plant coconuts, clear roads, or not to commit adultery were both constructive and destructive. All implied change, all were based on MacGregor's conviction that such changes were desirable to aid Papuans in approaching civilization. He was very much a Victorian in the degree of his assurance that British civilization was preferable to Papuan cultures. His rule should be compared with possible alternatives, if no sympathy had been shown for Papuan society, or if they had been regarded primarily as a labour force for Australian planters, or if their lands had been looked at primarily as sites for plantations, the process of destruction of Papuan society would have been far more rapid than the "slow process" envisaged by MacGregor.

MacGregor was administrator of what was in 1888 a remote part of the far-flung British Empire. The circumstances of its annexation affected the nature of his task. It was annexed mainly because of mounting Australian pressures, but only reluctantly by Britain which, with Fiji in 1875, saw little profit in such a doubtful asset in the far distant Pacific. It was annexed after a deal with Germany which involved far more consideration being given to problems in Africa than in the Pacific.

The rivalry between British, French and German imperialisms increased in importance while MacGregor was in New Guinea. Fear of Germany (or France) gaining territory was then an increasing motive for British concern in New Guinea. Yet another factor was important in the amount of control from Britain - this was the distrust, shared by MacGregor, of Australian control of primitive peoples. The influence of Exeter Hall feeling, expressed by the Aborigines Protection Society and by representatives of the missionary societies, and by humanitarian administrators such as Sir Arthur Gordon was sufficient to prevent Australia being given its desired full control over the new colony.

The awkward compromise - with Britain supplying a steamer and money to maintain it, and those Australian colonies contributing to the costs of administration being given some control - affected MacGregor's rule constantly. It directed much of his attention to efforts to ensure the continuance of support from both Britain and Australia; it ensured Colonial Office supervision of his rule especially in matters which, as so much of his policy did, dealt with the relationship of Papuans and Europeans; it gave a peculiar, undefined control to the Australian colonies, particularly to Queensland. MacGregor was less restricted, and hence more of an autocrat, than he was to be in Lagos when all his policies were closely supervised by the Colonial Office, yet he was always conscious of working within the limits of British colonial policy. Likewise he was plagued by attempts by British representatives in Queensland, notably by governors Musgrave and Norman, to insist on a measure of responsibility for the colony. MacGregor fought bitterly with Sir Henry Norman, whom he alleged thought "nothing of a coloured man. I fear it is so with many old India men".³¹ Despite this allegation the quarrel was intensified by rival personal desires for power. The Australian colonies in fact interfered with MacGregor's policies very little, indeed they almost ignored him, apart from some friendly aid while Griffith was in charge of Queensland. Yet when it was believed that Australian economic interests (such as Burns Philp) were challenged, by suggested grants to the British New Guinea Syndicate, protests came not only from Queensland but also from New South Wales and Victoria. Although MacGregor had supported the Syndicate because it seemed likely to advance the colony in the interests of both its indigenous and European residents, he was defeated and one chance of the promise of money for the colony vanished.

MacGregor, then, had to work within limits of the control given to him, as a colonial governor, both by the British government and by the Australian governments. These were limits additional to those imposed by his experience, his personality, and by the colonial beliefs of the late nineteenth century. He realized the limitations of his rule, and increasingly as he passed through his forties he despaired of solving the problems of British New Guinea and turned back to his reading of modern, Greek and Latin authors. "It is rather a trial to start back to the dark domain of savagery, often weeks without a letter, and up to ten months on tinned meats, to say nothing of the delirious nights of fever, and then the Colonial Office... my work is well worth doing on its own account; it is not, so far as my efforts are concerned worth talking about... I am... not in exuberant spirits at present. It is even difficult at times to completely repress the feeling of going back to the bush 'at a sacrifice'. I am well provided with classic

authors, old and new, the tinned meat of society".³² But even his reading could not overcome a classical problem: the frustrations of a dedicated individual, inevitably restricted both by the beliefs of his time and by the limitations of his power.

WILLIAM MACGREGOR: THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

NOTES

- 1 Comparisons are possible with the limited colonial experience of Hubert Murray, or with Colonel Murray's recruitment from an academic career.
- 2 MacGregor to Gordon, 5 June 1886, Volume 5 Stanmore Papers, British Museum, Add. MSS. 49203.
- 3 MacGregor to Griffith, 28 May 1886, Griffith Papers, Dixon Library, Add. MSS. 449.
- 4 MacGregor, 3 February 1886, Federal Council of Australasia' Debates, Hobart Session 1886, pp.136-7.
- 5 MacGregor to Griffith, 4 March 1887, op. cit. In 1904, partly attacking Frederick Lugard, who was High Commissioner of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria from 1900-07 while MacGregor was Governor of Lagos from 1899-1904, MacGregor complained that "West Africa is the arena for ribbons, and crosses, and medals [and] in the Colonial Office personal qualifications are not much considered. Social and political sometimes religious, influences are an important determining factor".
MacGregor to Griffith, 14 July 1904, Griffith Correspondence, Mitchell Library, Volume VI.
- 6 MacGregor to Gordon, 1 January 1888, op. cit.
- 7 MacGregor to Gordon, 17 July 1887.
- 8 Comparisons are possible with Hubert Murray's desires to outshine F.R. Barton and Senator Staniforth Smith after the struggles of the 1902-6 interregnum.
- 9 MacGregor to Griffith, 9 November 1893, Dixon, op. cit.
- 0 MacGregor to Griffith, 16 February 1894, Griffith Papers, Dixon Library, Volume 451 and MacGregor to Norman, March 1894 in Norman to Colonial Office, 5 April 1894, C.O. 422/9, 8281 and 8282.

1 MacGregor to Griffith, 9 April 1896, Dixon, Volume 452 and
 MacGregor at Melbourne Conference of Premiers of contributing
 Australian colonies, 24 January 1898, C.O. 422/12, 16595
 (18 June 1898).

The validity of this self-condemnation depends on the familiar
 problem of balancing experience and age, intensified by the
 particular strains of New Guinea's environment.

2 Speaking at Hobart, MacGregor, 3 February 1886, op. cit.,
 p.138.

3 MacGregor minuted that 'it may be doubted that a man with a
 Queensland "knowledge of blacks" would be a desirable
 policeman here", 20 November 1886, Central Archives of Fiji
 and Western Pacific High Commission, Suva, Inwards Correspondence
 Colonial Secretary's Office, 86/2236.

4 MacGregor, 3 February 1886, op. cit., p.139.

5 MacGregor to Gordon, 20 April 1890, op. cit.

6 "He [MacGregor] professed, and indeed felt, deep sympathy with
 the natives; but his attempts at civilizing them seem to have
 been prompted by the bad old tradition that only force will
 compel respect, and that only through military defeat will a
 barbarous tribe be induced to obey the law of a strange Power"
 [my underlining]. Lewis Lett, Sir Hubert Murray of Papua
 (London, 1949), p.125. See also Lett, The Papuan Achievement
 (Melbourne, 1943), pp.59-60.

7 MacGregor, 31 August 1889 to Norman, in Norman to Colonial
 Office, 23 September 1889, C.O. 422/5, 21676.

8 MacGregor to Gordon, 6 February 1889, op. cit.

9 MacGregor to Gordon, op. cit., loc. cit.

0 MacGregor to Armit, 16 June 1894, Cloudy Bay Reports,
 National Library Archives, Canberra.

1 MacGregor to Gordon, 20 June 1890 and 21 May 1891, op. cit.

- 22 R. Fortune, Sorcerers of Dobu (London, 1932) Appendix. In fairness to MacGregor he realised 'a reasonable inference is being supplied to the native that the white man believes there is such a thing [as sorcery] and that thus ignorance and error are being perpetuated while they should be left to education and teaching'. MacGregor claimed to be applying precedents tested in Fiji and the West Indies, and he stressed the need for the 'utmost patience and caution' in such measures. MacGregor, 11 May 1891, on Norman to Colonial Office, 30 January 1894, C.O. 422/9, 4282.
- 23 MacGregor to Lamington, 3 June 1898, in Lamington to Colonial Office, 13 August 1898, C.O. 422/12.
- 24 MacGregor to "residents at the seat of Government, British New Guinea" quoted in Brisbane Church Chronicle, December 1898.
- 25 MacGregor to Griffith, 21 December 1888, Dixon, op. cit.
- 26 A. Dupreyat, Papouasie - Histoire de la Mission (Paris, 1935) p.256.
- 27 MacGregor's minute 11 August 1895, on Butterworth's Special Report for 2-10 August 1895, Native Constabulary Papers, National Library Archives, Canberra.
- 28 MacGregor to Admiral Bridge, 13 Sep. 1897, File 13, Miles and Dix Inventory of 1951, Commonwealth Archives, Canberra.
- 29 MacGregor note, 14 July 1898, after inspection of St. Mark's Wedau, in Dogura Mission Log Book, 26 May 1898-30 September 1900. Held at Dogura.
- 30 Minute by J. Anderson 17 November 1897 on Lamington to Colonial Office, 24 September 1887, C.O. 422/11, 24113.
- 31 MacGregor to Gordon, 13 October 1890, op. cit.
- 32 MacGregor to Gordon, 13 and 21 October 1890, op. cit.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE IN MELANESIA 1884-1914

A GERMAN SELF-ANALYSIS

J.A. Moses

Between the years 1884 and 1914 three successive Hohenzollern emperors extended and confirmed their sway over a considerable island empire which became known as Das Schutzgebiet Deutsch-Neuguinea - the Protectorate of German New Guinea. This came to designate not only Kaiser Wilhelmsland and the Bismarck Archipelago but also the Solomon Islands of Bougainville, Buka and others in that group and further the Micronesian Islands, viz. the Carolines with the Pelew Islands, the Mariannes (omitting Guam), the Marshall Islands and finally Nauru. All of these fragments of land, it was reckoned, made up an area of some 240,000 square kilometers; Kaiser Wilhelmsland alone comprising 181,650 square kilometers.¹ The number of native inhabitants of these islands was estimated in 1911 to be roughly 600,000.²

It will be the task of this paper to relate briefly (while acknowledging the limitations imposed by necessarily fragmentary source material) how and why Germany acquired this area, what she expected to gain from it and what she contributed to it. I have resumed to give the paper the sub-title "A German Self-Analysis" (Das deutsche Selbstverständnis) because almost all material drawn upon is German. Most of it is from contemporary reports, official, semi-official (offiziös) and from contemporary observers, critical and otherwise. Naturally, where there have been later works of scholarly analysis by Germans such as Maxmillian von Hagen and W.F. Hallgarten I have made use of them. But there is no danger of one-sidedness because the opinions I have encountered range across the entire spectrum.

I

Perhaps the first thing which strikes the student of German imperialism before 1914 is that it was initiated by a man who was allegedly hostile to the idea of "saturated" Germany acquiring an overseas empire. Otto von Bismarck, at the helm of Prussian, then German foreign policy from 1862 to 1890 had made frequent utterances on colonies which revealed him as being at once sceptical of their economic value and fearful of their strategic vulnerability - although, be it noted, neither his initial coldness towards colonial enthusiasts nor his oft quoted statements indicated that he was opposed in principle to any and every form of colonial activity.³

Events were to show that when Bismarck considered Germany's position in relation to the constellation of powers to be favourable he would not hesitate to accept certain limited colonial responsibilities. Still, these "limited responsibilities" of Bismarck made up an area at least equal to four times that of the Fatherland. Indeed, most of Germany's overseas empire was acquired under Bismarck, i.e. between 1884 and 1890.⁴ But it is not our purpose to analyse the entire question of Bismarck's alleged conversion to Kolonialpolitik.⁵ Nevertheless, it was German interest in the South Seas which played a significant role in bringing about in Bismarck his apparent volte face on the colonial issue. His attitude at the time of the Anglo-German Fiji Commission 1885 was characterised by the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung as follows:

In particular Bismarck emphasized that he had formerly spoken against colonial acquisitions and that he still held the view that it would not be right for us to occupy stretches of country where we as yet had no interests in order to promote German emigration, to have them administered by German officials and to instal a garrison in them. For such a colonial system - Bismarck called it later the French system - there were insufficient trained officials; this would be too expensive for us and would impose too great a demand on our navy, the development of which was limited by the small extent of the German coast and the resultingly small seafaring population. However, it was a different matter to place under imperial protection those free settlements of German subjects which have grown as it were out of the German nation in regions which do not come under the recognised sovereignty of another nation. He would regard it as a duty of the Reich to impose its protection upon such settlements of German subjects overseas, not only upon their factories but also upon the territory they had acquired.⁷

The point emerging from this summary of Bismarck's attitude is simply that the flag follows trade - not the reverse and further that it should not cost the government much to keep the flag flying. Bismarck was willing to take possession of "unoccupied" regions provided that there were already in existence in those regions sufficient German enterprises. The colonisation of New Guinea as distinct from the Bismarck Archipelago fits into this formula provided we add that for Bismarck it seemed a case would

ave to be made for the feasibility of future profitable German enterprises there.

In the year 1874 the Hamburg firm of Godefroy, based in Samoa, founded a settlement on the island of Mioko in the Neu-Lauenburg group (Duke of York Islands). This firm was then followed by the other Hamburg firm of Robertson & HERNSHEIM (later HERNSHEIM & Co) which by 1879 had established a factory at Makada, the most northerly island of the Duke of York group but then transferred to the island of Matupi on the north eastern corner of Neu Pommern (New Britain). From this point a series of trading stations was established on the north coast of New Britain, in the Duke of York group as well as on Neu Mecklenburg (New Ireland) and on various smaller islands.

In 1878 the Deutsche Südsee-Handels-und Plantagen-Gesellschaft (D.H. & P.G.) absorbed the firm of Godefroy and like HERNSHEIM & Co. began to extend its trading posts in the area. They existed by engaging in barter with the islanders for such items as copra, repang and shell. However, the chief occupation of D.H. & P.G. was to enrol workers for its Samoa plantations and this recruitment began in the early eighties in the two vessels "Tonga Tabu" and "Ninafou".⁸ This involvement of the D.H. & P.G. in the Bismarck Archipelago led to the forming of a consortium under the initiative of the same man who brought about the take over of the Godefroy firm to turn it into the D.H. & P.G. This was none other than Adolf von Hansemann (1826-1903) who on 26 May 1884 together with Bismarck's banker Bleichröder and the other financial and political personalities Kardstein-Prötzel and Hammacher founded what was later officially to become the Neuguinea-Kompagnie. These gentlemen were known from then on as the Verschwoerenen der Südsee - the South Sea conspirators.⁹ According to Hallgarten this group then went to work in the islands with great secrecy in order to avoid stirring up Australian opinion further.¹⁰ This connexion between the activity of the Hansemann group and German government circles was one which apparently no one tried to conceal. Bismarck's chief adviser in the Foreign Office (Auswärtiges Amt) on overseas and colonial questions was actually Hansemann's brother-in-law, Heinrich von Kusserow (1836-1900) and such was Kusserow's enthusiasm for German expansion in the South Seas that the Free-Traders of the Reichstag contemptuously re-labelled the South Seas Kusserowien (i.e. a country or realm with the name "Kusserovia").¹¹

But the ridicule of the so-called "Manchester men" received no echo because the Chancellor himself had abandoned free trade and the policy of the open door to go over to protectionism and to an active colonial policy. Von Hagen asserts that this transformation in Bismarck would have been unthinkable without Kusserow's intensive reparation,¹² and we might add, without the preliminary enterprises of Herr Hansemann and his circle in focussing the interest of Hamburg

and the Berlin financiers on the Bismarck Archipelago and New Guinea. Indeed, the immediate step which led to Germany laying claim to the area was initiated by the Hanseemann consortium when they commissioned Dr. Otto Finsch to travel to Sydney accompanied by the Bremen sea captain Dallmann to undertake an expedition to the Bismarck Archipelago. These men arrived in Sydney in July 1884 where they purchased and re-fitted a steamer, the "Samoa". On 26 September 1884 Finsch and Dallmann arrived in Mioko from which base they established a foothold in New Guinea by negotiating land from the inhabitants.¹³ Thereby, Finsch had not only laid the foundation for Hanseemann's commercial expansion in the region, but also for Bismarck's annexations there. In August 1884 Bismarck had declared his willingness to guarantee the protection of the Reich to all areas Finsch might occupy. Finsch then in December 1884 raised the German flag at several points on North East New Guinea, on New Britain and on surrounding islands.¹⁴ Orders to that effect had been telegraphed from Berlin to Mioko precisely 19 August 1884, and to lend weight to his intent Bismarck ordered four warships to the area.¹⁵

II

As already noted, on 26 May 1884, the Hanseemann consortium had laid the financial basis for the future New Guinea Company and it is worth observing that prior to this on 13 May 1884, the shares of the D.H. & P.G. which were still in the hands of the English firm of Baring & Co., were purchased back thus ensuring that the British would have no lever for future interference.¹⁶ On 17 May 1885 the Kaiser granted a Charter (Schutzbrief) which delineated the rights of the "New Guinea Company". The essence of the Charter was that the Company became virtually the agent of the Reich in the area, exercising full jurisdiction and the right to occupy further unclaimed land in the name of the Reich. It could negotiate with the inhabitants and conclude treaties with them, but not of course with other foreign powers. In return for these privileges and the protection of the Reich, the Company had to meet the cost of and maintain government institutions including the cost of an "adequate" legal system.¹⁷ In short all this meant that the company exerted a sovereignty over the area on behalf of the Reich which reserved to itself the supreme sovereignty (Oberhoheit).

The aims of the Company as expressed in its statutes revealed a clear intention to exploit to the full the powers vested in it by the Reich, particularly with regard to the acquisition of land and the right to negotiate with the natives to this end. It was also an aim of the Company to pioneer the settlement of Germans in the protectorate and to make a start on communications, cultivation, trade and industry - at its own expense. However, all this was not made obligatory on the Company but only in so far as these enterprises

erved the development of the Company or stimulated and promoted other private enterprises.¹⁸

Thus had the Germans initially seen their task. It was an arrangement which sought to give as much rein as possible to that group of adventurous capitalists and empire builders whom the Reichstag as yet refused to support. The New Guinea enterprise was not the expression of national enthusiasm but rather one of over optimistic capitalism. The colonial propaganda of the history professors and Pan-Germanism was then only beginning its self-appointed task of winning over Reichstag and nation to active colonialism.

III

As the harbinger of Teutonic power and bearer of civilisation into what Australians regarded as their sphere of influence it will be profitable to survey briefly the achievements of the Company.

From 5 November 1884 until 1 April 1899 the Company exerted governmental as well as commercial control over the area except for the period 1 November 1889 until 1 September 1892 when the Reich temporarily assumed governmental control.¹⁹ The very first settlement of the Company was made at Finschhafen, 5 November 1885.²⁰ The first administrator (Landeshauptmann) was the retired admiral Georg Freiherr von Schleinitz (1834-1910) who had commanded the "Gazelle" expedition to the Bismarck Archipelago and elsewhere 1874-76. He remained in office for less than two years (10 June 1886 to 1 March 1888)²¹ and in that time devoted himself chiefly to promoting coastal exploration the most notable achievement of which was the navigation of the Sepik for some 380 knots.²² Von Schleinitz also established his headquarters on the island of Kerawara, the most southerly island of the Duke of York group (though this was abandoned in 1890) and also tried to start a coffee plantation in New Britain which was wiped out by a tidal wave before planting could begin.²³

Under von Schleinitz's successors (see Appendix 2) the work of exploration, chiefly for suitable harbours and plantation sites, continued until by 1891 the branch stations of Hatzfeldhafen (north of Franklin Bay) for tobacco, Konstantinhafen (west of Cape Rigny) for cotton and copra, the harbours of Butaueng (on Langemak Bay) and Melana (on the Maclay Coast) for cotton, and Stephansort (Astrolabe Bay) for cotton and tobacco were established.²⁴

All this would seem to indicate rapid expansion of trading and planting but in reality it was the expression of unsuccessful experimentation. For example, the soil of Finschhafen was soon found to be composed of coral and thus unsuitable for agriculture. This forced the search for better localities. Neither did this lead to

the expected success and stations such as Kelana had to be abandoned because of unsuitability for the chosen crop.²⁵

Economically the German enterprises in the Bismarck Archipelago which had been earlier established were far more prosperous. The D.H. & P.G. in 1888 had ten settlements whereas Hertsheim & Co. had twelve.²⁶ The New Guinea Company in its foundation years encountered a series of discouraging set-backs not least of which was the initial labour problem.²⁷ But no set-back could be compared with that of the epidemic at Finschhafen in 1891 where within six weeks eleven officials of the Company including the medical officer succumbed to an unknown carrier of death.²⁸

This catastrophe led to the transferring of Company headquarters to Stephansort on the Astrolabe Bay mid-March 1891 from where it soon moved to Friedrich-Wilhelmshafen (Madang) by the year's end.²⁹

An additional ground for disappointment as well as an indication of the initial optimism regarding the future of the new colony was the fact that town plans for Finschhafen, Hatzfeldhafen and Konstantinshafen had been drawn up in the expectation that thousands of Germans would be coming up from Australia. It was estimated in 1889 that there were some 76,000 Germans settled in the Australian colonies and at least some thousands of these would support the new German colonial enterprise and re-settle in New Guinea.³⁰ In fact the settlements of the Company remained simply stations staffed by a nucleus of commercial and administrative personnel. The hierarchy of officials discharging administrative as opposed to commercial duties consisted, on paper, of one chief administrator or government commissioner, two magistrates - one for the western district (i.e. New Guinea proper) and one for the eastern district (Bismarck Archipelago and the Solomons); there was provision for an actuary and a police officer in each district. In the early stages of the Company, Hans Blum speaks of an army of administrative clerks whose officiousness made a sojourn there uncomfortable. Later, the trivial postal, customs and other bureaucratic duties were discharged by employees in conjunction with their commercial activity. Surveyors and other technical administration personnel were only occasionally stationed on Kaiser Wilhelmsland. Due to the all too frequent absence of the required personnel it is no wonder that this initially skeleton staff failed to carry out its intended function. The administration of justice, the exploration of the interior and routine surveying were all hopelessly and tragically neglected.³¹ The state of chronic inefficiency among the commercial personnel is illustrated by the fact that 600 officials came and went under Schmieles term as administrator (1892-95 see Appendix 2) and of these only one stayed with the Company.³² Despite these chaotic conditions the Company has expanded its influence in the region and by the time the Reich finally assumed the administration in 1899 there were six stations on the northern peninsula, three in the Duke of York Islands, four in

ew Ireland and one in the French islands - in all fourteen outside Kaiser Wilhelmsland which had all told twelve, though only five retained any significance.³³

The Company's progress had been slow, tentative and dogged by misfortune, but as several observers implied (see footnotes 30, 31,, 32) mismanagement and ineptitude were the chief reasons. The chief example of ineptitude and also chief reason for the minimal progress was the failure to establish good relations with the New Guineans - firstly in order to overcome their hostility, and secondly to be able to draw on native manpower for plantation work. The labour question was seen as the central problem of the colony. Whatever good relations had been established with the population was, so Blum reports, entirely due to the missionaries. These did not, however, teach their catechumens that working for the New Guinea Company was the means to salvation.³⁴ The result was that the Company was forced to recruit Javanese, Chinese as well as Melanesians from the Bismarck Archipelago.³⁵ Observations by German officials concerning the capacity and adaptability of "Papuas" as plantation workers are therefore frequent but not always as thoughtful as this one from the Company medical officer Dr. Otto Dempwolff:

The Papuan is a born agriculturalist made for plantation work, powerful and adapted by natural selection and inherited characteristics to the climate of New Guinea, peaceful and in a certain sense both industrious and keen. He works only for himself obeying only necessity... he does not have the idea that he could work in preparation for an uncertain future nor does he reflect that by working he could come to enjoy a comfortable life. By contact with white men he is neither spoiled nor decimated (since the sale of spirits and weapons is legally prohibited); but the gulf between the two races is so great that the Papuan would not wish to imitate the European. Neither will he do anything for the European for the purpose of assisting in his agricultural labour, nor from any rationalised idealistic or materialistic motives but only from need, from habit, or from compulsion.³⁶

Dr. Dempwolff expressed the hope that the Papuans would develop the habit of work on plantations by recognising in time its material advantages. The humane treatment by the plantation overseers plus the good food would encourage Papuans to renew their contracts and thus they would develop a desire for comforts and even luxury which

could in turn develop into a striving for individual wealth and competition for material goods. Firstly, however, the basic communistic outlook of the population would have to be broken.³⁷

On such observations the Imperial German officials in New Guinea would base their native policy. Indeed, the Company in Kaiser Wilhelmsland had gathered only limited experience of both land and people although there are heroic examples of individual achievements such as those of Kurt von Hagen (see above footnote No.30). Overall, however, the Company had contributed very little to the colony but neither had it realised its original expectations and extracted much profit from it.³⁸ Its enterprise, however, did lay the foundation upon which the Reich could build when it finally relieved the Company of the burden of administration (1 April 1899). The original Bismarckian colonial "system" had proved unable to cope with the demands which were being made on it by century's end by which time the German people as well as their rulers and financial leaders had a far grander concept of Empire.

Already in 1896 the draft of an agreement between the Company and the Reich for the final resumption of control by the Reich had been prepared. Its provisions are significant as they illustrate to what extent the Reichstag had come to consider colonialism a national obligation in the era of embryonic Weltpolitik. The core of the treaty was that the Reich would pay the Company 4,000,000 Marks and grant in addition 50,000 hectares of land to the Company. Also the Company could claim the support of the Reich in recruiting workers and special rights for the exploitation of minerals in the Ramu valley. In addition the Company claimed the right (subject to certain restrictions) to select a further 50,000 hectares within three years.³⁹ Therewith the old charter was superseded and the Company became a purely private enterprise with the express purpose of the "colonisation of Kaiser Wilhelmsland and the Bismarck Archipelago, in particular the pursuit of agricultural and plantation trade and commercial enterprises".⁴⁰ As headquarters of both the Company and the colonial administration Herbertshöhe on Blanche Bay was chosen. The main station in Kaiser Wilhelmsland was initially Friedrich Wilhelmshafen (Madang).⁴¹ However, in time the entire region was divided up into administrative districts as shown in Appendix 6.

None of the sources consulted gives an account of the reasons for the administrative solution of 1899. Only Blum suggests that the union between governmental and commercial functions was the main hindrance to the flourishing of the colony.⁴² Clearly, a private enterprise with governmental powers is not going to encourage other private enterprises to establish themselves in the area to undermine its virtual monopoly. Further, in the interest of efficiency the government, freed from commercial considerations, would be able to

minimise the pointless bureaucracy, pursue a realistic native policy, reduce the stultifying effect of frequent resignations among officials and catch up on more detailed exploration for the systematic opening up of the land.⁴³

All this would not only be conducive to a better economic exploitation of the region but in particular, its strategic value in this period of imperial expansion could not be under-estimated. At any rate from the German, if not the Australian point of view, the final take-over by the Reich was a turning point in the history of Melanesia.⁴⁴

IV

As intimated earlier the changes in the German administration of the New Guinea Protectorate were contemporaneous with Germany's swing to a more active Weltpolitik. Both these factors illustrate the basic Wilhelmine departure from the established Bismarckian principles of foreign and colonial policy which were opposed to any emotionally inspired adventurism. Both world and colonial policy were now pursued with a new intensity and determination accompanied by the enthusiasm of the nation which was incarnate in the person of Wilhelm II.⁴⁵ All this is reflected in the new administration of the colonies which were now considered no longer a luxury plaything of a capitalist elite but a cultural, economic and hence world political necessity. The Treitschkean formula⁴⁶ had by 1900 become official German policy, viz. that Germany's position as a power depended on her overseas empire. The colonial policy which emerged thereafter was an attempt to consolidate and develop these possessions ad maiorem Germaniae gloriam ac Potentiam. In January 1907 the man who was soon to become the first Secretary of State for Colonies, Dernburg, was to formulate the aims of German colonial activity as follows:

But we must acquire one more thing and that is an understanding of the purposes of colonisation. These purposes are material and mercantilist. They must be achieved with that distinction which is the criterion of a merchant who is equal to his economic and cultural tasks, and not for nothing in return but rather there must be an exchange of goods and men for culture and civilization. These last two we must bring to the native inhabitants and thereby we achieve several goals simultaneously because one of the most important things that a civilized people is in a position to impart is pleasure in work and gainful activity. The national-economic purpose of this commercial activity is, however, the acquisition and development of raw materials which we do not have in our national

economy, and also the markets without which a people dependent on industry, confined to its own narrow national borders, and with a large annual population increase, can not acquire the necessary means for their existence as a nation.⁴⁷

Expressed even more succinctly the Wilhelmine idea of colonisation was the "improvement of the soil, its resources, the flora and fauna but above all of the inhabitants for the benefit of the economy of the colonising nation which is obliged to give in return its higher culture, its moral concepts and its better methods".⁴⁸ Naturally, these ideas were neither formulated suddenly nor in a vacuum. They were the result of the individual German experience modified by the observations made by the generators of German colonial policy of the British, French, Portuguese and even American experience.⁴⁹ How, then, were they being applied in the Protectorate 1899 to 1914? Space permits only a brief observation on each of the central issues implied in the German idea of colonisation viz. native policy, exploration and economic expansion

The aim of native policy was simply to convert uncivilised stone-age men into docile but energetic workers. To do this recalcitrant groups had to be pacified and brought into a peaceful, orderly relationship with the administration - when necessary by means of punitive expeditions. On occasion these were peaceful demonstrations of armed strength for the purposes of intimidation or deterring outbreaks of tribal violence. But on other occasions when the purpose was to prevent conspiracies and feuding or to avenge murder and other crimes, then there would be skirmishes resulting in casualties mostly on the native side and also in the burning down of villages. The force used by the administration was a police troop of natives led by German and native police officers armed with rifles and occasionally machine guns.⁵⁰ An official source (Deutsches Kolonialblatt) specifies 40 such expeditions between 1898 and 1912 in the entire Protectorate.* These were considered absolutely necessary for preserving life and property as well as for ensuring that trade and road building could go on unhindered.

The method of pacification is illustrated in this description of the administration after 1899 by Dr. Hahl:

*These expeditions would be only the main ones. Often a strictly reconnaissance expedition would fulfil the task of a punitive expedition while en route. Hence the precise figure of all punitive expeditions would be much higher than forty.

The division of the protectorate into two halves for purposes of jurisdiction was retained. The magistrates as district officers were entrusted with the direction of administrative affairs. In the year 1900 the station at Kawieng was established for the better pacification of northern Neu-Mecklenburg. The favourable experience gathered here encouraged a further extension [of the administration]. In 1904 the station at Namatanai in central Neu-Mecklenburg was founded, 1905 Kiöta on the west coast of Bougainville for the Solomon Islands, 1907 Aitape in the west of Kaiser Wilhelmsland, 1910 Morobe in the eastern part of Kaiser Wilhelmsland, 1911 Manus encompassing the Admiralty Islands and those lying further to the north west, 1913 Angoram near Marienburg on the Sepik....⁵¹

Hahl goes on to describe the pattern of extension of jurisdiction over the island territory.⁵²

Having thus begun to penetrate the society of the inhabitants it became necessary to incorporate them into the new law as far as practicable and the method adopted was that devised by Dr. Hahl in his period as judge at Herbertshöhe 1896-1898.⁵³ He selected in each community the man most outstanding for his energy and wealth and installed him in the office of Ortsvorsteher i.e. the government official on the spot⁵⁴ or Luluai. His function was three-fold in practice, viz. to promote road building, to assist in enforcing the law and finally to arbitrate local disputes.⁵⁵ In road building supervision and in general law enforcement the office of Ortsvorsteher was considered a most successful institution. However, as local arbitrator the Ortsvorsteher was something of a petty tyrant who was difficult to control. To this extent the system was seen as effective but still the best compromise for the situation. The institution of Ortsvorsteher was seen as an essential factor in the incorporation of the native population of the Protectorate into the German state.⁵⁶

In this general process the German authorities naturally did not overlook education and health services but were in these spheres grateful for the work of the various missionary organisations. By 1914 there were approximately 600 primary including 192 Methodist Sunday Schools, five trade and one interpreter's schools in the entire Protectorate encompassing 21,603 native pupils. Only 484 of these were attending the four government schools.⁵⁷ In the two government primary schools the policy was to pursue a curriculum essentially the same as that in German schools.⁵⁸ However, the use

of the German language elsewhere was a rarity although the aim was in contact with natives to supplant Pidgin-English with German. But by 1914 it was reported that Pidgin was still the predominant medium.⁵⁹

German policy with regard to native health reflects the overall colonial aim, viz. to preserve the population "as the most valuable asset of a state"⁶⁰ and was seen as a part of the general labour question. For this reason the idea of native medical orderlies called Heiltultuls (fulfilling the function of a medical Luluai) was introduced as early as 1902 at Yap in the West Caroline Islands. In 1911 mention is also made of four being trained for three months in Rabaul before being sent back to their own villages. In the same period in the Kavieng district there were twenty Heiltultuls and also some in the Namatanai district. There were in 1909 three government and two non-government hospitals in the Old Protectorate where 3,000 patients had been admitted.⁶¹ Then, by 1914 there were twelve doctors in the entire Protectorate⁶² i.e. virtually a medical officer for every government station.

In the sphere of exploration the period of direct imperial rule saw a dramatic intensification of activity. Whereas previously under the Company mainly coastal exploration, understandably, was the chief concern, now penetration into the interior becomes a central task with strong economic as well as scientific significance. For example as early as 1903 an enterprise was planned to find new areas with gutta-percha and to train the population to collect it. This was actually carried out between 1906 and 1909 in the hinterland from Cape Croisilles to the Rai coast where natives of the Madang district were trained.⁶³ For more purely scientific purposes the chief expeditions were the German Naval Expedition 1907-09 with the aim of exploring the Bismarck Archipelago, chiefly New Ireland, for anthropological, ethnological and geographical knowledge.⁶⁴ Then between 1908 and 1913 followed the Sapper-Friederici expedition 1908 to New Ireland and neighbouring islands; the border expedition of 1909-10 in the north and south of Kaiser Wilhelmsland; the Bendang South Seas Expedition 1908-10 for the more detailed exploration of the coasts of Kaiser Wilhelmsland and the islands of the Bismarck Archipelago for ethnographic and anthropological study (this included navigating the Sepik); and finally an expedition 1912-14 which concentrated on the Sepik river system sponsored by the Colonial Office, the Colonial Society and the Royal Museum of Berlin.⁶⁵ Naturally, these projects were in addition to the more routine-like tasks carried out by the governors and district officials for information purposes.

Under the general heading of economic progress falls the native taxation policy of the New Protectorate. In 1907 an annual

head-tax of 5 Marks was introduced (amended in 1910 to 5, 7 or 10 Marks according to the development of the region). The tax was collected by chiefs or Luluais and those who could not pay for any reason were required to work instead on public works at the very low rate of 20 Pfennigs a day. The idea was to encourage people to pay taxes in hard cash - a strong encouragement to work for wages. Further, tax-payers were exempted from forced labour. On the other hand those who worked ten months of the year for a non-native or for a tax-paying native were exempted from taxes. As the administration saw it, this form of taxation was intended to accustom people to the use of money and the necessity of earning wages as the basis of the economic development of the population. Of course at first there had to be the possibility of working off the taxes. However, the Germans saw taxation not simply as a means of economic education but also a means of improving the administration which was then forced to be concerned with the census, rate of population increase, and the raising of production. In these terms the introduction of the tax signified the real imposition of German rule both from the point of view of the administration and the population alike.⁶⁶

The other related sphere where the administration made its presence felt was in road building as the following example from the District Officer Boluminski at Kavieng in 1904 indicates. He was at pains to make clear to the population why it was necessary to perform public works without payment. To do this he presented to the Chief a print depicting the Kaiser explaining that he was the mighty Luluai of all the Germans whom everyone must obey. However, the great Luluai guaranteed protection and justice in return to all his subjects black and white. But every German had to pay taxes and every strong young man had in addition to serve several years as a soldier. Boluminski then explained to the Chief that the great Luluai did not require taxes from them since they had no money but because they were strong people he needed them to work instead. By use of great tact and patience Boluminski talked the tribes in the district into building roads. It had been his ambition to get the work done without the use of force. Indeed, he summed up his achievements in the following words: "The pacification of the natives and accustoming them to the power of the government has been achieved through road building. Therewith we have the proof that it is possible to get the Kanaka to work in his own country by virtue of tactful handling without resorting to forceful measures."⁶⁷ Naturally, this policy of labour instead of taxes was continued even after taxation was introduced.⁶⁸

By the time war broke out, the colony had begun to show signs of being a worthwhile enterprise as export-import figures (see appendix 6) would indicate. A further indication of the favourable

development in this respect was the fact that the imperial subsidy by 1911 could be reduced from over 900,000 Marks to round 716,000 Marks due to the improved over-all economic development.⁶⁹

The administration at the turn of the century saw its most important task as the opening up of a virtually unexplored land. To this end the inhabitants were to be pacified, and brought under government control. Further, disease was to be combatted, sources of income created, the level of education raised and the German language spread.⁷⁰ By 1914 the administration could look back over its achievements with justifiable satisfaction. Just how the economic, political and cultural life of the Protectorate would appear today, had the above process been allowed to continue, is a matter for tantalizing speculation.

APPENDIX 1The Imperial Charter Granted to the New Guinea Company

We Wilhelm by the Grace of God, German Emperor, King of Prussia etc. proclaim and herewith make known:

After We in August 1884 had promised Our protection to a company of subjects of the empire which in the meantime has taken the name of the 'New Guinea Company' for one of the same colonial enterprises in the island regions of the western parts of the South Seas which are not under the sovereignty of another power; [and] after the company had negotiated and taken possession, through one of its expeditions into those parts under the control of our resident commissioner, of harbours and stretches of coast for the purposes of cultivation and for the installation of trading settlements and at Our command these areas have been placed under Our protection by Our warships; [and] after the two German commercial houses which had already previously erected factories and negotiated land in a part of those areas had joined the Company, and after the Company legally represented by Our privy councillor of commerce (geheimer Kommerzienrath) Adolph Hansemann has from now on indicated that it undertakes to meet the cost of and to maintain the government installations in the protectorate for the promotion of commerce and the economic improvement of the land and soil as well as the creation and strengthening of peaceful intercourse with the natives for their civilising, and has at the same time included in its petition that it might be granted through an imperial charter for the achievement of this purpose the right to exercise governmental functions under Our sovereignty together with the exclusive right under the supervision of our government to take possession of unclaimed territory and to dispose over it and to conclude treaties with the natives over land and land rights:

Thus We grant to the New Guinea Company this Our charter and confirm herewith that We have assumed the sovereignty over the areas concerned

[Here follows a description of the location of these areas.]

At the same time We grant to the said company against the obligation to meet the cost of and to maintain the government institutions, also the cost of an adequate legal system, herewith the corresponding rights of sovereignty together with the exclusive right to take into possession unclaimed land and to dispose over it and to conclude treaties with the natives over land and land rights, all this under the supreme surveillance of Our government which will promulgate the necessary decrees for the preservation of vested rights of property and for the protection of the natives.

The order and administration of justice as well as the regulation and direction of relations between the protectorate and foreign governments remain the preserve of Our government.

We promise and herewith command that Our officials and officers by the protection and support of the Company and its officials will execute this Our charter in all legal things.

This Our imperial charter We guarantee to the New Guinea Company under the conditions that it orders, at the latest within one year from this day, its legal relationships in accordance with German law, that the board of directors or the persons otherwise entrusted with the direction are German subjects, with the reservation of future amendments of this Our charter concerning the protectorate and the exercise of Our sovereignty and of future regulations which the Company is obliged to follow in default of which it loses the claim on Our protection.

In witness whereof We have ratified this Our charter with Our own hand and sealed with the imperial seal."

Berlin 17th May 1885.

Wilhelm

(signed) von Bismarck.

[Source: Koloniales Jahrbuch (ed.: Gustav Melnecke)
Vol.1, 1888, pp.245-247.]

APPENDIX 2Supreme Officials in the Protectorate of German New Guinea

- 0.6. 1866 - 1.3. 1888 v. Schleinitz, Administrator, seat in Finschhafen; combines powers of supreme administrative, judicial and commercial head in his person.
- 1.3. 1888 - 1.11.1889 Kraetke, Administrator; same powers as above.
- 1.11.1889 Separation of offices of administration of the Protectorate from the commercial management: Imperial Commissioner Rose as supreme official, Arnold as Director General of the New Guinea Company.
- 2.2. 1890 - 17.7.1890 Rose takes over office as director general after Arnold's death.
- 7.7. 1890 - 28.2.1891 Ed. Wissmann director general; died in office.
- 8.2. 1891 - 1.9.1892 Rose combines again supreme imperial administrative position and private commercial position as director general; seat in Stephansort.
- 2.9.1892 Administration of Protectorate by imperial officials abandoned through decree from 15 June 1892; enforced after Rose's retirement.
- 2.9. 1892 - 15.2.1895 Schmiele; Administrator; seat in Friedrich-Wilhelmshafen (Madang).
- 5.2. 1895 - 28.8.1896 Ruediger, Administrator.
- 8.2.1895 Administration of the Bismarck Archipelago assigned to the judicial officer; Dr. Hahl as Imperial Judge from January 1896 until February 1899, thereafter Dr. Schnee.

- 9.10. 1896 - 14.8.1897 C. von Hagen, from 1893 manager of the Astrolabe Compagnie, at the same time director general of the New Guinea Company and provisional Administrator; seat in Stephansort; died in office (murdered by a native).
- 10.9. 1897 - April 1899 Skopnik, provisional Administrator and director general.*
- April 1899 - November 1902 v. Bennigsen, Governor of German New Guinea.
- November - August 1914 Hahl, Governor of German New Guinea.

*Hans Blum, Neu-Guinea und der Bismarckarchipel. Eine wirtschaftliche Studie. (Berlin, Schoenfeldt & Co. Verlag) 1900, pp.43-4.

Stations in Kaiser Wilhelmsland 1885-1899**

<u>Name of the station</u>	<u>founded</u>	<u>abandoned</u>	<u>reason for abandonment</u>	<u>comments</u>
<u>Finschhafen*</u>	5.11. 1885	March 1891	high mortality	-
<u>Hatzfeldhafen</u>	21.12. 1885	Autumn 1891	hostility of the natives	-
<u>Konstantinhafen</u>	30. 5. 1886	as station 1895		The existing palm trees are under the supervision of a Malayan.
<u>Butaueng</u>	April 1887	March 1891	high mortality	-
<u>Kelana</u>	January 1888	1890		-
<u>Stephansort</u>	August 1888			
<u>Erima</u>	March 1890	1896)		
<u>Yomba</u>	1891	1894)	cessation of planting	1899 planting resumed.
<u>Maraga</u>	1891	1894)		
<u>Friedrich-Wilhelmshafen</u>	Autumn 1891			Abandoned as main station in autumn 1896. extended from 1898 on.
<u>Seleo</u>	July 1894 by Herrn Karnbach (independent)			Taken over by the New Guinea Company in Sept. 1897 as administration "Berlinhafen". Sub-stations: Tarawai, Dallmannhafen and several storage places for copra.
<u>Erimahafen</u>	1896			As jetty of Stephansort.

APPENDIX A

Table of Coloured Workers Serving in the Protectorate*

1	2 In the service of the Company were: in Kaiser-Wilhelmsland						7 total	8 in the service of other firms were (only in the B.A. + only natives of the Protectorate)	9 total number of coloured workers	10 comments
	Chinese	Malay-	Mal. women	Melanesians + Mal. women!	6 in the B.A. (only Melanesians + M. women!)					
884	-	-	-	-	-	-	ca. 150			1) The percentage of female workers was always small, at the most not over 10%. 2) High mortality, over 35%; and discharge in place of origin. 3) Note that the decrease is mainly due to the figures of columns 2,3,4.
885	-	37	7	-	-	-	" 250			
886	-	101	7	ca.	ca. 20	ca. 20	" 250			
887	-	7	7	"	ca. 20	ca. 20	ca. 300			
888	7	7	7	"	ca. 20	ca. 20	" 350			
889	85	125	7	"	ca. 20	ca. 20	" 400			
890	104	270	7	319	ca. 50	ca. 50	" 500	1213		
891	591	336	7	717	139	139	" 600	2385		
892	(?)10852)	7572)	7	895	240	240	" 800	3737		
893	420	530	7	911	350	350	" 800	3011		
894	519	431	7	702	380	380	" 1000	3032		
895	466	544	7	846	400	400	" 1200	3456		
896	308	257	157	596	619	619	" 1200	31373)		
897	167	151	103	495	613	613	" 1200	27293)		
898	125	100	86	440	708	708	" 1200	16593)		

*) The figures present the approximate average number of workers at the middle of the year. NOT included are the workers of the missions, and some free Chinese and Malaysans, or such, who are in private service; this is a changing number, which amounts to about 100 persons on an average.

From: Hans Blum, Neu-Guinea und der Bismarckarchipel. Eine wirtschaftliche Studie. (Berlin: Schoenfeldt & Co. Verlag) 1900, p.117.

APPENDIX 5Administrative Division 1914The Old Protectorate of New Guineaa) Kaiser-Wilhelmsland

District Office, at once District Court Friedrich-Wilhelms-hafen (Madang), comprising the central part of the German possession in Kaiser-Wilhelmsland, stretching from the mouth of the Sepik to the Huon Gulf.

Eitape (Aitape) Station, from the mouth of the Sepik to the Dutch border.

Morobe Station, from the Huon Gulf to the British border.

b) Bismarck Archipelago

District Office Rabaul, comprising Neupommern (New Britain) and the neighbouring islands.

District Office Kaewieng, comprising the northern Neumecklenburg (New Ireland) and Neuhannover (New Hanover).

Namatanai Station for the southern New Ireland.

Manus Station for the Admiralitätsinseln (Admiralty Islands) and the Ninigo Group and Hermit Islands west thereof.

Kieta Station on the east coast of Bougainville for the German Solomon Islands, Buka and Bougainville.

The Island Territory north of the Equatora) Marshall Islands, administered from one station on Jaluit.b) Nauru Station, geographically considered part of the Marshall Islands.c) East Carolines

District Office Ponape, in addition Truk Station for Central Carolines, Truk Atoll and Mortlock Islands.

d) West Carolines

District Office Jap with the subsidiary stations
Korror for the Pelew Islands,
Saipan for the Marianas.

from: Albert Hahl: "Geschichte und Entwicklung von Neuguinea",
in A. Haenicke (ed.), Das Buch der deutschen Kolonien,
1937, p.175.

APPENDIX 6

IMPORTS

	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
	Value in 1000 Marks													
New Guinea	1666	1656	2288	2914	2326	2937	3307	3404	3108	2666	3890	5,298,737	5,871,840	8,500,352
	<u>Export</u>													
	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
	Value in 1000 Marks													
New Guinea	1009	1403	1121	1206	1184	1335	1562	1993	1707	2459	3623	4,109,420	5,041,106	8,010,239
	<u>Total Trade</u>													
	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
	Value in 1000 Marks													
New Guinea	2675	3059	3409	4120	3510	4272	4869	5397	4815	5125	7513	9,408,157	10,912,946	16,510,611

Source: Albert Hahl, Deutsch-Mauquinea (Berlin: Verlag von Dietrich Reimer) 1942, pp.88-89.

Old Protectorate

	Mo. of Primary Schools	Mo. of Native Pupils	Mo. of Manual Training Schools	Mo. of Interpreter Schools
Government Schools	1	99	1	-
total	1	99	1	-
Mission Schools	400*	11346	-	-
Australian Methodist Mission	15	1195	1	-
Neumettesau Mission	11	468	-	-
R.C. (Sacred Heart)	98	4296	1	-
R.C. (S.V.D.)	19	800	1	-
R.C. (Marist)	?	560	-	-
total	543+	18665	3	-
Total in the Old Protectorate	544+	18764	4	-

Carolines, Mariannas, Marshall Islands

Government Schools	1	385	1	1
total	1	385	1	1
Mission Schools	3	207	-	-
American Board of Mission	15	786	1	-
Liebenzell Mission	?	220	-	-
R.C. (Sacred Heart)	30	1240	-	-
total	48+	2453	1	-
Total on the islands	49+	2838	2	1
Total in the whole Protectorate	593+	21602	6	1

* including 192 Sunday Schools

THE GERMAN EMPIRE IN MELANESIA 1884-1914

A GERMAN SELF-ANALYSIS

NOTES

1 Deutsches Kolonial-Lexikon (Leipzig: 1920) Volume I, p.316f.
 future reference = DKL Article: "Deutsch Neuguinea".
 Note that the statistics given here were based on incomplete
 surveys. At the time of publication (1914) there still
 remained much more coastal exploration to be done. Survey
 ships such as the "Planet" had provided much data but the
 administration was aware of the need for the continuation
 of such work, not only for the coastline but also particularly
 for the interior.

2 ibid., cf. Die deutschen Schutzgebiete in Afrika und der
 Südsee 1911/12. Amtliche Jahresberichte herausgegeben vom
 Reichskolonialamt (Berlin: 1913) pp.50 and 152f. Note that
 exact statistics could only be obtained for a few individual
 communities before Germany lost control.

3 Maximilian von Hagen, Bismarcks Kolonialpolitik (Stuttgart,
 Berlin: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt) 1923, p.52.

4 See Wm. Roger Louis, Great Britain and Germany's Lost
 Colonies 1914-1919 (Oxford: Clarendon) 1967, p.10. After
 1890 the colonies acquired by Germany were:
 Kaiiochow in 1898; Samoa in 1899; The Carolines, Pelews and
 Mariannes in 1899 and the extension of the Camerouns in 1911
 which alone added 102,000 sq. miles. cf. DKL Volume I,
 pp.578-585. Article: "Erwerbung der deutschen Kolonien".

5 For an informative treatment of Bismarckian policy towards
 New Guinea see Marjorie Jacobs, "Bismarck and the Annexation
 of New Guinea" in Historical Studies of Australia and New
 Zealand, Volume 5, 1951, pp.14-26.

6 See W.P. Morrell, Britain in the Pacific Islands (Oxford:
 Clarendon) p.391, 1960.

7 So related by Oskar Canstatt, "Fürst Bismarcks koloniale
 Initiative" in Zeitschrift für Kolonialpolitik, Kolonialrecht
 und Kolonialwirtschaft, hrg von der Deutschen Kolonial-
 gesellschaft (Berlin) 10 Jg. 1908, p.441.

70
8 Hans Blum, New-Guinea und der Bismarckarchipel-eine wirtschaftliche Studie. (Berlin: Schoenfeldt & Co.) 1900, p.5f. cf. DKL Volume I, p.300, Article: "Deutsche Handels- und Plantagesellschaft der Südsee-Inseln zu Hamburg".

9 G.W.F. Hallgarten, Imperialismus vor 1914 (München: Beckscher Verlag) Volume I, 1963, p.213. The appellation came from Dr. Finsch. cf. DKL Volume II, p.39f. Article: "Hansemann". It was Hansemann who had early developed the idea of German annexations in New Guinea in a memorandum to Bismarck already in 1880. He continued to be the key financial person working towards German expansion in Africa as well as the Pacific.

0 ibid.

1 ibid., cf. Hagen, op. cit., p.55. Kusserow served Bismarck in this capacity from 1874 to 1885 though he was not all that time in the Foreign Office. Hagen describes him as the most significant champion of an energetic German colonial policy (p.62f). See also DKL Volume II, p.403, Article: "Kusserow".

2 Hagen, op. cit., p.62.

3 ibid., p.437.

4 DKL Volume I, p.583. Article: "Erwerbung der deutschen Kolon Bismarck's willingness to take this irrevocable step must be seen in the context of a number of factors such as his long-standing dispute with London over the treatment of German nationals in Fiji, his refusal to recognise an "Australian Monroe Doctrine" in the Pacific and likewise his refusal to recognise a "British Monroe doctrine" in South West Africa. An additional excuse for Bismarck to interfere in the South Seas was the complaint of German trading houses about the manner in which the British (Queenslanders) were conducting the labour trade in the South Seas. Already at the beginning of 1884 Bismarck had dispatched Gustav von Oertzen as imperial commissioner in a warship to Mioko to regulate the labour trade and to work against the British activity in the Bismarck Archipelago. cf. Blum, op. cit., pp.9-11. Also Hagen, op. c p.437f.

5 Blum, op. cit., p.11. So Blum: "...am 19. August 1884 dages wurde das kaiserliche Kommissariat in Mioko telegraphisch angewiesen, offizielle Besitzergreifung vorzunehmen. und zu diesem Zweck S.M.S. "Elizabeth", "Hyäne", "Marie" und "Albatr in die dortigen Gewässer beordert."

6 von Hagen, op. cit., p.436.

7 See translation of Charter Appendix 1. An interesting aspect of the Charter is the foreshadowing of legislation to protect the inhabitants and to guarantee their vested property rights. There is both altruism and self-interest expressed here. An early example of German protection of the natives were the measures taken in 1885 by the Imperial Commissioner on Matupi to halt the recruitment of labourers for work outside German occupied territory except Samoa. cf. Koloniales Jahrbuch 1888, Volume I, p.263.

8 ibid., p 248.

9 cf. Koloniales Jahrbuch, Volume III, 18. p.252 and Volume V, 1892, p.258.

0 Max Krieger, "Über die Handelsunternehmungen in unseren Süd-See Kolonien" in Koloniale Monatsblätter Volume I, 1899, p.34.

1 DKL, Volume III, p.299. Article: "Schleinitz" cf. Blum, op. cit., p.43.

2 Krieger, op. cit., p.34.

3 Koloniales Jahrbuch, Volume I, 1888, p.258f. See also DKL, Volume II, p.258. Article: "Kerawara".

4 Krieger, op. cit., p.34, cf. Ernst Tappenbeck, Deutsch Neuguinea (Berlin: Wilhelm Süsserott Verlags-buchhandlung) 1901, p.31f.

5 Koloniales Jahrbuch, Volume I, 1888, p.258f. (see also Appendix 3).

6 ibid., note that during 1890 the New Guinea Company had established itself on Blanche Bay, New Britain, viz. at the Herbertshöhe station where the aim was to grow cotton. See Koloniales Jahrbuch, Volume III, 1890, p.260. The Kerawara station founded by von Schleinitz had been abandoned because of its small area and transferred to the Gazelle peninsula. See also Koloniales Jahrbuch, Volume IV 1891, p.310.

7 ibid., p.260f. The chief difficulty was that the local men could not be induced to work regularly. They would work a day or two and after payment would disappear. However, there were exceptions to this rule such as the inhabitants around Butaueng who did work regularly as desired.

28

Koloniales Jahrbuch, Volume IV, 1891, p.301f. also Krieger, op. cit., p.34. Tappenbeck op. cit., p.31. Here the figures are: 14 Europeans dead out of a total of 25. The cause of death was assumed to be fever but Tappenbeck suggests inferior tinned meat from Australia might have been the cause. A contributing factor may have been over indulgence in alcoholic refreshment Just prior to the epidemic a German naval squadron had been at anchor in Finschhafen and it is reported that the social activity between ship and shore had been very intense. See Johann Flierl, "Die Bedeutung der Alkoholfrage für unsere Kolonien" in Zeitschrift für Kolonialpolitik ...etc., Volume X, 1908, p.546. Also Max Krieger, Neu Guinea (Berlin: Alfred Schall) 1899 (?) p.232. Krieger gives the figure of 13 officials dead.

29

ibid., p.302ff. Note that Stephansort became once again (1896) administrative headquarters. cf. Blum, op. cit., p.48f.

30

Koloniales Jahrbuch, Volume II, 1889, p.281. In view of the fact that even before 1869 a German merchant in Brisbane had made several appeals to the ministry of trade in Berlin for Prussia to annex New Guinea, New Britain and other islands suggesting enthusiasm for the idea on the part of Australian Germans, their lack of response when Germany finally did annex remains something of a mystery. cf. Tappenbeck, op. cit., p.30. In his rather vitriolic criticism of the Company, Tappenbeck claims that its bureaucracy deterred any such settlement of Europeans. Similar views and even more acidic criticism are expressed by Stefan von Kotze, Aus Papua Kultur morgen. Süsser-Erinnerungen (Berlin: Fontane & Co.) 1915, p.322.

Further insight into the Company's operations can be gained from the following: Die Dokumente aus der Süsser (Hildesheim: Olzog Verlag) 1924.

31

For example for eighteen months after the establishment of the Company in Kaiser Wilhelm's New Guinea, the Company's operations were limited to the collection of taxes and the maintenance of the Company's posts. Since the Company's operations were limited to the collection of taxes and the maintenance of the Company's posts, the Company's operations were limited to the collection of taxes and the maintenance of the Company's posts.

2 *ibid.*, p.52. Furthermore, many left the Company service before their contracts expired. The percentage of those who left the Company in a given year before expiry of contract for any reason whatsoever was as follows:
 1889= circa 30%; 1890= 20%; 1892= 54%; 1893= 50%;
 1894= 65%; 1896= 77%.

3 *ibid.*, pp.48, 151-153 Included in this number of twelve on the New Guinea mainland would be the stations of two other associated German companies, viz. the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Plantagen-gesellschaft (founded 13.11.1890 - dissolved 1891) and the Astrolabe Company (1891-96, absorbed by the New Guinea Company). See Deutsches Kolonialblatt, Volume IX, 1898 p.138

4 *ibid.*, pp.46f. and 76. cf. Otto Dempwolff, "Die Erziehung der Papuas zu Arbeitern" in Koloniales Jahrbuch Volume XI 1899 pp.1-14.

5 See Appendix 4 for statistics cf. Koloniales Jahrbuch Volume I 1888, pp.257 and 262f.; Volume II 1889, p.278f.; Volume III 1890, pp.255f. and 260f.; Volume IV, p.311.

6 Dempwolff, op. cit., p.6, on Dempwolff's career see DKL Volume I, p 291. Article: "Dempwolff". He was Company doctor 1895-97.

7 ibid., p.8.

8 Blum, op. cit., p.41f. Blum was of the opinion that the only worthwhile thing the Company had done was to accept the burden of administering the colony at a time when the Reichstag had left the government in the lurch. For the rest, the Berlin-Hamburg financiers who ran the Company and who themselves had never set foot in the South Seas had committed blunder after blunder which had done untold damage to the infant colony.

9 Max Krieger, Neu Guinea (Berlin; Alfred Schall) 1899(?) p.233f. The Company was to receive 400,000 Marks annually for ten years and use the money for the further opening up of country. There was provision for giving an account of how it was spent but no exact prescription in this regard. See Tappenbeck, op. cit., p.28

DKL Volume II, p.630. Article: "Neuguinea Kompagnie".

1 Krieger, op. cit., p.234.

42 Blum, op. cit., p 60. (So Blum: "Die nächsten Aufgaben der neuen staatlichen Verwaltung sind aus den bisherigen Erfahrungen von selbst zu erkennen, vor allem müssen die Fehler vermieden werden, die das System der Neu-Guinea Kompagnie gekennzeichnet haben. Die Vermählung der feudalen res publica mit dem homo commercii, die im Grunde den Hauptthemmschuh bildete, ist nun gelöst, aber auch die Einzelfehler der bisherigen Landes-verwaltung müssen endgiltig abgethan werden, wenn die Kolonie sich gesund entwickeln soll.")

43 ibid. Although the Company system was judged largely as a failure administratively it did provide the opportunity for officials such as the imperial judge Albert Hahl in Herbertshöhe to lay the foundation for a sound native administration policy.

44 cf. ibid., p.61

45 Fritz Fischer, Griff nach der Weltmacht (Düsseldorf: Droste) 1961, p 17. cf. the speeches of Wilhelm II about this time in: Ernst Johann (Herausgeber), Reden des Kaisers (München: DTV) 1966. A typical example: "Then wherever the German eagle has seized possession and sank his talons into a country, that is German and will remain German." From a speech 1 March, 1898 to naval recruits in Wilhelmshafen (p.77).

46 "For the future of the world, colonisation has become a factor of immense significance. On it depends to what extent each nation participates in the ruling of the world. It is very well possible that a country which has no colonies could no longer be counted among the great European powers however strong it might otherwise be." Quoted by Prof. M. Sering "Volkswirtschaft und Kolonialpolitik" in Deutsches Kolonialblatt 1907 part I, p.117. Sering in 1907 would have been echoing the sentiments of all nationally minded Germans when he stated that the purpose of German colonial possession was to prevent the world's natural resources becoming the monopoly of one or two nations. Further, these possessions would be at once a source of raw materials and a market for German products. They would also give the German people the necessary elbow room to develop the "great and free style of life" which the British and Americans had developed because of the space at their disposal. ibid.

47 Bernhard Dernburg, "Die Koloniale Aufklärungsarbeit: (a lecture held in Munich 21.1 1907) (My italics). Deutsches Kolonialblatt 1907 part I.

8 ibid., p.58 (from a lecture by Dernburg entitled "Zielpunkte
des Deutschen Kolonialwesens" 8.1.1907) (*my italics*).

9 ibid., pp.137f.; 151f ; 155f. (from a lecture by Dernburg
entitled "Koloniale Finanzprobleme" 3/2/1907.)

0 Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1911, p.132.

1 Albert Hahl, Deutsch Neu-Guinea (Berlin: Verlag von Dietrich
Reimer) 1942, p.23.

2 ibid., p.23f.

3 E. Wolff-Posen, "Der farbige Ortsvorstcher" in Zeitschrift für
Kolonialpolitik... etc., 1904, p.853. cf. C.D. Rowley,
"Native Officials and Magistrates of German New Guinea 1897-
1921" in South Pacific, Volume 7, No.7, Jan-Feb. 1954, p.774.

4 Wolff-Posen, op. cit., p.853.

5 ibid., p.855.

6 ibid., p 858.

7 These statistics have been compiled by consulting the figures
in the various official government publications as well as
the Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon (see Appendix 7).

8 DKL Volume I, p.349f. Article: "Deutsch-Neuguinea-Kirchen und
Schulwesen". Of the first pupils to complete the manual
training school in Rabaul in October 1913, 5 were employed
by the government as clerks, 6 as fitters and carpenters,
3 as assistant teachers and 9 as printers. See Amtsblatt etc.
Volume VI, 1914, p.112.

9 cf. Deutsches Kolonialblatt, Volume XIV, 1903, p.675, where
German missionaries were sent to Ponape to give instruction
in German. Further in the Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet
Deutsch Neuguinea, Volume VI, 1914 pp.24-27 where a plea is
made to give up Pidgin and to speak only German with the
population.

0 See the article "Die Volkshygiene für Eingeborene in ihren
Beziehungen zur Kolonialwirtschaft und Kolonial-verwaltung"
in Amtsblatt...etc. Volume II, 1910 pp.115f and 120. Also
"Aufruf zur Mitarbeit an der Gesunderhaltung unserer farbigen
Arbeiter" in Amtsblatt...etc. Volume I 1909, p.150f.

- 61 Deutsches Kolonialblatt Volume XIV, 1903 p.153. Also Amtliche Jahresberichte 1911/12 p.155.
- 62 Deutsches Kolonialblatt Volume XX, 1909 p.922f. cf. Deutscher Kolonial-Kalender und Statistisches Handbuch für das Jahr 1914 Volume XXVI (Berlin: Deutscher Kolonial-Verlag 1914, p.154. cf. C.D. Rowley, "The Promotion of Native Health in German New Guinea" in South Pacific Volume 9, No.3 March-April 1957, pp.391-399.
- 63 Deutsches Kolonialblatt Volume XIV, 1903 p.495, Volume XXI, 1910 p.393.
- 64 DKL Volume III, Article: "Südsee-Expeditionen" p.436f.
- 65 Deutsches Kolonialblatt Volume XXIV, 1913 p.154f.
- 66 DKL Volume I, Article: "Eingeborenensteuer" p.516.
- 67 Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1904 p.132f.
- 68 ibid., p.744, 1908.
- 69 Amtliche Jahresberichte 1911-12, p.171.
- 70 DKL Volume I, Article: "Deutsch Neuguinea" p.352.

HAHL AT HERBERTSHOEHE, 1896-1898:THE GENESIS OF GERMAN NATIVE ADMINISTRATION IN NEW GUINEA.

Peter Biskup

Dr Albert Hahl was born on 10 September 1868 in Gern, Lower Bavaria, and was educated at the gymnasium at Freising and the University of Wuerzburg, where he studied law. In Germany, a young lawyer has to make up his mind early during his career if he wants to become a judge, practise as an advocate, or join the public service. Hahl chose the last alternative, and after passing the Regierungs-Assessor examination, he joined the Bavarian Ministry of Interior in 1894. In the following year he transferred to the Colonialabteilung of the Foreign Office in Berlin. He hoped to be sent to German East Africa but was posted to New Guinea instead, and much earlier than he had expected. His predecessor at Herbertshoehe apparently could not bear the climate and resigned before the expiration of the three year period customary for appointments to German New Guinea. Hahl was asked to replace him at short notice. He landed at Herbertshoehe on 14 January 1896 - a young man of twenty-eight, without any colonial experience whatsoever and with only six months of theoretical preparation. He remained in Herbertshoehe for just under three years as Kaiserlicher Richter (Imperial Judge), the only imperial representative in the eastern part of the protectorate. Hahl's next appointment, after a brief spell at the Foreign Office, was as the Deputy Governor of German New Guinea, with his seat at Ponape in the East Carolines; he held the position from July 1899 until June 1901 when he became Acting Governor of German New Guinea, replacing the ailing Benningsen soon after taking over he contracted blackwater fever, almost died as a result, and was sent back to Europe to recover. He was by then something of an authority on the Pacific, and his appointment as Governor of German New Guinea, on 20 November 1902, came as a surprise to few. While in Germany he was received by the Kaiser; he also met Louise Frein von Seckendorff-Aberdar, proposed, was accepted, and married her a few days before returning to New Guinea. As Governor, he visited Germany three times, in 1906, 1910 and 1914. On the last occasion, he confided to a friend shortly before leaving in April 1914: "I hope that I will not have to return, but in the colonial service one never knows".¹

Hahl's hopes were fulfilled, although under circumstances which he could not have foreseen in April 1914. The Great War not only deprived Germany of her colonies, just as German efforts were beginning to bear fruit; it also brought Hahl's career to a premature end. He was with the Colonial Office until 1916 when he became Under-secretary in the Turkish Ministry of Trade and Agriculture, only to

be pensioned off in 1918. After the war, Hahl was appointed Director of the New Guinea Company, but the position became largely an honorary one after the expropriation of German properties in New Guinea. He was also active in the German colonial movement, as chairman of the Finance Committee of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft and as member of the praesidium of KORAG (Reich Colonial Working Group), established in 1922 as an umbrella organization for all colonial societies. In 1936, at the age of sixty-eight, he became chairman of the Native and Labour Problems Sub-Committee of the Reichskolonialbund, essentially the old KORAG refurbished in line with the Fuehrership principle. If Hahl was a Nazi, he was almost certainly a nominal one: his most important works² were written during the Nazi period, yet they are surprisingly free of propaganda appeals for colonial revisionism, so rampant during the second half of the thirties. He died in 1945, at the age of seventy seven.

This paper examines a brief interlude in Hahl's career - his years as Imperial Judge in the Bismarck Archipelago. Hahl arrived at Herbertshoehe as a "new chum", an untried colonial official, at a time when things were not going particularly well in the protectorate. The New Guinea Company was making a rather poor job of colonization; it was losing money and staff at an alarming rate and had, shortly before Hahl's arrival, asked the Imperial government to assume full sovereignty over its territories. It was not the first occasion on which the company had appealed to the home authorities to come to its rescue. In 1889, at the request of the company, the Imperial government took over, temporarily, the general administration of the protectorate, the former agreeing to defray the costs of such administration. The home government appointed an Imperial Commissioner who replaced the Landeshauptmann as the chief executive of the protectorate, while the business affairs of the company were entrusted to a General Director. The arrangement could be terminated by the company after two years and by the home authorities at any time, for "reasons of state" or for non-fulfillment of certain obligations on the part of the company. In 1892 the Imperial government withdrew its officials (they were apparently not paid regularly) and the company resumed its administrative functions - a return to a situation which was the root cause of some of its earlier difficulties.³ Admittedly, the directors in Berlin had recognised this fact as early as 1890 when they attempted to separate the political and economic functions of the company by creating the shortlived Kaiser Wilhelms Plantagensellschaft and later the Astrolabe Company which established extensive tobacco plantations around Stephansort. But the results were disappointing, and late in 1895 negotiations were set in progress for transferring the company's political functions once again to the home government, this time permanently, and with the Reich bearing the financial responsibility as well. An agreement to that effect was signed between the home government and the company on 13 May 1896.

he terms were extremely favourable from the company's point of view. In return for renouncing its sovereignty and transferring to the Reich most of its buildings, wharfs and boats, the company was allowed to retain, for a period of seventy-five years, the monopoly in the acquisition and subsequent disposal of both ownerless and native land, the sole right to exploit guano deposits, and timber rights to all timber on private land, with respect to the whole of Kaiser Wilhelmsland and all of New Britain except the Gazelle Peninsula, and all islands west of 149° east longitude. The Imperial government reserved for itself the option to buy out these rights before 1 April 1905, for an indemnity of four million marks, if paid before 1 April 1900, increasing annually by 120,000 marks thereafter. The proposal was approved by the Bundesrath but the Reichstag refused to pass the required supplementary budget, since the agreement had "failed to adequately protect the interests of the Reich".⁴ But the company persisted in its efforts, and on 7 October another agreement was signed between the Reich and the company by which the latter renounced its sovereignty over the protectorate for the payment of four million marks, in ten yearly instalments, and the right to free selection of 50,000 hectares of ownerless land. By then Germany had embarked on its Weltpolitik, and parliamentary approval was a foregone conclusion. Still, the Social Democrats managed to amend the terms of the agreement in the budget committee of the Reichstag, by limiting the selection rights of the company to Kaiser Wilhelmsland alone and reducing the period during which these rights could be exercised to three years. The terms were approved by the plenum of the Reichstag on 21 March 1899, and the transfer of sovereignty took place on 1 April.

The reasons for the company's abysmal failure are not difficult to seek. To start with, it suffered from what Decharme, writing in 1903, described as "une centralisation vraiment excessive";⁵ Rudolf von Hansemann, the Director of the Disconto-Gesellschaft and the founder of the company, said Schnee, "tried to run New Guinea from his office desk in Berlin as if it were a feudal estate in Brandenburg".⁶ Secondly, there was what Reed has called the "over-normalized nature"⁷ of its rule. Regulations, emanating from Berlin and duly promulgated in the company's Verordnungsblatt, covered every conceivable contingency from flag-raising to the playing of pianos after 10 o'clock or bicycle riding on sidewalks - little wonder, said Neuhauss, that the Papuans call a government office Papierhaus [Haus pepa], adding "paper, and more paper, is the cross of our colonies". Changes in personnel were extremely frequent. In 1896, the year of Hahl's arrival, 77% of company employees had resigned before the expiration of their contracts.⁹ The company had planted untried crops in unsuitable localities. Dr. Schnee, stopping briefly in Friedrich Wilhelmshafen and Stephansort on his way to Herbertshoehe where he was to replace Hahl, was struck by large quantities of unused machinery laying about, rusting ploughs here and

there, and abandoned tobacco fields covered with weeds as high as a house. "I did not know whether to pity the futility of it all or to be amazed that an experienced man of affairs like Hansemann should have failed so utterly".¹⁰

By contrast, the Bismarck Archipelago - to be precise, the Gazelle Peninsula, the Duke of York Islands, northern New Ireland and some of the smaller islands such as the French Islands - was relatively prosperous. It accounted for 53 of the 58 plantations, trading establishments and trading posts in 1896, and for 858 hectares of land under cultivation (the figure was to double itself by 1898), out of a total area of 1191 hectares; its exports were worth 692,000 marks while the entire protectorate exported goods worth only 896,000 marks; it had a European population of 168, out of a total of 228; and a native labour force of some 2,400, as compared with approximately 1,600 (including Malays and Chinese) in Kaiser Wilhelmsland.¹¹ The archipelago was thus the most valuable part of the protectorate; in fact, it was the protectorate for all practical purposes - and Hahl its unofficial Governor. His position as Imperial Judge was a dual one: with respect to the administration of justice he was an independent Imperial official and dispensed justice in the name of the Emperor,¹² not the company; with respect to general administration, he took orders from the Landeshauptmann in Stephansort. Such was the theory. In practice, Hahl was largely his own master, partly because of communication difficulties with Kaiser Wilhelmsland (there was a ship connection only every two months), and partly because the impending take-over of the company by the Reich which must have, no matter how intangible, affected the relations between the two men. In addition, Hahl was acting Landeshauptmann for more than half a year after the murder of Curt von Hagen in August 1897, and had, at various times, also acted as judge of first instance for Kaiser Wilhelmsland. Hahl's salary was paid by the Imperial government; his staff, consisting of a secretary and a policeman (when he had one) was paid by the company. Hahl's functions were manifold; he himself had described them as follows: "I was the judge of first instance, was responsible for general administration, was endowed with consular powers, looked after tariff, harbour and quarantine matters, and was registrar of births, deaths and marriages".¹³ His office was a small room in one of the New Guinea Company buildings which he shared with his secretary who was also the agent for the Imperial Post Office.

Hahl's job in the archipelago, as he saw it, was not just to administer but to govern. Soon after his arrival, he found that the settlers had developed "certain authoritarian, tyrannical attitudes" and necessarily so, since survival was largely a matter of every man for himself; "the greater the distance from the seat of government, the more inclined were they to resort to the club-law in their

relations with the natives".¹⁴ This led to native reprisals, more resort to force on the part of the settlers, and a never-ending chain of violence. Only three years before Hahl's arrival, the inland clans had banded together to exterminate the white population of Herbertshöhe but the "uprising was suppressed, and a large number of villagers killed in reprisal."¹⁵ Tensions within the European community were rampant. There was an unusually strained feeling between the New Guinea Company establishment at Herbertshöhe on one side and the "Big Three" on the other. The "Big Three" were: the Mioko branch of the Deutsche Handels- und Plantagengesellschaft, primarily a recruiting depot for the Samoan labour trade; HERNSHEIM and Company, with headquarters at Matupi, a purely trading concern with some twenty trading posts, mainly in New Ireland and the Admiralty Islands; and Queen Emma's E.E. Forsayth and Company, a plantation cum trade establishment, with headquarters at Ralum and some two dozen trading posts all over the archipelago. They were joined in 1897 by a fourth enterprise, when the Kinigunan planter Octave Mouton, of Marquis de Lafayette fame, started trading under the name of O. Mouton and Company. In addition, there was little love lost between the large firms and the small, struggling planters and traders. Finally, the Wesleyan and the Roman Catholic missions were engaged in a private war of their own. In January 1891 an edict of the Imperial Chancellor divided the Gazelle Peninsula into two spheres of influence: the Wesleyans, established since 1875, were assigned the western half and the Mission of the Sacred Heart (active on the peninsula since 1882) the eastern half, although it was allowed to keep its enclaves at Malavolo, Malaguna and Nodup.¹⁶ Unlike a similar arrangement in Papua this was no "gentlemen's agreement", and the edict became a dead letter almost from the start.

The situation called for a man of unusual qualities - and Hahl was just the man. The English lady traveller Miss Pullen-Burry, who met Hahl in 1908, recorded the following impressions: "I at once felt that I should like him. Honest, genial, inclined to be friendly he began to speak in an excellent English...He was of middle height...inclining to be stout, but exceedingly active; in fact, he seemed to carry with him an atmosphere of latent strength".¹⁷ Others had been impressed by his pragmatism, inexhaustible zest for work, serene disposition and, above all, his common sense and capacity for compromise. Schnee, who replaced Hahl in 1898, had a deep respect for his predecessor; the only credit in the balance sheet of the New Guinea Company, said the future Governor of German East Africa, was Hahl's record at Herbertshöhe.¹⁸ Professor Neuhauss, the author of the monumental Deutsch Neu Guinea, believed Hahl's "insight, tactfulness and endurance were beyond praise";¹⁹ Professor Zimmermann, the doyen of German colonial historians, called him simply "extremely practical minded".²⁰ Those who knew him well came to similar conclusions. Dr. Wendland, a government medical officer, found him a congenial companion and easy to get along with.²¹ Mrs. Lulu Miller, a grand-n-

of Queen Emma, still remembers him as being always ready to help the "private" people: "when a big firm would close down on a plantation Dr. Hahl would not let them do it".²² The "big" people, for all the differences with the government (on one occasion the unofficial member of the Gouvernementsrat resigned in protest against the imposition of higher import and export duties) respected him for his capacity to get things done.²³ Dr. Keysser, the Lutheran missionary at Sattelberg, said that Hahl was always prepared to assist the mission;²⁴ another Lutheran missionary, Dr. Pilhofer, has recently praised him for having restrained some of his field officers who felt that the misunderstanding between the government and the people.²⁵ Even Dr. Brown, the founder of the Wesleyan mission in the Bismarck Archipelago and a sworn enemy of Germany, admitted that Hahl was a person of philanthropic ideas who took a fatherly interest in the natives.²⁶ As for the people they loved him; in the Gazelle Peninsula one can still meet old Tolai who remember him as pren tru belong mipela.²⁷

Even if we discount some of the above eulogies, Hahl still emerges as a truly remarkable man. He was a ball of energy, and his understanding of human beings almost uncanny. He knew his German compatriots and how far he could push them. He also knew his native charges; he had mastered the Tolai, Pidgin and Ponape languages (in addition to French, English, Latin and some Swahili and Malay) and had been fully initiated into the Tolai tabuan rituals. Hahl himself, in his published works was modest in the extreme. He comes closest to articulating his basic philosophy when he speaks of the need to give equal weight to native and European interests²⁸ or when he expresses the hope that the establishment of a plantation economy should be ultimately of benefit to the native societies as well.²⁹ If he had few illusions about "his" native people, he was also unburdened with any preconceived ideas. "There were amongst them, as amongst us, honest men and liars, upright men and wheedlers, courageous men and cowards, hardworking men and loafers; there was undisguised friendship as well as hatred".³⁰ Hahl would have almost certainly disagreed with Mackenzie's assertion that he was "one of the type of administrators rarely produced by the German colonial system...He recognized that the true doctrine for the colonization of a tropical possession is that the governing race is there not for the good of its own nationals but for the good of the people of the country".³¹ As he told Miss Pullen-Burry, "if not for philanthropic reasons, then on economic grounds we must preserve the native and defend him from the consequences of his ignorance ... Somebody must be top dog".³²

Hahl's most pressing initial task at Herbertshoehe was the creation of a police force. On arrival, he found himself in charge of twenty-four police boys, but only on paper; they spent their days working on the company's plantations, and were under Hahl's command only from six to eight in the morning, when they did calisthenics

and practice-shooting. He had no means of transport of his own, depending entirely on the company's boat or the cutter owned by the Mission of the Sacred Heart - which may explain his not unfriendly relations with Bishop Couppé, in spite of the latter's vigorous soul-poaching in the Methodists' sphere of influence. Within a few months Hahl had some 100 young, healthy men in his unit, fashioned, as has been suggested, after the British New Guinea Armed Constabulary. This may have been so, although the way Hahl had gone about it was certainly original. When the company refused to increase his "establishment", he found volunteers in villages behind Herbertshoehe and Ralum. Without pay, they would turn up at six o'clock in the morning at the improvised rifle-range behind Herbertshoehe; "they never missed and in no time I had a fully trained reserve".³⁴

Hahl's approach to pacification was similar to that of MacGregor: he believed in a show of force. Whenever a report would reach him of a disturbance or of an attack on Europeans, he would collect his police boys and sail to the trouble spot. One of his earliest expeditions, undertaken in 1896, was against the people of Selapiu land near Kavieng - pirates whose raids were paralyzing the trade on the south coast of New Ireland. Hahl disembarked and wanted to talk, but the villagers showed no inclination to discuss matters; in fact, they were extremely unfriendly. "So we had to shoot, so as to prevent losses on our side. Ten villagers were killed, before they realized that all resistance was futile".³⁵ On this occasion, during his entire eighteen years in the South Seas, Hahl made no attempt to conceal the number of lives exacted or villages burnt in reprisal. In this respect, he was a typical German colonial administrator. The Germans were always extremely candid about their dealings in their colonies, so much so that in 1919, when the Allies needed a justification for depriving them of their overseas possessions, they did not have to look beyond German official reports. This note of realism was no doubt poor public relations, but it is nevertheless refreshing. Hahl offered no rationalizations for the policy of reprisal; his punitive expeditions really punished. He was not in favour of shelling villages, because it was ineffective; the villagers on the Admiralty Islands, for instance, instead of "learning a lesson" dug the shell holes for planting taro. At the same time, he soon concluded that punitive expeditions left no permanent impression and that the establishment of what across the border was known as "law and order" would come only as a result of "continuous and regular intercourse".³⁷ This became official policy after 1899: the Germans sought to consolidate their positions along the coast before bothering with the hinterland. Most textbooks tell us that the area under German control in 1914 was small, comparing unfavourably with the situation in Papua, and this is undoubtedly true; but then the Germans understood "control" to mean more than not having their controls shot at.

Hahl's name is also associated with the beginnings of a native policy in the real sense of the word. The company came to New Guinea to make profits and had no "professed policy towards natives either in terms of their protection or in terms of their inclusion in a European order of things".³⁸ There were in existence, it is true, certain protective measures, such as the labour ordinances of 15 August and 22 October 1888, and the instruction of 10 August 1887 regarding the acquisition of land, but they were deficient on one cardinal point: the body responsible for their enforcement was also the most likely (in the case of land, the only) transgressor. As regards the second point, the natives' inclusion in a European order of things, the company had no policy at all. Within six months Hahl found himself committed to a positive native policy. It consisted of, firstly, the introduction of what is sometimes (wrongly) described as indirect rule; secondly, a series of measures intended to draw the native more closely into the growing commercial economy; and thirdly, protection of native lands. All three were closely related, at least in Hahl's mind, and their success depended on a simple premise: gaining the trust of the people. I will now examine each of the three measures in turn.

(1) Appointment of luluais

The appointment of "village chiefs" around Blanche Bay is the best known of Hahl's early experiments.³⁹ Although they have become generally known as luluais or kukurais, the Germans among themselves referred to them as chiefs, local chiefs, native or village magistrates, a tena varkurai, or constabler. The first three chiefs were appointed in August 1896 near Ralum, and others soon after in the Duke of York Islands and later in most of the Gazelle Peninsula; significantly, Hahl's action was immediately criticized by the entire European community who, as Hahl put it, simply did not "believe in the possibility of establishing an orderly administration among the natives".⁴⁰ Hahl says little about the circumstances which led to his early experiments in local government. "It is not difficult to persuade the inhabitants of the nearby villages to elect one of their clan leaders as their luluai, as their acknowledged head who would be responsible to me. He would come to me with their disputes, immediately if they were of a serious nature, otherwise he would settle them himself and report to me on the great court days held from time to time".⁴¹ The emphasis was clearly on the chiefs' magisterial functions (roadbuilding and other administrative powers were apparently an afterthought), and effective supervision was to be an essential part of the system. Land disputes and matrimonial cases were excluded from the chiefs' jurisdiction, being reserved for the "court days" held by Hahl himself. Several cases settled by Hahl have been recorded in his Gouverneurjahre in Neuguinea. On one occasion, at Kerawia, clan leaders brought before

him a man and a woman accused of incest; both showed signs of maltreatment. The leaders told Hahl that they would have killed the couple but for their fear of the government and asked him to hang them. Having first ascertained that the two were not related "in our sense", Hahl tried to reason with the leaders. "Their only reaction was a stream of complaints culminating in the reproach that the good old ways were being destroyed by the ever-increasing European influence".⁴² Hahl sent the couple away to a New Guinea company plantation, without any penalty - a good example of his approach, summed up by Professor Rowley as "a compromise between European law and native custom, which would (it was hoped) in time be developed into a common system".⁴³

In his early experiments in local government, Hahl may have drawn on German experience in East Africa where the Germans found, and later extended, the Arab system of ruling the coastal people through the akidas (heads of a single village) or the jumbes (heads of several villages). Like the chiefs in German New Guinea, the akidas were given certain administrative and judicial powers, although the latter were never clearly defined. It was a system of direct rule, not to be confused with the rule through native chiefs practised by the Germans in Ruanda-Urundi. In any case, Hahl knew he was not instituting a system of indirect rule. In his 1897 study of the power system within the Tolai kinship group, he made it clear that the traditional luluai was not the ultimate repository of power. He distinguished between the hereditary position of a gala na tutana, the head of the extended family (Sippe) whom all members of the family must obey, that of luluai, the leader in war, and that of uviana, the rich man. "The position of the head of the family always carries with it the dignity of uviana" The luluai "gives orders in the field and the men who attach themselves to him must obey him. No right of succession exists. The rule is that the head of the family is also the first luluai. Anyone, however, who has rendered special services on the field has a right to the title, even an alien who has been admitted to the district, and he does not lose the title even if he has run away from the field of battle. If he enjoys special respect he is called upon to give decisions between parties in civil battles. The force of his personality ensures the carrying out of his verdict..."⁴⁴ Professor Salisbury has recently added a fourth position, that of a lualua, who managed estates with parcels of land in several villages, and has also made a further distinction between the luluai na winarubu (fighting chief) and the luluai, reserving the latter title for anyone engaged in recruiting a following. According to his Tolai informants, some pre-contact luluais were "bad" men using sorcery, poison, theft or any other means to gain or to increase their power; they were feared and admired at the same time. "In modern terms a luluai was a 'ward boss'. It could be argued that he possessed power but not authority".⁴⁵ What Hahl tried to do was to give the luluais the authority they lacked. Later, under Imperial r

they were also given certain privileges, such as the right to retain 10% of the head tax collected in their districts, but it was the "signs of the government" (vakilag na matanitu) which they coveted most. "When I come [to Manus] again", wrote Boluminski to the leader of the Papitalai, "and hear your words of peace, I shall give you a hat and support also. .as I had given to the two leaders from Paak who received hats and also support to be recognized as government".⁴⁶ Hahl sought to use the luluais to displace the increasingly powerful agalas and to promote political and economic development, by creating larger groupings (after 1899 they were called Kreise) and by drawing the natives more closely into the growing commercial economy, on European rather than native terms.

Hahl had no illusions as to the tremendous task he had set himself, particularly in regard to the administration of justice. "Some chiefs did not know how to go about finding law, or even worse they used their position for personal enrichment. It required constant exertion and infinite patience to guide these people who belonged to a completely different culture".⁴⁷ Still, the system worked while Hahl was at Herbertshoehe, and also under his successor Schnee, when it was extended to northern New Ireland. Its success depended on several factors: the "election" of the chiefs by the people themselves something which was part and parcel of Hahl's original conception;⁴⁸ regular "circuits" in addition to court days held at headquarters; the use of the vernacular in the proceedings, rather than of Pidgin; some literacy on the part of the natives;⁴⁹ and lastly, certain personal qualities of the European officials concerned. When the system was extended (to Friedrich Wilhelmshafen in 1904, Bougainville in 1906, Aitape in 1907, Manus in 1911, Morobe in 1912 and Manam Island in 1913) some of these pre-requisites were absent: it was frequently imposed from above, sometimes by force; court proceedings were often in Pidgin and the officials involved were not always men of the same calibre as Hahl and Schnee. If, as Professor Rowley has said, it was "an experiment which had consistently failed",⁵⁰ it failed not because, but in spite of Hahl. In a directive dated 28 May 1903 Hahl, by the Governor of German New Guinea, told his officials: "Your first duty is to gain the trust of the people. You must become familiar with their language and customs. The use of corporal punishment is prohibited in all circumstances. Force when exercising police functions - arrest is to be used sparingly. The education and training of chiefs as organs of the government has high priority among your duties. The natives are upset by noisy, brusque manners and requires calm treatment, definite and short orders; shouting is unnecessary and has no effect whatsoever".

(2) Measures intended to draw the native more closely into the commercial economy

The second prong of the "Hahl policy" was designed to draw the native more closely into the commercial economy, on European terms.

y the time of Hahl's arrival, the Tolais had already started deliberate planting of coconuts for the market (from 1883 onwards between Rabaul and Cape Liwan, and after 1893 around Herbertshoehe⁵² but it was under his guidance that they laid out the first native plantation - a term used in New Guinea to describe an area of village land where a considerable number of coconuts have been planted with proper spacing, not to be confused with government plantations. The former, which were later also known as kiap's plantations, were native owned, the villagers being "compelled" to plant and maintain certain numbers of coconut trees. The produce, however, was theirs to dispose of, and from the proceeds they found the means for paying the head tax. Government plantations, also known as fiscal plantations, were on government land and were cultivated by the villagers in accordance with the provisions of the Statutory Forced Labour Ordinance of 18 November 1903. The Germans sometimes referred to this obligation as Domaene-arbeit). Hahl was well aware that the Tolais' newly found surplus time and energy, as a result of the introduction of steel tools and a substantial decrease in fighting, needed to be channelled into other activities. Working through the influential Raluana chief, Tokinkin, he persuaded the people to start a European type plantation on village land. "On the technical side there were no problems, since many of the younger men possessed the necessary experience. But it was difficult to make the people grasp the purpose of an exertion which would bear no fruit for many years".⁵³ It may be that Hahl had underestimated the Tolais' business acumen, but the fact remains that the element of compulsion, so conspicuous in most later German efforts to foster native agriculture, was absent on this occasion. Hahl's success was no doubt due to the favourable economic conditions in the Gazelle Peninsula, and he himself took little credit for it "The existence of a ready market for vegetables and copra helped considerably in all my efforts".⁵⁴

Until Hahl's arrival it was customary to buy from the natives whole coconuts for tobacco and other articles of trade, the traders themselves converting the nuts into copra with the help of native labour. During the 1890s an increasing proportion of the nuts came from inland areas; they were traded from inland to the coast, and the coastal people then bartered them for European trade goods. Since they had a virtual monopoly of such goods, they "grew rich with little effort".⁵⁵ They also insisted on payment in diwarra rather than German money, introduced in 1895. In order to keep the coastals working, the traders (most of whom were also planters), agreed among themselves to buy only processed copra and asked Hahl to explain this step to the natives, as both "useful and necessary". This he did, to the apparent satisfaction of all parties involved, but within a year most traders started once again to buy whole nuts. At first glance, this is somewhat puzzling. According to Blum,

the cost price of native copra during the late 1890s was £5 - 6 per ton, while that of plantation copra (in the case of a plantation of 100 hectares) £6 10s. per ton; market prices in Sydney averaged £11 10s per ton.⁵⁷ It may be that most traders had found the quality of native copra much too poor. An equally plausible explanation is the increasingly stiff competition between the traders and the fact that some of the more enterprising among them, such as Octave Mouton, may have had direct channels of obtaining diwarra, which was normally procurable only from the coastal Tolais. This may explain why in 1900 the administration passed an ordinance prohibiting the buying of whole coconuts from natives,⁵⁸ and barred trading in native shell money on the north coast of New Britain from Cape Lambert to the west, and the bringing of diwarra to other parts of the protectorate. The use of shell money for all transactions between Europeans and natives was prohibited two years later.

Roadbuilding was another aspect of the policy of drawing the natives into the commercial economy: Hahl believed in roads as a "civilizing agency".⁵⁹ At the time of his arrival there were virtually no roads in the Gazelle Peninsula except a path from the Roman Catholic Mission at Takabur to the coast, constructed by Bishop Couppe with the help of paid labour. Here again, Hahl got little assistance from the New Guinea Company. His first venture into road construction, a bridle-path from Ralum to Barawon Point, was financed by the manager of HERNSHEIM and COMPANY, Max Thiel, whom he had talked into "donating" some spades and axes as well as tobacco for that purpose. Under Hahl's guidance, the villagers "proved themselves willing workers, as long as the tasks I set them were not too demanding".⁶⁰ But a road had to be maintained, and here the natives showed little enthusiasm. One day Hahl found the spades stuck in the ground in a neat row, but not a soul in sight. The same evening, while resting in his long chair and pondering over the problem - all thinking in New Guinea is done in a reclining position - he was disturbed by a "regular deputation of village women. They told him how much they approved of his efforts to bring peace to the land and exhorted him to give their men, who had allowed the road to deteriorate, a "hearty kick in the pants".⁶¹ This fits in with Professor SALISBURY'S description of the pre-contact system of inter-parish trade among the Tolais and its subsequent expansion as a result of European contact. "On appointed days the women of neighbouring parishes would come to the boundaries of their territories, each bringing specialty products, and would exchange them, under the watchful eyes of their heavily armed husbands. Such markets were only about three miles apart... life was precarious because of the incessant fighting and cannibalism.... Truces and market were uneasy interludes marked by suspicion and attempts to outsmart the other man".⁶²

the Tolai women, it would seem, saw the value of the roads even if their menfolk did not. In any case, Hahl had no more trouble in his roadbuilding ventures.

3) Protection of native lands

Protection of village lands was central to Hahl's policies; the appointment of the first luluais came after, and may well have been connected with, his first steps in that direction. On 22 July 1896, several weeks before the three headmen behind Ralum had been given their caps, Hahl wrote to the acting Landeshauptmann, Captain Ruediger, setting out his views on the land problem and proposing certain temporary measures to alleviate native discontent.⁶³ Before annexation, the villagers had received certain trade goods and had signed certain papers, but, they told Hahl, the "real meaning of these documents was not clear to us"⁶⁴ - in other words, they had thought they were parting with certain usufructary rights only, rather than with the "ownership" of their lands, including village sites. Normally villagers were not evicted from the lands they had "sold" and were allowed to live on them until they were required for cultivation. In 1896 Queen Emma, as well as the New Guinea Company and Octave Mouton, were about to embark on an expansion of their plantations; Queen Emma alone intended to plant some 500 hectares with coconuts and was about to expel a total of 78 individuals (according to Hahl's reckoning) from the hamlets of Kikirre, Ulalom, Freirapi, Malle-malle, Vunapalpal, Bitarebarebe, Unaba and Palvavuvur. On Hahl's representation, Queen Emma and Herr Geisler agreed not to proceed with the planting and reiterated their earlier pledge to leave the natives the "unimpeded use" of the land they occupied. Since there were no written agreements to that effect, Hahl told Ruediger, he was enclosing for his consideration a draft ordinance which would empower company officials to delimit areas beyond which plantations should not be permitted to expand, and to proclaim portions of European-held or ownerless land as "protected native lands" (Schutzlaendereien fuer die Eingeborenen), allotted permanently and exclusively for native use and entered as such in the Ground Book, under the heading "limitations of ownership". If the phraseology of Hahl's proposal was somewhat cumbersome, the idea behind it was quite simple; under the company, there was no crown land in New Guinea, and the creation of what were in essence native reserves was possible only in such a roundabout way. In support of his proposal, Hahl argued that resettlement farther inland, while feasible, would spell a disaster for the people: "to separate them from their coconut groves would mean a complete ruin for them".⁶⁵ From the settlers' point of view, it was also desirable to retain the natives near the coast, as shifting them would result in a cessation of the steady supply of native-grown food for plantations as well as the loss of readily available day labour.

Finally, Hahl told Ruediger, his proposal did not envisage formal proceedings; demarcation of the plantation and native land would be done on the spot and in the presence of all parties concerned, and there would be an appeal from the decision.

Hahl's proposal, not surprisingly, came to naught. "In 1896", said Hahl in 1901, "it was unrealistic to expect the directors of the company to take an interest in native administration. Their dilatory tactics stifled all progress".⁶⁶ Still, his exertions bore some fruit. In May 1898 von Hansemann, in a despatch to the Landeshauptmann, while dismissing Hahl's ideas as having only a limited application, and only as regards lands acquired from the natives before 1887, authorized the inclusion in future contracts with natives of a clause guaranteeing the erstwhile owners usufructary rights to the land, for a specified period. He also instructed all company officials to adhere not only to the letter but also to the spirit of the 1887 land ordinance, as regards the acquisition of both ownerless and village lands. All contracts not in accordance with the provisions of the ordinance were invalid, particularly in cases where it could be shown that the natives did not realize the implications of their actions and where, therefore, the "meeting of minds", a necessary prerequisite for a valid contract, was absent (insoweit der Consensus fuer den Verkauf fehle).⁶⁷ Skopnik, the acting Landeshauptmann, took the matter further still, and instructed all company officials to adhere to the provisions of the 1887 ordinance, under pain of personal liability for damages which might arise out of future native claims.⁶⁸

Shortly before returning to Germany, Hahl set out his innermost thoughts on the land problem, in a secret and direct despatch to the Kolonialabteilung of the German Foreign Office,⁶⁹ in which he advocated a complete ban on the alienation of native land, as in the Marshall Islands, where the Jaluit Company had the right to acquire only ownerless land. In addition, he called for an immediate delineation of plantation and native lands in the Gazelle Peninsula, Duke of York Islands, Nissan, Pinipil, Carteret, Tasman, Pead, Mortlock and French islands and, should the claims of New Guinea Company and Queen Emma to certain native lands in New Hanover and northern New Ireland be upheld, in those areas also. Such delineation could be either voluntary or, where an amicable agreement could not be reached, by expropriation without any compensation. In the case of a voluntary agreement, the people would acquire an "inheritable, permanent, complete and free" right to live on the land and use it, and the fact would be properly noted in the Ground Book; in the case of expropriation, the title to the land would be transferred to the company. Finally, Hahl asked for the appointment of additional surveyors,

properly equipped and provided for (apparently it was customary for them to "live off" plantations) to survey boundaries between plantation and native land and resurvey all lands in the eastern part of the Gazelle Peninsula which had been entered into the Ground Book "wholesale", as gross areas (by specifying a coastal area and then extending the boundary inland either indefinitely or for a specific but long distance); "the longer we delay, the more trouble we shall have one day"⁶⁹ - a truly prophetic utterance in the light of events to come. When he left for Germany, Hahl took with him a draft land ordinance which, had it been approved by the Imperial Government, would have put a complete ban on the alienation of native land.⁷⁰

Finally, a few words about Hahl's relations with the European community. That he was on good terms with the Roman Catholic missionaries and Herr Thiel of Mioko has been noted already. Hubert Wisler, the New Guinea Company administrator at Vunatali, became a personal friend of his (and Hahl the legal adviser to the company), as did the Parkinsons; he was said to have been in love with Louise Parkinson and to have proposed to her but she would have nothing to do with him.⁷² His relations with Queen Emma could be best described as correct. Much of his inward correspondence was in French (from Bishop Couppé, Octave Mouton and others) or English (from Rev. Chambers, Rev. Crump and the few struggling Australian traders); he would reply in his gothic hand, without the slightest hint that it was not the most normal thing for an official in a German colony to receive letters in languages other than German. Anyone familiar with life on an outstation will appreciate how difficult it can be to draw a line between one's personal and official relations with other men, but Hahl seems to have had no problems here. After a convivial evening, he might be called upon next morning to fine one of his drinking companions for having given liquor to natives⁷³ or for having recruited a native girl without permit,⁷⁴ or he might be asked by an acquaintance (and refuse) to punish a runaway boy.⁷⁵ He would insist on repatriation of workers after the completion of their terms of engagement and on their proper treatment while in service - something which had not been very high on the company's list of priorities. He fined Queen Emma fifty marks for failing to supply her workers the prescribed rations (500 grams rice and 1,500 grams yams daily plus a weekly issue of 750 grams meat, 60 grams tobacco and one pipe) and for keeping on some of her workers after the expiration of their three-year contracts.⁷⁶ The outraged lady appealed to the Landeshauptmann in Stephansort, with what results we do not know

In civil matters Hahl dealt with an occasional case of fraud, probate, breach of contract, divorce and particularly libel. Scandal flourished among the Europeans - as it still does today -

and the gossip was frequently taken to court, which provided an agreeable change from the monotony of afternoon teas and tennis. One such case over a trifling public statement was Boluminski v. Waigelt (both employees of the New Guinea Company in Erima), pursued by Boluminski with a vengeance even after Waigelt's departure for Germany;⁷⁷ another was Phoebe Parkinson v. Mouton, stemming from Mouton's accusation that Mrs Parkinson was fond of using "those small tricks" in her land transactions with the natives. Significantly, the case was settled out of court, after Richard Parkinson had suggested that the matter be left to Hahl "not as a judge but as a fit person to find out the truth".⁷⁸ Here we find the perfect explanation for Hahl's personal influence. As Judge alone, he would have been normally secluded from contacts with the European community, but his administrative functions brought him into daily intercourse with the colonists, enabling him to play a prominent part in their business and domestic affairs. And, as there were no legal practitioners in the protectorate, people would come to him voluntarily seeking advice. In this context, one can describe Hahl's years at Herbertshoehe as "government by personal influence".

After 1901 Hahl tried to govern New Guinea along the same lines as he had run the Gazelle Peninsula from 1896 to 1898. If he did not always succeed, the blame should not be his. He could no longer be the "effective teacher"⁷⁹ he had been at Herbertshoehe; rather, he was a headmaster, who could only try to make others see the importance of teaching effectively. And there were other problems, such as increased opposition to some of his ideas on the part of the colonists who lobbied behind his back in Germany, and greater interference by the home government in general; a good example of the latter was the long lecture by the Kaiser on the subject of New Guinea which Hahl had been subjected to during one of his trips to Germany. Still, as he was leaving Rabaul, in April 1914, he could look back with satisfaction: exports had risen from just over one million marks (in 1902) to over eight million marks (in 1913), the area under cultivation had increased from about 11,500 acres to almost 86,000 acres, the Imperial government had committed itself to a subsidy of 2,913,000 marks for the coming financial year, and the Gouvernementsrat had just approved a three year developmental plan which would have transformed New Guinea. There was to be nothing like it, on either side of the border, until after the Second World War. And, should "development" be not enough, let us remember that not a few New Guineans, for whatever reasons, still do look back to those days and say: "Ah, taim belong Diaman i-gutpela taim".⁸⁰

APPENDIXAlbert Hahl: Select bibliography of his works.

- 896 "Reise laengst der Westkueste der Gazellehalbinsel", Nachrichten ueber Kaiser Wilhelmsland, 1896, pp.46-50.
- 897 "Ueber die Rechtsanschaungen der Eingeborenen eines Theiles der Blanchebucht und des Innern der Gazellehalbinsel", Nachrichten ueber Kaiser Wilhelmsland, 1897, pp.68-85.
- 898 "Die Bevoelkerung des Bismarck - Archipels", Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft fuer Erdkunde, 1898, pp.334-5.
- 901 "Mitteilungen ueber Sitten und rechtliche Verhaeltnisse auf Ponape", Ethnologisches Notizblatt, 1901, pp.1-3.
- 902 "Feste und Taenze der Eingeborenen von Ponape", Ethnologisches Notizblatt, 1902, pp.95-102.
- 904 "Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss der Umgangsprache von Ponape", Mitteilungen des Seminars fuer orientalische Sprachen, 1904, pp.1-30.
- 907 "Das mittlere Neumecklemburg", Globus, 1907, pp.310-6.
- 912 "Entwicklung Neuguineas", in K. Schneider, ed., Jahrbuch ueber die deutsche Kolonien, 1912.
- 920 "Achtzehn Jahre in Deutsch-Neuguinea", Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft fuer Erdkunde, 1920, pp.12-24.
- 933 "Die wirtschaftliche und kulterelle Auswirckung des Missionwerckes in Neuguinea", Koloniale Rundschau, 1933.
- 936 Deutsch-Neuguinea (Berlin, 1936).
- 937 a "Deutschlands Schutzgebiete in der Suedsee", in A. Haenicke, ed., Das Buch der deutschen Kolonien (Leipzig, 1937), pp.186-204.
- 937 b Gouverneursjahre in Neuguinea (Berlin, 1937).
- 938 "Verwaltung, Wirtschaft und Kultur" [Deutsch-Neuguinea], in E.G. Jacob, ed., Deutsche Kolonialpolitik in Dokumenten (Leipzig, 1938) pp.398-408.

HAHL AT HERBERTSHOEHE, 1896-1898:THE GENESIS OF GERMAN NATIVE ADMINISTRATION IN NEW GUINEA.NOTES

- 1 Commonwealth Archives Office, CRS G2, 0 11, Volume 2.
- 2 For a bibliography of Hahl's more important works, see Appendix.
- 3 With one exception: after 1892 the Imperial Judge for the Bismarck Archipelago was appointed by the Imperial Chancellor, not the company.
- 4 Nachrichten ueber Kaiser Wilhelmsland, 1896, p.6. The text of the 1896 agreement can be found in the Verhandlungen of the German Reichstag, IX.Leg., IV.Session, 1895-6, Document 378. The Reichstag did not have a direct say in colonial matters but held the power of the purse.
- 5 P. Decharme, Compagnies et sociétés coloniales allemandes (Paris, 1903), p.146.
- 6 H. Schnee, Als letzter Gouverneur in Deutsch - Ostafrika: Erinnerungen (Heidelberg, 1964), p.26.
- 7 S.W. Reed, The Making of Modern New Guinea (Philadelphia, 1943), p.131.
- 8 R. Neuhauss, Deutsch Neu-Guinea (Berlin, 3 volumes, 1911), Volume 1, p.450.
- 9 H. Blum, Neu-Guinea und der Bismarckarchipel (Berlin, 1900), p.52.
- 0 Schnee, p.27.
- 1 All statistics from Blum, pp.117, 154-7.
- 2 This had always been the case under company rule, but the Landeshauptmann was the last court of appeal.
- 3 Hahl, 1937 b, p.23
- 4 Ibid., p.19.

5 R.F. Salisbury, "Early Stages of Economic Development in New Guinea", Journal of the Polynesian Society, September 1962, p.335, gives the figure of 240 villagers killed when a German cruiser shelled inland hamlets in December 1893. The figure is very likely an exaggeration, and comes from a Roman Catholic missionary's letter in Hiltruper Monatshefte, 1894, p.152. Rev. F.V. Oldham, in Missionary Review, 4 January and 5 February 1894, said that forty natives were killed in the uprising, in four separate fights. Octave Mouton's Memories (undated MS. in the possession of Mrs J. Sturrock of Sydney) contain a five page description of the uprising and subsequent reprisals. Mouton accompanied one of the punitive expeditions and, on his own admission, "managed to drop a fellow with white feathers on his head" (p.85).

6 See Blum, p.81; Hahl, 1937 b, p.52 and B. Bley, Die Herz-Jesu-Mission in der Suedsee (Hiltrup, n.d.), p.21.

7 B. Pullen-Burry, In a German Colony (London, 1909), pp.126-7.

8 Schnee, pp.27-8.

9 Neuhauss, volume 1, p.450.

0 A. Zimmermann, Geschichte der deutschen Kolonialpolitik (Berlin, 1914), p.282.

1 W. Wendland, Im Wunderland der Papuas (Berlin, 1939), passim.

2 L. Miller, Reminiscences (MS., 1964; typescript copy in the library of the University of Papua and New Guinea), p.6.

3 For instance, Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, 1913, pp.467-8.

4 C. Keysser, Das bin bloss ich (Neuendettelsau, 1966), p.89.

5 G. Pilhofer, Die Geschichte der Neuendettelsau Mission in Neu Guinea (Neuendettelsau, 3 volumes, 1961-3), Volume 2, p.129.

6 C.A. Valentine, An Introduction to the History of Changing Ways of Life on the Island of New Britain (Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1958), p.118

7 Ibid.

8 Hahl, 1937 b, pp.15-6.

29 Ibid., p.18.

30 Ibid., p.46.

31 S.S. Mackenzie, The Australians at Rabaul (Sydney, 1938), p.224. Other members of the A.N.M.E.F. held similar opinions about Hahl (e.g. J. Lyng, Rabaul Record, 1 October 1916, p.4). Hubert Murray, on the other hand, was not impressed with the German record in New Guinea, at least officially (see his Report... on an Article on "Three Power Rule in New Guinea" by Mr Rinzo Gond, Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers 1917-19, p.7). Nonetheless, he had found it useful to exchange new ordinances with Hahl (Peter Sack, personal communication). In 1909 he wrote to Hahl that his critics keep reminding him of the "effectiveness of German native administration across the border" and asked the Governor to send him all relevant documents so that he could study them (Hahl, 1920, p.18).

32 Pullen-Burry, p.132.

33 Reed, p.141, fn. 47.

34 Hahl, 1937 b, p.33.

35 Ibid., p.40.

36 H. Schnee, Bilder aus der Suedsee (Berlin, 1904), p.166.

37 Hahl, 1937 b, p.59.

38 J.D. Legge, German Administration in New Guinea (typescript, n.d.), p.7.

39 See, for instance, Australia. Parliament. Report to the League of Nations on the Administration of the Territory of New Guinea, 1921-2, pp.39-40; Mackenzie, ch. 14; Reed, pp.138-41; C.D. Rowley, "Native Officials and Magistrates of German New Guinea - 1897-1921", South Pacific, January-February 1954, and The Australians in German New Guinea 1914-1921 (Melbourne, 1958), ch. 16; Salisbury, "Despotism and Australian Administration in the New Guinea Highlands", American Anthropologist, August 1964, pp.225-7. The most useful German accounts are Schnee, 1904, ch. 5 and E. Wolff-Posen, "Der 'farbige Ortsvorsteher' im Schutzgebiet Deutsch Neuguinea", Zeitschrift fuer Kolonialpolitik, Kolonialrecht und Kolonialwirtschaft, 1904, pp.850-8.

40 Hahl, 1937 b, p.49.

41 Ibid., pp.35-6. Hahl says that he appointed the first chiefs "around the end of August" 1896, without giving the exact locality. This information is supplied in Wolff-Posen, p.853. R.F. Salisbury, 1962, p 335, claims that the first chiefs, originally called lualua and later luluais, were appointed as early as 1894 as a result of the 1893 revolt. This is almost certainly incorrect. Salisbury's authority for the above statement is Nachrichten ueber Kaiser Wilhelmsland, 1894, p.19, but the reference does not mention the actual appointment of "effective chiefs" to "promote district solidarity" but only the need (es wird sich als notwendig ergeben) for such appointment. This does not demolish the second part of his statement - the Vunanami people themselves tie the appointment of their first chief directly to the peace-making after the 1893 revolt (R.F. Salisbury, personal communication). Neither does such radical innovation as the appointment of chiefs fit in with the whole tenor of company rule before Hahl's arrival.

42 Hahl, 1937 b, p.78. Other examples pp.76-7, 79-80, 90.

43 Rowley, 1954, p.772.

44 Hahl, 1897, p.74.

45 Salisbury, 1964, p.226.

46 Commonwealth Archives Office, AA 63/83, box 29, Herbertshoehe 30/01.

47 Hahl, 1937 b, p.71.

48 Ibid., p.35.

49 On the last two points see Schnee, 1904, pp.101-2.

50 Rowley, 1954, p.775.

51 Commonwealth Archives Office, CSR AA 63/83, box 29, Herbertshoehe 39/01.

52 Salisbury, 1962, p.333.

53 Hahl, 1937 b, p.81.

54 Ibid.

- 55 Salisbury, 1962, p.337.
- 56 Hahl, 1937 b, p.82.
- 57 Blum, pp.169-70. In 1879 the cost price of trade copra was 6 s. and selling price (London) £21.
- 58 Repealed in 1906 as regards Kaiser Wilhelmsland, and the French and Hermit islands; in 1907 as regards the Admiralty Islands, and in 1909 with respect to the Solomons, New Ireland and New Hanover.
- 59 L. Overall, A Woman's Impression of German New Guinea (London, 1923), p.85.
- 60 Hahl, 1937 b, p.27.
- 61 Ibid.
- 62 Salisbury, 1962, pp.331-2.
- 63 Hahl to Ruediger, 22 July 1896, Central German Archives, 2276 (microfilm, Commonwealth Archives Office).
- 64 Hahl, 1937 b, p.25.
- 65 Hahl to von Hagen, 22 March 1897, CGA 2276.
- 66 Hahl to Foreign Office, 17 November 1901, ibid.
- 67 Von Hansemann to Skopnik, 4 May 1898, ibid.
- 68 Hahl to Foreign Office, 15 September 1898, ibid.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 Hahl, 1937 b, p.98.
- 71 Pullen-Burry, p.127.
- 72 R.W. Robinson, Queen Emma (Sydney, 1905), p.192; Overall, p.127.
- 73 Commonwealth Archives Office, CGA 22 03 08, box 45, case 12 1898.
- 74 Ibid., case 12 1898.

- 75 Ibid., box 40, case 4/1896.
- 76 Ibid., box 45, case 9/1897.
- 77 Ibid., box 44, case 8/1897.
- 78 Ibid., case 7/1897.
- 79 R.F. Salisbury, Draft of Chapter One of his Forthcoming Study of Vunanami (Mimeograph, 1967), p.19.
- 80 Valentine, p.127.

LAND LAW AND LAND POLICY

IN GERMAN NEW GUINEA

P. Sack

I. INTRODUCTION

When I was invited to give a paper on German New Guinea at this seminar, I first thought of concentrating on land law. Then I decided, to make it worthwhile, I had to inform you about the administration of these land laws and the official land policy as well. After having given more thoughts to the matter, I realised, I had to go even one step further, since land law and land policy in German New Guinea can only be understood in the context of its history and economic development. Having expanded the scope so far, I had to limit the paper in other respects. The best way to limit it that I could see, was to concentrate the legal discussion on the rules governing the acquisition of native land.

Having abandoned most of the law, I felt entitled to look for an alibi regarding the quality of this paper.

Although German New Guinea ceased to exist fifty years ago, it is still a blank spot on the map of historical research. This does not mean that there is no literature on the subject. On the contrary, there is a vast number of books and articles. But they do not give a true picture, since most of them are coloured by personal or political aims and prejudices. The primary sources, however, are practically untouched, and it is doubtful if enough of them have survived to cover the blank spot 'German New Guinea' with adequate maps.

At least, all I can offer you today is a very limited attempt, largely descriptive in nature.

II. THE PREHISTORY OF GERMAN NEW GUINEA

The prehistory of German New Guinea starts to interest us from the 1870's onward. Before this time the contacts Europeans had with this area, were limited to the occasional visits of explorers, and whaling and trading ships.

The first who tried to settle were the traders, most of them being employed by the German firms of Godeffroy and Hernsheim. But they met with many difficulties. The Methodist Mission Station George Brown founded in 1875 can therefore claim to be the first permanent European settlement. Some years later, however, the trade was so firmly established, that the German Navy set up coaling stations at the local headquarters of the German firms.

Up to this point foreign governments were not very concerned with the development of the area. As a matter of fact, so little official interest was shown that Marquis de Ray was able to choose this area to stage the tragicomedy of his Free Colony of Nouvelle France. Soon afterwards, however, official policy changed. But before the governments committed themselves definitely the labour trade reached the Bismarck Archipelago and the first plantation was started.

The labour trade had begun slowly in the late 1870's but soon became dominant. For Godeffroy, for instance, labour recruiting for its plantations in Samoa was so important that its trading stations were mainly turned into recruiting agencies and trade was only continued to cover the costs of recruiting.

The obvious step to start plantations in the Bismarck Archipelago instead of transporting labour from there to Samoa was first taken by Queen Emma, who founded Ralum Plantation together with Farrell and Parkinson in 1882.

From then on the real estate market flourished. It grew hectic when it became evident that an annexation either by Germany or England was only a question of months. It finally reached such a point that the Tolais were convinced that after this annexation all their land would be taken away. They decided the best thing they could do was to sell it to the Methodist Mission to hold in trust for them.

Although no exact figures are available, I am sure that more land was bought during this time than that owned by Europeans in the same area in 1914. In any case it was enough to enable Parkinson to present later on the whole districts of Kalili and

Meiriki, that is, approximately 40,000 acres as a gift to the Sacred Heart Mission, but the New Guinea Compagnie interfered.

Now we need some information about this company: In 1879 the firm of Godeffroy suddenly faced bankruptcy for reasons unrelated to its Pacific activities. To prevent the firm's English creditors from taking over, a group of influential German bankers formed a syndicate. But their plans, strongly influenced by the annexation of Fiji by England, were more ambitious. They aimed at an annexation of Samoa, the Bismarck Archipelago and North East New Guinea by Germany. These plans had, however, to be postponed, because neither Bismarck nor the Reichstag or public opinion favoured the acquisition of Colonies at this time. But the attitude began to change, and in 1884 the bankers decided to make another attempt. Since Bismarck still did not approve of Imperial Colonies a chartered company was the only possibility. The bankers made sure that Bismarck was agreeable to this, secured the co-operation of Godeffroy and Hensheim, and finally addressed a note to Bismarck setting out their plans and officially asking for Imperial protection. According to these plans enough land was to be acquired in the Bismarck Archipelago and along the north-east coast of New Guinea to form a solid basis for a colony. This colony was to be placed under Imperial protection and administered by the New Guinea Compagnie which was formed for this purpose. Imperial protection was granted, an expedition was sent out by the New Guinea Compagnie, disguised as one of the usual trading expeditions of Godeffroy, and as soon as enough land had been acquired the Navy hoisted the German flag, thus placing it under Imperial protection. I might add that these early land acquisitions served mainly political purposes, so that they became largely irrelevant when an agreement was reached between Germany and England relating to the demarcation of their respective spheres of influence

III. GERMAN NEW GUINEA UNDER THE NEW GUINEA

COMPAGNIE

The history of German New Guinea really started in 1885 when an Imperial Charter of Protection was formally granted to the New Guinea Compagnie. This charter outlined its basic rights and duties as well as those of the Reich. The New Guinea Compagnie was to administer German New Guinea, whereas the Reich was responsible for the legislation and for the administration of justice.

The plans the New Guinea Compagnie had for the future of German New Guinea were defined in its statutes. According to these the main aim was to open the country for other settlers. The New Guinea Compagnie itself intended to take up planting and trading only to the extent necessary to encourage this development. The New Guinea Compagnie was so sure that German settlers, especially from Australia, would pour into German New Guinea that an announcement was published in the Australian papers stating that the exploration and the establishment of stations had to make some progress before settlers could be allowed into the country.

The New Guinea Compagnie started full of optimistic energy but there was a lot of red tape in Berlin and most of the local staff was either inexperienced or, for other reasons, of dubious value. The headquarters were set up in Finschhafen and soon afterwards stations were opened in Constantinhafen and Hatzfeldhafen. While the administrator concentrated on exploratory work, the station managers bought large tracts of land for the expected settlers.

However, no settlers arrived, and in 1889 the New Guinea Compagnie realised it had to take the economic development in its own hands. The new plan was, to turn German New Guinea into a second Java or Sumatra, with large coffee, cocoa, and especially tobacco plantations. The experiments with these crops were successful and two separate plantation companies were founded. But the coffee and cocoa scheme survived only one year, and the tobacco scheme failed, after a promising start, because the employment of skilled Chinese and Malay labour made the production too expensive.

After these experiences the New Guinea Compagnie began to accept the fact that it had to be content with planting and trading copra like the settlers in the Bismarck Archipelago. Since

pectacular profits were under these circumstances out of the question (the search for minerals had been unsuccessful so far), the New Guinea Compagnie tried to get rid of the financial burdens of administration. The negotiations with the Reich, started in 1885, proved, however, to be difficult. But before we come to this final step we have to take a look at the Bismarck Archipelago.

The settlers there had watched the New Guinea Compagnie taking control with growing uneasiness. They were not sure if their land claims would be accepted and if the New Guinea Compagnie would not make things difficult for them in other ways. To their surprise they were, however, more or less left alone. Their land claims were mainly dealt with by an Imperial Commissioner and it was not before 1890 that the New Guinea Compagnie became really active in the Bismarck Archipelago. And then it was Parkinson who took charge of the first plantation of the New Guinea Compagnie in Herbertshöhe, so that it was clear that the activities would develop along the same line as those of the other settlers.

Except for the plantation in Herbertshöhe not much land was bought, since no new settlers arrived and the old ones had already more than they needed. The areas planted up were still too small to be of much concern to the local population. Only the attempts of Bishop Couppé to get the Sacred Heart Mission started brought colour into the picture. The New Guinea Compagnie had the North-East of the Gazelle Peninsula and the Duke of Yorks, where the European settlements and the native population were concentrated, reserved for the Methodist Mission. Unwilling to accept this decision Couppé tried to acquire as much land as possible in this area, since the New Guinea Compagnie could not stop the Mission carrying out its activities on its own land. The struggle which developed over this question between Couppé and the New Guinea Compagnie strongly influenced the attitude of the Catholic members of the Reichstag. It was largely because of this struggle that it took until 1898 before the negotiations between the New Guinea Compagnie and the Reich led to an agreement.

In this agreement, which came into force in 1899, the Reich took back sovereignty over German New Guinea with all its privileges and obligations. The New Guinea Compagnie transferred without payment all its property used for administrative purposes to the Reich. And the Reich granted the New Guinea Compagnie the sum of 200,000 and the right to acquire 125,000 acres of land as compensation for the money spent on the development of the country.

Looking back on what happened in German New Guinea between 1885 and 1899 it is obvious that there was not much need for a sound policy. The "Principles for the Transfer of Land" the New Guinea Compagnie had issued in 1888 based on the wrong assumption

that settlers would rush into the country were therefore never changed. If land problems had to be faced they were decided individually, in a halfhearted way, and not according to broad principles. This began to change in the Bismarck Archipelago when Hahl arrived in 1896. He started to develop the land policy which he later implemented as Imperial Governor. But although the New Guinea Compagnie approved of his ideas, no definite steps were taken towards a land policy, since at this time the negotiations with the Reich were already well under way.

There existed, however, a whole set of very complex land laws. Our starting point in discussing them is again the Imperial Charter of 1885. It stated that the land rights Europeans had previously and duly acquired were to be respected. It granted the New Guinea Compagnie the exclusive right to acquire ownerless and native land from then on. It did not make any specific statement regarding native land rights. But since the Charter said the Reich would enact regulations to protect the natives, it was evident that the New Guinea Compagnie had to respect native rights when acquiring new land.

In 1887 an Imperial Ordinance came into force which dealt amongst other land matters, with the land acquired before the exclusive right was granted to the New Guinea Compagnie. In this respect the following rules applied: A person claiming to have acquired land before this time had to apply for a registration of his title, otherwise the claim would become invalid. The New Guinea Compagnie could object against a registration on the grounds that the monopoly was infringed. If no objection was raised or if the objection was overruled in court, the registration office had to investigate whether the title was otherwise justified. In cases in which the claim was based on the occupation of ownerless land it had to be made clear that the land had been ownerless. In cases in which claims were based on an agreement with natives, the registration office had to be satisfied that a contract had been made with the native owners and that they intended to transfer ownership to the buyers. In both cases the applicant had to prove that he had actually entered into possession and had not lost it since. I have not been able so far to track down any documents giving a picture of how thorough the investigations of these nearly 500 claims were. I do know of some cases in which natives as well as other settlers were interviewed, but I doubt if this was the usual procedure. The process of registering these properties was in any case so slow that the last of them were still unregistered in 1914 - 30 years after the acquisition.

Regarding future land acquisition the New Guinea Compagnie issued directions with the approval of the Reichs Chancellor about the same time. These directions showed a surprising knowledge of

native land customs as well as a remarkable willingness to respect them. But I am afraid that they were more significant for the intentions of the New Guinea Compagnie than for the procedure actually followed when land was acquired. The Imperial judges were at least frequently not satisfied that the directions were followed. I found a list compiled by the court in Madang which shows that out of 21 properties the New Guinea Compagnie claimed to have acquired the judge refused to register 16, including all properties larger than 250 acres. And there is another point which I would like to emphasize. The directions give at least the impression that the New Guinea Compagnie did not regard it as its duty to exclude land the natives needed themselves from any acquisition, but saw the natives' willingness to transfer land as the only essential criterion. This might have been a good thing had the New Guinea Compagnie regarded them as equals in other respects as well. But since they were otherwise considered to be children, it becomes highly dubious. In practise, however, things were not as bad as they could have been. The New Guinea Compagnie maintained later on that land the natives needed themselves was implicitly excluded from each transfer, they could not have been willing to sell such land and the agent did not intend to buy it.

IV. GERMAN NEW GUINEA AS AN IMPERIAL COLONY

When the Reich took over, there were two plantation centres. Around the Blanche Bay there were about 5,000 acres under cultivation and another 1,000 acres around the Astrolabe Bay. Trade in the Bismarck Archipelago was intensive, although still pretty risky. In New Guinea trade had just started near Aitape. Six mission societies were active in German New Guinea. The area in which they worked coincided at this stage more or less with the centres of European economic enterprise. Only the Neuendettelsauer Mission was in a different position, since it had the Huon Peninsula to itself after the New Guinea Compagnie had abandoned Finschhafen in 1891. The areas in which some sort of administration took place were not much larger than the two plantation centres.

One of the basic differences between the colonial policy practised in Papua and New Guinea was that the Germans were not interested in patrolling as large an area as possible but in concentrating on areas small enough to be administered permanently with the staff available. For this reason the progress which was made in placing new areas under government control was slow in comparison with Papua. It was, for instance, not before 1913 that the first efforts were made to open up the interior of New Guinea, following the three main rivers.

The plantations spread with about the same speed as Government control, sometimes being slightly slower as in the Solomons, sometimes being slightly quicker as around Aitape. During the first years the field was still dominated by the old companies, but soon an increasing number of smaller plantations were started by private individuals. Most of the small planters were former employees of the old companies. The main exceptions were the Queensland Germans in the Baining and the Chinese planters around Namatanai. The missions began to take up planting as well. Since the economic progress was satisfactory, outside capital became interested, so that during the later years a number of new plantation companies were founded.

In 1914 the area under cultivation had increased from 6,000 to 85,000 acres. The total area held by non-natives at this time was approximately 700,000 acres, most of it being freehold.

After the Reich had taken over, the old set of land laws was soon replaced. A new civil code had come into force in Germany in 1900 to which the colonial laws had to be adjusted. The new set of land laws included, however, some other changes as well.

The two most important ones were:

- (a) that land needed to guarantee a living for the natives was excluded from any acquisition and
- (b) that in case such land had been acquired previously it could be expropriated.

The basic rules regarding the acquisition of land were laid down in a provision by the Governor in 1904. They were defined in detail in the 'Principles for the Transfer of Land' which were changed several times. These principles, however, were rather an instrument of land policy than legal regulations. Their main purpose was to set out the rules applying to the transfer of administration land.

According to the latest version of these principles, published in 1914, land on which natives lived or gardened, or which they used for making and storing boats and fishing gear, was excluded from any acquisition. In the latter respect an allowance for the possible use of cutters in the future had to be made, whereas no corresponding allowance was made regarding the possible need for additional land in case cashcropping was started.

All other land could be acquired by the government. In areas under permanent government control this was done by officials. In other areas an interested person would acquire the land for the government, if permission was granted and the acquisition was to be checked by an official before the land was transferred to him.

These rules applied to the acquisition of ownerless land as well as of native land. Native land was usually bought, but for special purposes, i.e. for trading stations, it could be leased too.

Certain land the Government had acquired could not be transferred to private persons, i.e. land set aside as a native reserve and land used by the community, as public roads, water ways and landing places. The foreshore was according to German law public property anyway, but customary fishing rights were protected. Still other land, besides plantation land, could not be transferred into private ownership. Land of this kind could only be leased or special rights of use could be granted, i.e. the right to cut timber

Plantation land could either be sold or leased for 30 years. But it was an exception to sell land to non-European applicants. For non-Europeans who wanted to take up planting, certain areas which were only sparsely populated and unsuitable for large plantations were set aside.

Europeans who applied for freehold had to prove that they had enough capital for its development (£100 for every 250 acres was the minimum.) Then they had to buy the land from the government, refund the cost of its acquisition from the natives and pay for the survey and the registration of the property. On top of this considerable investment (it could be over £1 per acre), the applicants had to accept a number of conditions. The most important were improvement conditions, stipulating that the cultivation had to be started within one year and that three quarters of the property had to be planted within 15 years. If these conditions were not fulfilled, the uncultivated area had to be transferred back to the government without compensation.

In case of agricultural leases the improvement conditions were similar. They were even more strict, if the lessee was a non-European, since those leases were usually smaller and the rent was probably lower.

Missions could acquire land under easier conditions but the favourites were the small planters. A healthy applicant with some experience in the cultivation of land in the tropics could acquire a freehold of about 250 acres for a total price of 6d. per acre, after a test period of three years during which he had to cultivate one fifth of the property. Another way to encourage the establishment of small plantations was a very liberal policy regarding the shooting of birds of paradise. Hahl claims that nearly all the small plantations along the coast of New Guinea were financed with money earned this way.

Now we have to find out to what extent this policy of encouraging European plantations was limited by the government's land policy towards the natives.

The first problem in this respect arose out of the cases in which the natives, according to the contract, had sold all their land. In such cases the government tried to reach an agreement with the owner by which - in exchange for other land - a portion of the property was transferred to the government as a native reserve. As far as I can discover, the government succeeded in reaching an agreement each time, since the necessary land could otherwise be expropriated.

Regarding the acquisition of land, the setting aside of native reserves became official policy in areas where a large portion of the land was alienated. This policy differed from what was said in the land laws, according to which native gardens and palm groves were excluded from any acquisition. This solution, however, proved to be impractical, since the small native gardens

were scattered over large areas and an interspersion of native and European land was highly undesirable from both points of view. It was rarely the actual shortage of land but nearly always the fear that the boundaries would not be respected which caused unrest amongst the local population. If clear boundaries were established the natives were mostly satisfied and turned afterwards to the government for help, if they felt their rights were endangered. Queen Emma, for instance, complained several times in Berlin that the government would encourage the local population to take legal action in land matters against her. So it is probably fair to say that on the whole the protection of native land rights was given preference over the development of non-native plantations.

The development of native plantations is another matter. Although the government had good intentions in this respect as well, it could succeed only in areas where either no or only a small number of European plantations had been established. The European planters were, naturally, more interested in employing the local population on their own plantations and they formed a powerful pressure group with excellent connections in Berlin. But even without a large amount of official encouragement the number of native palms increased.

It was estimated that in 1914 the natives owned between three and four million coconut palms which is about the same number as that owned by non-natives.

V. SUMMARY

I am somewhat reluctant to summarise what I have said since this short paper already had to include more generalizations than I feel to be justifiable. But as a basis for our discussion it is probably necessary to have some sort of broad theses. The following statements, anyway, do not pretend to be more than that:

1. German New Guinea was already well under way to become a plantation colony before it was annexed.
2. The New Guinea Compagnie was probably well intended but too preoccupied with its own problems to develop a land policy or even to administer the existing land laws properly.
3. The Imperial Government encouraged European economic enterprise, but, at the same time, endeavoured to prevent its expansion at the cost of the traditional needs of the local population.

SIR WALTER McNICOLL AS ADMINISTRATOROF THE MANDATED TERRITORY

General R.R. McNicoll

Introductory note: This paper draws heavily on the files of the Department of Territories in the Commonwealth Archives, Canberra. The writer acknowledges the help of the Chief Archivist and his officers. The Department of External Territories, in kindly giving me permission to use the material, has expressly withheld its support for 'undocumented statements and other material and opinions contained in the paper'. Where a reference is not given in the notes, it can be assumed that the source is a personal or written communication from my father. His letters to me are now in the National Library, and accessible to students in Canberra.

Walter Ramsay McNicoll reached Rabaul on 13 September 1934, and on the same day was sworn in as Administrator of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea.

The territory had been under Australian rule for twenty years. For the first seven years there had been a military regime under several military administrators the last of whom had been Brigadier-General T. Griffiths. In May 1921 a civil administration had been set up under Brigadier-General E.A. Wisdom, who held the office for twelve years. When he retired in the middle of 1933 General Griffiths had returned on a temporary basis, and it was he whom McNicoll succeeded in 1934.

The man

The new administrator's knowledge of the Mandated Territory was no greater than that of each of his predecessors at the time of taking office. To offset his lack of knowledge of the territory in particular, and of tropical administration in general, he could claim administrative experience of a different sort: in his civil life, the headmastership of three secondary schools; in the war, four years of active service including two years commanding a brigade on the Western Front; and, in 1919, a period directing the A.I.F.'s very extensive education service in Britain and on the continent of Europe. He also had the great advantage of

personal knowledge, gained during three years in the federal parliament, of all the ministers and most of the politicians at Canberra during his first few years of office.

McNicoll was a conscientious, hardworking and somewhat conventional man. He was apt to be intolerant of opposing views. He was disinclined to compromise. He was not gregarious, and although invariably polite, he was not notably tactful. He was a firm believer in the virtues of discipline and loyalty; and he was conscious of the status which was (or which he thought should be) appropriate to his new appointment.

The Territory

He came to a territory which Australia no longer really wanted - although Australia was still keen enough on seeing that no other power controlled it - and in which the average Australian took little interest. The parliament at Canberra was concerned chiefly to avoid having to spend money and having to answer awkward questions asked by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. Ministerial responsibility for the territories was customarily given as a minor assignment to a minister with another, more important, portfolio; and later on, when territories became the whole responsibility of one minister, he was always a junior. It behoved any Australian territory to minimise its demands on the Commonwealth Treasury, to refrain from raising controversial issues, and to remain in that happy state of not making history. The Mandated Territory since 1921 had on the whole fulfilled these requirements. Although copra prices had fallen, the discovery of gold had restored the favourable balance of payments. The modest expenditure considered proper in the early thirties was comfortably met from revenue boosted by gold royalties. There was no demand for the reinstatement of the Commonwealth grant of £10,000 a year for the betterment of the native population, which had been discontinued in the depression. The affairs of the territory were not often mentioned in the Australian press, and very rarely made headlines. The Permanent Mandates Commission was always restrained in its treatment of the annual report.

The white people of the Mandated Territory took some pride in their special status, in the degree to which their adopted country was not an Australian dependency, in its separate tariff structure and immigration laws, in its preservation of practice dating from German times. They tended to look abroad more than the white people of Papua did. The planters sold their copra in Hamburg as well as in Sydney. The officers of the administration tended to take as their model not the Australian Public Service but the British Colonial Service.

The new administrator lost no time in beginning his tours of inspection. He established a pattern which most people would have found exacting in those days when there was no air travel (except within a few areas on the mainland) and all the islands and many mainland stations could be reached only by sea. In some degree this activity was necessary to correct past neglect, because Griffiths had rarely left Rabaul, and Wisdom in his later years had made few inspections. McNicoll made a practice of visiting the Morobe District, economically the most important, at least twice a year and if possible more frequently; Madang once or twice a year; and the Sepik, Manus, New Ireland, the Baining, Gasmata, Talasea and Bougainville once a year. Most of this travel was by motor ketch.

In this paper it is not possible to treat more than a few topics in any detail. I have concentrated on the opening up of the interior, the location of the capital, the problem of native education, the Administrator's attitude to the indigenous people, his relations with the religious missions, his view of the League of Nations, his relations with the press, his relations with his superiors in Canberra, and the impact of war.

PENETRATION OF THE INTERIOR

Ever since the inception of the Mandate it had been accepted that the administration's presence must precede private penetration of the country by Europeans. The principle had been ignored from time to time, notably by the gold miners who flocked to the Morobe goldfields in the late twenties, but when McNicoll arrived he found it set forth in the Uncontrolled Areas Ordinance which was policed by the Department of District Services and Native Affairs. The rate at which new areas were brought under control depended on the staffing of this department.

Two groups of people were irked by what they considered the slowness of the administration in bringing new areas under control. One consisted of commercial entrepreneurs, including miners and labour recruiters. In addition there were the missions, who in the Mandated Territory were able to compete for spheres of influence because of the accepted interpretation of the term of the mandate relating to freedom of religious belief.

It must of course be recalled that the policy of restricting access to uncontrolled areas had the consistent support of the Permanent Mandates Commission. When Michael Leahy, in reading his paper to the Royal Geographical Society in November 1935, had admitted that his party had shot forty tribesmen, and had recommended

his method of (as he put it) 'breaking them in from the start', the resulting outcry in Britain was heard at once in Geneva. The Australian representative was closely questioned by the Commission in the following June¹. The incident had taken place before McNicoll's time, but he was obliged to order an investigation which in due course reported that Leahy's actions were justified in order to save his life and the lives of members of his party.

Pressure from the missions

Early in 1935 McNicoll wrote to all five missions², referring to incidents in the Chimbu Valley and the Sepik District, and notified them that no further permits to enter uncontrolled areas would be granted until the administration had made contact with the local people. But in February 1937, largely as a result of representations to the Minister, Sir George Pearce, in Canberra, by a deputation of mission representatives, he was obliged to announce that he would once more consider applications for permits for scientific, prospecting or mission purposes.

The Sepik Patrol, 1935

McNicoll himself was keenly interested in the exploration of the interior of New Guinea. He was fascinated by the Sepik River. He early formed the intention of patrolling the upper Sepik, which had been virtually unvisited for twenty years. Prospectors were pressing for access. And the Administrator hoped that somewhere in the Sepik system a river port could be found from which a road could be built to the recently discovered and obviously important Western Highlands. He initiated and led the Sepik Patrol of October 1935. The four Europeans (one of them the young J.K. McCarthy) and a police party travelled in three small vessels. The patrol made its way upstream to a point well beyond the Dutch border. But so many hours were lost through engine trouble, and stranding, that there was no time to explore, on this occasion, the western branch of the Karawari River which had never been ascended and which might have afforded the route to Mount Hagen.³

Pressure from commercial interests

Difficult as it was to defend the principle of restricted access to uncontrolled areas against attacks by the missions, it was worse when powerful commercial interests used all their pressure. A case of this arose in 1936 when an expedition led by J.G. Hides sought access to areas in Papua and in New Guinea in which he claimed to have discovered gold. Access was denied by both administrations, and their actions were upheld. Another

and more contentious case arose when the gold company Enterprise of New Guinea decided to look for petroleum. Its application for a special permit to enter an area near the Dutch border was rejected in August 1937. Its 20/- shares immediately dropped from £10 to par.⁴ There was a considerable fuss. For five months the Minister had been the target for representations from the Enterprise director not only personally but through numerous private members of parliament and several cabinet colleagues. So when McNicoll gave his opinion that it would be early 1940 before the area sought would be available for a limited permit Pearce wrote to him a personal letter⁵ urging the early penetration of areas in which oil prospectors might be interested.

The Hagen-Sepik Patrol

Following this, McNicoll arranged for the further strengthening of the Department of District Services by the appointment of additional cadets, and he set in motion the preparations for the Hagen-Sepik Patrol. This was the largest, the best-equipped and the longest exploring expedition ever mounted in either the Mandated Territory or Papua. The project was opposed by the Director of District Services, who thought that his resources could not cope with the major extension of the controlled area that must result. McNicoll overruled him.

The patrol, led by J.L. Taylor, assembled at Mount Hagen in February 1938⁶. A base camp was set up at Wabag, six days' walk farther on, and from there, in thirteen months, and working in several parties, the expedition explored most of the country to the west previously unknown.

The Hagen-Sepik Patrol was McNicoll's idea, and he was its patron and supporter; furthermore, he kept in personal touch, by wireless from Government House at Rabaul, with the base camp at Wabag, arranging re-supply by air and lending Taylor, Black and Walsh more high-powered support than most patrols expect. He flew to Wabag to welcome them on their return to base in April 1939.

Early in 1939 the restrictions on permits to enter uncontrolled areas in the Morobe and Madang Districts were relaxed and soon afterwards there was an excision of a large area in the east of the Sepik District. But no concession was made in the remote west of the Sepik District, where Enterprise wanted to go. The company kept plugging away at each successive minister without success. At last there was a change of government, and it was rumoured that Labor would alter the uncontrolled areas policy. After all, the miners who wanted to prospect in these parts were all Labor voters. But there was no change. There is on the file in Canberra⁷ a letter

written to the new Minister in November 1941 by a disappointed miner:

... A number of miners up Wewak way the moment a Labor Government was elected left their poor ground, and went up the Sepik into the so called un-controlled area, where gold was more plentiful; thinking that no Labor Government would have them removed. You can just imagine their chagrin when they find that a Labor Minister has endorsed a rotten law that hide-bound Tories have enacted. There is no doubt in my mind that this bitter Tory McNicoll will have these men removed forthwith now he knows he has the support of a Labor Minister...

NATIVE EDUCATION

Appropriately enough, in view of McNicoll's background, one of the first subjects to occupy him was native education. He found on his arrival a dual system, with the missions conducting village schools and mission schools without subsidy, and the administration running a limited number of primary and technical schools in the more populous centres.

The Griffiths proposals

In 1933 Griffiths had put to the Commonwealth Government a plan for New Guinea based on the system in Papua: 'The Missions to take in hand the whole education of natives of the Territory and provide the necessary teachers for the schools, the Administration on its part to issue the necessary regulations and render monetary assistance by way of subsidy'.⁸ Education would be compulsory. There would be village schools, primary or middle schools and high schools. Griffiths had reported that the missions had agreed to the proposals in principle. But Cabinet had withheld approval until it could consider details and estimates of cost. The proposals, set out in the annual report for 1932-33, had been received coolly at Geneva.⁹

There were several objections to the Griffiths plan. The administration's own schools, few as they were, would have been abandoned. He had envisaged no central organisation for producing trained teachers. And the use of English for instruction above primary level, which he had rightly insisted upon, and which was feasible in Papua (or would have been feasible, if Murray had not limited native education to the

primary level) was out of the question when English was a foreign language to the great majority of missionaries.

A change of policy

Within a few months of his assumption of office McNicoll formed the opinion that the mission schools could not be used as the basis for a universal education system. In May 1935 he reported adversely on their standards¹⁰ and pointed out that the German missionaries, who predominated, would not be able to use English. He gave his view that the existing policy of development of administration schools should continue. He recognised that progress must be slow because it would be determined by the output of native assistants from Malaguna. 'The Mission schools will continue', he wrote, 'and be a very useful subsidiary organisation which might after a considerable number of years be brought into closer collaboration with the Administration's general scheme'.

A few months later he reported his view that the figures given by the missions and quoted in the annual report for 1933-34 - that 17,000 natives were receiving education - were misleading. 'I could quote many instances', he wrote, 'where, from personal observation, no secular education of any value whatever is being given'.

Early in 1936, in conformity with his policy of bringing the Legislative Council into the formative stages of policy making, he secured the appointment of a committee of the Council to investigate and report on the education problem. The committee presented a brief report in August of that year: having had discussions with the missions, its members found themselves 'in agreement that any future policy should be on the basis of co-operation between the several missionary bodies and the Administration under the general direction and supervision of the Administration'.¹¹ This must have made it clear to McNicoll that his hope of a scheme of purely government schools was simply not feasible, given the accepted policy that the Mandated Territory must be financially self-supporting. The committee's final report was delayed for various reasons, until at length the Legislative Council's term expired and the committee ceased to exist. The aftermath of the eruption of 1937 took so much of the time and effort of the administration that little thought could be given to the subject for about a year.

A compromise scheme

The Administrator decided not to seek a new committee on native education. His current policy was set out in a statement

sent to Canberra in October 1938:¹² 'At our present stage of development, no good purpose can be served in laying down any hard and fast plan... It appears to me that we cannot go further than saying that the Administration favours the education within limits of all the native population - male and female'. The scope of this task, however, would make it impossible for the administration to do it with its own resources. 'We must use other agencies', he wrote, 'and as the Missions are available and are at present making some effort towards education, it would appear that Missions will be the agencies used'. Syllabi were forwarded to Canberra - for 5 years' study in village schools, and for 2 years' study for advanced pupils - and, it was stated, these were likely to be accepted 'by several Missions wholly or in part'.

In June 1939 the combined scheme was expounded to the Permanent Mandates Commission where, the year before, the lack of progress in education had given rise to severe criticism. It was explained that the 2-year courses for selected pupils were to be given not by missions but by administration schools in the villages. The first of these, at Chimbu, had been opened.¹³

In March 1940 McNicoll, in Canberra, explained his proposals for zoning schools with native teachers, each zone to be in charge of a European teacher.¹⁴ But by the middle of 1940 the war had begun to affect progress. Some missionaries and mission teachers had been interned soon after the outbreak of war, and many more were sent south after the Allied reverse of May 1940. By the end of 1940 it was plain that wartime demands on manpower and money must mean the deferment of a major education scheme.

In retrospect one cannot condone the loss of the years 1935 to 1939 during which the Mandated Territory was groping for an education policy - just as it had groped, to no greater effect, ever since 1922. But it must be remembered that in those days the matter was generally regarded as neither vital nor urgent. As Sir Frederick Eggleston pointed out,¹⁵ the expenditure on native education in the Mandated Territory was on a par with a good many other administrations. 'The fact is', he said, 'that the problem of native education is unsolved. The best educational authorities cannot give a confident pronouncement on the subject'.

I have considered whether McNicoll's initial insistence on a purely governmental education scheme, and his grudging acceptance of a joint scheme using the missions, might have been caused by his distrust of the missions. I reached the conclusion that the reverse was the case; that it was the contrast between the missions' claims in their periodical reports,

and the standard of educational achievement which he saw with his own eyes, that contributed to his attitude to mission activities in general.

THE CAPITAL OF THE TERRITORY

When McNicoll arrived in 1934 Rabaul had been the capital for 24 years. It had the advantage of an excellent harbour, and it was the outlet for the largest area of development, the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain. It was well placed to serve the islands which had in the past produced most of the territory's wealth. Now, however, gold mining had outstripped copra production, and the people of the Morobe goldfields were jealous of Rabaul and resentful of being governed from a centre which they regarded as dominated by agricultural interests. McNicoll was careful to pay frequent visits to the Wau district.

For all this feeling, there was no movement for a change of the administrative centre from Rabaul to a mainland site until doubts were cast on Rabaul's safety.

The Rabaul eruption, 1937

The eruption of 29 and 30 May 1937 was the kind of cataclysm that no one who experienced it would ever forget. There was no precedent in living memory, at least in English-speaking countries. Apart from its scale and degree of violence there were some manifestations - such as the so-called 'black-out', when bright day turned suddenly to impenetrable darkness - which were peculiarly alarming. It is no wonder that many of the Rabaul people, physically quite unhurt by the eruption, suffered in the succeeding days and even weeks a kind of delayed shock which could not but have affected their judgment.

McNicoll was on tour at Wau at the time of the eruption. The senior officer in Rabaul was Judge Phillips, who coped with the emergency most ably, arranging for the evacuation of the town, the movement to Kokopo, and the retention of a small party (including himself) in the town for reasons of security and communications. Things were quieter. He saw that the damage at Rabaul though extensive was superficial. He decided that even if the seat of government had to be moved this would take months or years, and Rabaul would have to serve in the meantime. He felt it to be unthinkable to abandon the commercial and other assets there. He therefore resolved to press the rehabilitation of the town - and the best way to get on with this was to induce the people to go back as soon as the minimum services were restored.

There was a good deal of grumbling and some active opposition from the refugees at Kokopo. Their criticisms of the Administrator were given prominence in the southern press. But the Minister, Sir George Pearce, knew McNicoll and trusted him and gave him all the support he needed. Rabaul was reoccupied on 10 June, eleven days after the eruption had ceased.

The expert committee appointed to consider the future of Rabaul concluded that 'reasonably early evacuation of Rabaul as the main administrative centre of the Territory must be seriously considered'.¹⁶ Dr. Woolnough thought the risk of keeping Rabaul was unacceptable. Dr. Stehn, with much experience of living with volcanoes in the Netherlands East Indies, thought that Rabaul could safely remain the capital if certain precautions were taken. The Australian Government decided it could not take the risk.

A new capital

General Griffiths headed a committee which reported in April 1938 on the choice of a site for the administrative centre. Because of the lack of communications, other than by air, it discarded inland sites. Madang was ruled out as unhealthy, congested, and liable to volcanic disturbances. Lae was recommended as the capital and Salamaua as its port, linked by a road to be constructed.¹⁵

The Minister in charge of Territories, now W.M. Hughes, rejected these recommendations. He was in favour of Salamaua. Cabinet sent him to see for himself. He confirmed his choice. (It was during this visit that the Minister was made much of by the Morobe Mining Association who were pressing for a road from Wau to Salamaua). Cabinet approved Hughes's submissions. Then, in July 1938, McNicoll went to Salamaua with a group of his senior officers to make the preliminary arrangements for the works. A close look convinced them that the choice was bad. In a letter to the Minister, in which he recognised the embarrassing position in which both Hughes and the Cabinet would be placed, McNicoll condemned Salamaua and recommended Lae.¹⁶

Cabinet deferred the choice of a capital pending an investigation into a possible amalgamation of the administrations of Papua and New Guinea. A new minister, E.J. Harrison, took over Territories, but the Lyons Government took the extraordinary step of leaving two territory matters in Hughes's hands - the choice of a capital, and the route of the road from Wau to the coast. In due course Cabinet decided that this road should be built by the shortest route, which had been urged by the Mining Association. All three short routes had been opposed by McNicoll, whose engineers knew their difficulties only too

ell, and who had hoped to use part of the new road to open the
arkham Valley. Surveys of the chosen route took a long time.
It was clear to the Administrator that the cost would greatly
exceed the money in sight.

The Eggleston Committee in September 1939 recommended against
malgamation of the two administrations.¹⁹ They went on to
recommend Lae as the capital of the Mandated Territory. By the
time Cabinet considered the report the war had begun and it seemed
to be the wrong time to move the administrative centre. The
government announced that there would be no move from Rabaul for
the present.

The move from Rabaul to Lae

After the 1937 eruption there were no seismic disturbances
of any moment at Rabaul until January 1941 when there were some
severe earth tremors and landslides. Now, however, there was a
vulcanologist with an observatory. The temperatures of the
sumaroles at Tavorvur were recorded. One of them was getting
hotter. Things came to a head on 6 June 1941 when Tavorvur began
to erupt again, sending out continuous clouds of dense dust, most
of which fell on the town. There seemed to be little danger but
there was great inconvenience. Many European women moved out, as
the dust continued day after day, to nearby plantations. Some
left the territory. Before long the town was almost deserted at
week-ends. Its social life had come to an end. Public morale
was affected, and the public service began to lose efficiency.
On 11 August McNicoll in a signal to Canberra reported increased
activity and recommended moving the centre of administration.²⁰

The Minister, now A. McK. McDonald, expressed his agreement
in principle. McNicoll pressed on in anticipation of Cabinet
approval. He sent an organising group to Lae. He prodded Canberra.
When he issued a public statement: the administration had decided
to move the administrative headquarters from Rabaul to Lae. At
this stage twelve weeks of Tavorvur's activity had stifled all
opposition to such a move. No word came from Canberra in spite
of repeated urging. The reason was the government crisis; the
Denziens Government was being replaced by one under A.W. Fadden.
But at last, on 5 September, Cabinet approved the move to Lae.

Now McNicoll had to face the inertia of public servants who
could expect early relief from Tavorvur's dust when the southeast
season ended, and active opposition from Rabaul businessmen and
property owners who could expect a decline in prosperity if the
central administration departed. Early in October he was able to
get the first group of officers and families away to Lae (and to

Salamaus, where two departments were to go, as a temporary measure) together with workmen and building materials. He pressed on the move with the same energy as he had showed in getting Rabaul reoccupied four years before. The effect of inertia, however, was now so great that there was some doubt whether the accommodation would be ready for the second group of departments when they arrived early in January. The Executive Council decided that the Administrator himself should move to Lae to give high level direction on the ground.

McNicoll departed from Rabaul on 17 November 1941, leaving H.H. Page behind as Deputy Administrator. (Page and his office were to move early in January). On 23 November the Administrator made his official landing at Lae, which thus became the last capital of the Mandated Territory.

It is impossible to study the events of 1937 to 1941 without noting the stultifying effect of the indecision on the location of the capital. The effect on public finance and public works was direct; but even more important was the way it distracted the administration from its normal and proper activities.

THE ADMINISTRATOR'S ATTITUDE TO THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

Like most colonial administrators of his time, McNicoll was subjected to two powerful and opposing pressures inside his territory. One was that of commercial interests, entirely in the hands of the white people (except for the small amount of trade in Chinese hands): these produced the wealth and paid the taxes, and if they were not prosperous the administration could not have kept going. (As I have pointed out, the Australian Government gave little or no financial assistance to the territory. The opposing pressure was that exercised by the Department of Native Affairs and by all those whose aim it was to improve the condition of the indigenous people.

There can be little doubt that the Administrator's sympathy lay chiefly with this second group. Thus he defended the labour laws - which, for their time, were not illiberal - against attack by the planters and the miners. He maintained the integrity of the territory's courts of law which in a number of cases imposed heavy sentences on Europeans who had committed offences against natives.²¹ (The sentences were heavily attacked in Australia, in the press and in Parliament.) He did his best to preserve the native culture against the attrition of western influences. He resisted the planters' attempts to thwart the first instance of native commercial enterprise - which was the erection of copra driers in the Rabaul district²² - and he withstood heavy pressure

from the New Guinea Planters' Association for stricter and more arbitrary laws to govern the conduct of the indigenous people.²³ The planters sought, amongst other things, power for officials to administer corporal punishment without the formalities of trial and sentence. (Apparently Griffiths had allowed this, although wisdom had not.) McNicoll quoted Sir Hubert Murray's dictum which, however old fashioned it now seems, was enlightened at the time:

It has always seemed to me that there is only one way to earn respect either from black or from white, and that is to deserve it, and that in every community there are a certain number of men who do not deserve respect and consequently do not get it.

DIFFERENCES WITH THE MISSIONS

Although McNicoll's personal relationships with several heads of religious missions were cordial enough, he had a number of policy differences with missions. One must not forget that the majority of missionaries were German and thus a potential threat to security. Quite apart from this, the administration was constantly troubled by the friction between the two chief denominations, the Roman Catholics and the Lutherans, and the sometimes serious incidents that sprang from the competition for souls.

The Administrator found the attitude of the principal missions to the native population to be ambivalent. They were concerned more for the natives' spiritual than their material uplift. Thus instead of offering their workers better conditions than those which prevailed outside, they maintained as conservative an attitude to the native labour laws as any planter. One reason, it was recognised, was that the missions did not wish to antagonise their planter neighbours. Another, and even more important one, was that the mission plantations were commercial enterprises which produced the revenue for mission activities.

One of McNicoll's grievances was the attitude of many missionaries to the culture of the indigenous people. His own policy was to encourage the people to retain 'all such of their old customs as were neither cruel nor unhealthy'.²⁴ But some fanatics made a point of suppressing all dances and other ceremonies on the ground that they were pagan - and, what was infuriating, they would not scruple to claim that this was what the Government had directed. Wherever mission influence was strong McNicoll could not but note the neglect of traditional custom and design and the substitution of Christian symbols of the more tawdry kind.

The missions were there, and he could not do without them. By and large, they were a necessary evil. He was prepared to co-operate if they were - but how much simpler it would be, he must have thought, if the transition of the indigenous people to a more advanced civilisation could have been accomplished by other means.

ATTITUDE TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

In his early years McNicoll accepted the supervision of the League of Nations, through the Permanent Mandates Commission, as desirable as well as inevitable. He never differed from the League's cardinal principle that the welfare of the native people was the prime responsibility of the mandatory power. For some of the distinguished and experienced members of the Permanent Mandates Commission, such as Lord Lugard, he had great respect. However, his attitude to some other members was more reserved. He criticised them for asking questions or making comments which showed that they knew little about New Guinea conditions. This was unfair, because there was no provision for visits of inspection by members of the Commission, who had to rely on written information collected by the League Secretariat.

McNicoll was particularly nettled by Mlle Dannevig and her criticism of the Mandated Territory's poor showing in education. That he knew it was largely justified may have made it harder to bear.

As the League of Nations weakened - Japan withdrew, Italy ignored the threat of sanctions - it seemed less desirable to be responsible to, or to be protected by such a body. When Germany began to press for the return of her colonies the commitment to the ineffective League began to seem positively dangerous. Hence in June 1939, three months before the outbreak of war, in a statement to the Eggleston Commission, McNicoll favoured the amalgamation of the administrations of the Mandated Territory and of Papua, which, he considered, 'would give Australia a greater degree of control over New Guinea, and would therefore be a first step towards annexation which would follow in due course'.²⁵

RELATIONS WITH THE PRESS

For most of his term McNicoll was on good terms with Gordon Thomas of the Rabaul Times, and the administration received a very fair deal from that newspaper considering how dependent on subsidising it must have been. The Wau paper was less friendly,

reflecting the discontent on the goldfields over gold royalties, the failure to provide a road to the coast, and the undue influence which the planters were thought to exert on the Rabaul administration.

The Pacific Islands Monthly, always inclined to be critical of the administration of the Mandated Territory, was almost invariably hostile to McNicoll. R.W. Robson was an acute observer, but few could have called him dispassionate; and having taken exception at the outset to McNicoll's appointment he maintained his antagonistic stance. In January 1935 he got up a petition for remission of sentence in the Larkin case, an action which the administrator considered a most improper interference with the course of justice, and thereafter McNicoll was apt to refer to the Pacific Islands Monthly as 'that poisonous rag'.

The southern press, in the main, was indifferent. When newspapers in Sydney or Melbourne were hostile it usually had nothing to do with the merits of the case: either they were printing a despatch from a disgruntled local correspondent with an axe to grind, or they were seizing an opportunity to make an indirect attack on the Minister or the Government.

RELATIONS WITH CANBERRA

In November 1939, F.W. Eggleston wrote²⁶ a propos the Mandated Territory:

... My sympathy for an Administrator who has to put up with the eccentricities of Ministerial control from Canberra is profound.

During McNicoll's time in New Guinea, which amounted to seven years and four months, he served under nine ministers: Sir Harry Lawson, Sir George Pearce, W.M. Hughes, E.J. Harrison, J.A. Perkins, J.K. Nock, T.J. Collins, Alan McDonald, and J.M. Fraser. The first four of these regarded Territories as a sideline, having in each case another and more important portfolio. The remaining five were relatively junior assistant ministers. There was no separate department of Territories; and the permanent staff at Canberra was a section of the Prim Minister's Department.

There is no doubt that McNicoll was happiest with Sir George Pearce who was wise, experienced, and strong enough to withstand most pressure within and outside Parliament. He was least happy with W.M. Hughes, who in his later years was capricious, vain and obstinate. He found Perkins, Nock, Collins and McDonald agreeably amenable, but there must always have been a feeling that his

carefully prepared cases might be upset by representations closer to the seat of power. And the files show that at least one of his departmental heads corresponded privately and directly with officials in the Territories office.²⁷

A weak and inexperienced minister was also liable to make the cardinal error of undermining the Administrator's authority by dealing directly on official matters with private persons in the Territory. An instance of this was Minister Perkins's treatment of a communication from a Wau citizen, who was no friend of the Administrator, and who complained about what he considered laxity in rounding up aliens. The Minister referred it to McNicoll, who reported the facts, and ended²⁸:

In submitting the foregoing observations for the information of the Minister it is presumed that they are not to be used for the purpose of making any explanation to Mr. H.T. Allan as to whether the Administration is, or is not, functioning in a proper or correct manner.

...It is ... both irritating and embarrassing to the Administration to be the subject of inquisition by irresponsible persons, whatever the channel that may be used...

It is of interest to note that a letter reproving McNicoll for these paragraphs was prepared within the department in Canberra, but never sent. After his first few years McNicoll was prepared to resign on any major question of principle. From the middle of 1941 onwards he stayed in office because of the war.

At the end of 1940 Sir Frederick Eggleston wrote again²⁹:

The first requirement for a colonial policy is a due recognition by the Commonwealth Government of its responsibilities. With this will come an organisation suitable to the task in hand, and public interest and informed discussion will prevent any derogation from sound principles. It may be said that the responsibilities have not been sufficiently recognised; indeed, up to a point, the success of the New Guinea Administration has been due to the fact that, owing to lack of keen interest in Australia, those on the spot have been given a fairly free hand.

...that statement was a generalisation which was probably true in 1939. It would seem, however, that from 1939 onwards there

was an increasing tendency to tighten control from Canberra. Sir Frederick Eggleston's other criticisms - the frequent changes of ministers, and the lack of interest and sense of responsibility shown by members of the Federal Parliament - continued to be valid right up to 1942.

THE IMPACT OF WAR

The defence of the Mandated Territory was a sensitive subject. The mandate did not prohibit a defence scheme, and it even permitted the training of natives for local defence, but there was a strong pacifist sentiment at Geneva, and any defence measure might be claimed to be a breach of the mandate. There was also the German Government to consider, looking at its former colonies. And at the same time the importance of New Guinea to Australian defence was being increasingly recognised.

Defence schemes

Soon after his arrival McNicoll started work on the defence scheme with the Superintendent of Police, Lieut. - Colonel John Walstab. The only other person in New Guinea to know of it was the Government Secretary, H.H. Page. The scheme, issued in January 1937,³⁰ covered the obtaining of intelligence, the protection of vulnerable points, the control of aliens, the exercise of censorship, and the detention of enemy shipping. Provision was made for a special reserve of European Constabulary. The Native Constabulary was to be expanded. It was planned that should the enemy make a permanent landing most European combatants would withdraw to the interior leaving guerrillas and observers behind.

As time passed and the German and Japanese attitudes became more menacing McNicoll became seriously concerned over the vulnerability of the Mandated Territory. He felt himself personally responsible for its defence. He put forward a supplementary plan, called the Z Scheme, under which a New Guinea Field Force would be raised from the native population. The plan was neither accepted nor rejected.

War with Germany

On the outbreak of war in September 1939 McNicoll was given authority to raise the New Guinea Volunteer Rifles, but his plan for a native defence force was rejected at the instance of the Minister of Defence, G.A. Street.³¹ The more dangerous of the 100 Germans in the territory were interned and the activities

of the others were restricted. Enemy-owned shipping and aircraft were seized. Censorship was imposed. Gradually the war affected the economy: shipping services were cut, copra became hard to move, the air service was congested, young and able men left to join the A.I.F., and some of the most experienced men in the administration had to be released. Many others, notably in District Services and Police, could not be let go, as the remaining Germans were in a position to influence the native population and would not hesitate to do so, as the Administrator pointed out, if the Allies suffered a reverse. When such a setback occurred, in May 1940, McNicoll obtained from the Prime Minister a free hand to intern most of the remaining German missionaries.³² The protests were ignored.

I shall not elaborate on the effects of the war in delaying or causing the abandonment of so many projects. I should however point out that prior to January 1941 Australia never formally accepted any obligation to defend the Mandated Territory. The New Guinea administration was solely responsible. The small arms and equipment which the Australian Defence Department supplied were either on loan or were paid for by the administration. The responsibility for defence which McNicoll carried for the first sixteen months of the war was a heavy burden. He had no guarantee of help from Australia, and yet the Australian Government had vetoed his plan for a New Guinea Field Force.

The danger which he foresaw, particularly after May 1940, was an insurrection based on the powerful German missions with possibly some German sea or air support. There was ample evidence of subversion of the indigenous people in certain areas.

The situation changed early in 1941 when the 8th Military District was set up with its headquarters at Port Moresby, and the Administrator was relieved of responsibility for all but civil defence. There was now no thought of conforming to the mandate's restrictions on fortification. Some aircraft were based at Rabaul, and guns commanded the entrance to Simpson Harbour. A battalion of infantry arrived in April. Women and children had already been advised to leave New Britain.

War with Japan

The entry of Japan into the war on 8 December was followed by mounting concern as people began to appreciate the magnitude of Japan's early successes and the possibilities which they opened up. The Japanese were known to have bases in their Pacific Islands. Rabaul lay only 900 miles from Truk, but 2000 from Sydney. The decision of the Executive Council that

The Administrator should move to Lae in November, followed by the Government Secretary in January, had been linked to some extent with the provision in the War Book that in the event of invasion the administration would fall back on Wau, a move which could be made overland from Lae. Now, because of delays in building, the departments of the Government Secretary and the Treasurer were not to move until late in January. The New Guinea administration was in a difficult position. The split was highly inconvenient as Rabaul was still the centre of communications with Canberra; but McNicoll was opposed to retracing his bold step of starting the move to Lae, and after conferring with Page and others on the spot in Rabaul he decided that the move would continue.

Four days after Pearl Harbour Cabinet decided on the compulsory evacuation of women and children. The collection of evacuees took place almost exactly as planned years before. Shipping and aircraft, of course, could not have been planned, depending as they did on the availability of transport at this critical stage of the war; but all went well, and by the end of December the operation was completed.

Late in December and early in January McNicoll visited Rabaul and then Port Moresby, conferring with the service chiefs and pressing for a stronger force for Rabaul which he could see was terribly vulnerable. He had no success and returned to Lae deeply depressed. A few days later he went down with a violent attack of quartan malaria.

The correspondence between the Deputy Administrator in Rabaul and the Administrator in Lae, in December 1941 and January 1942, when read in the light of what was to happen to Page and his colleagues, is dramatic. Page was not unduly concerned over the delays which shortages of shipping and materials were causing to the transfer of the remaining departments. The worst that could happen to the European civilians in Rabaul, he thought, was that they would be interned by the Japanese. The correspondence vividly illustrates Page's phlegmatic attitude and McNicoll's increasing anxiety and sense of frustration.³³

The first bombing of Rabaul was on 4 January. On the 15th Page saw a chance of evacuating the European civilians, using a ship he had at hand.³⁴ The authorities in Canberra and Melbourne asked for more information. By the time they gave consent, on the 20th, the ship had been sunk.

Meanwhile McNicoll, still very sick at Lae, thought of flying out the members of the Executive Council so that the administration could continue at Lae or Wau. All was made ready for a special

return flight Lae-Rabaul-Lae very early on 21 January.³⁵ The project had to be abandoned after Page signalled that the bombing of the 20th had made it impossible.

Lae was attacked from the air on 21 January. Everyone moved out of the town. On this day many other stations were bombed. On the 21st and 22nd the civil staffs at outstations destroyed their papers and heavy equipment and moved out to emergency headquarters which had been prepared in the bush, from which they could communicate with Wau and from which most, in the course of time, returned to safety. On the morning of the 23rd the landings began at Rabaul, and by evening the town had fallen. On the same day McNicoll handed over local control at Lae to the senior military officer there, Major Jenyns, and was flown to Wau. On the 24th he was evacuated, sick, to Port Moresby and thence to Australia.

SIR WALTER McNICOLL AS ADMINISTRATOR

OF THE MANDATED TERRITORY

NOTES

1 Permanent Mandates Commission. Minutes of the 29th Session
(June 1936) and the 31st Session (June 1937).

2 Commonwealth Archives Office. Commonwealth Record Series
A518, Item BB 840/1/3.

3 See J.K. McCarthy, Patrol Into Yesterday (1963). A copy of
McCarthy's official diary from the McNicoll Papers is now
in the library of the University of Papua and New Guinea.

4 C.A.O. CRS A518, Item S 834/1.

5 C.A.O. CRS A518, Item BB 840/1/3.

6 C.A.O. CRS A518, Item A 251/3/1. See also Rabaul Times,
23 February 1940, and subsequent issues, for a summary of
the interim report. The final report was used during the
war but was withheld from publication for security reasons.

7 C.A.O. CRS A518, Item S 834/1.

8 C.A.O. CRS A518, Item C 818/1/3.

9 P.M.C. Minutes, XXV (May 1934)

0 C.A.O. CRS A518, Item C 818/1/3.

1 Legislative Council Debates, Meeting No.2, 1936, p.2.

2 C.A.O. CRS A518, Item C 818/1/3.

3 P.M.C. Minutes, XXXVI (June 1939)

4 C.A.O. CRS A518, Item C 818/1/3.

5 Pacific Islands Monthly, 15 November 1939.

6 Stehn, Ch. E., and Woolnough, W.G., Report on Vulcanological
and Seismological Investigations at Rabaul. Canberra, 1937.

- 17 C.A.O. CRS A518, Item AA 836/4.
- 18 C.A.O. CRS A518, Item AK 800/1/3.
- 19 C.A.O. CRS A518, Item A 800/1/3.
- 20 C.A.O. CRS A518, Item AK 800/1/3.
- 21 C.A.O. CRS A518, Items AA 242/3/2, AS 242/3/2, AU 242/3/2.
- 22 Pacific Islands Monthly, 22 January 1937.
- 23 Rabaul Times, 11 December 1936 and 8 January 1937.
- 24 See Lord Moyne, Walkabout (1936); also McCarthy's diary op. cit.
- 25 C.A.O. CRS A518, Item A 800/1/1.
- 26 Pacific Islands Monthly, November 1939.
- 27 C.A.O. CRS A518, Item AB 16/2/1.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Austral-Asiatic Bulletin, December 1940 - January 1941.
- 30 C.A.O. CRS A816, Item 16/401/187.
- 31 C.A.O. CRS A518, Item B 16/2/3.
- 32 C.A.O. CRS A518, Item C 16/2/1.
- 33 The correspondence, in the McNicoll Papers, is now in the library of the University of Papua and New Guinea.
- 34 C.A.O. CRS A518, Item L 16/2/3.
- 35 Communicated by S.A. Lonergan.

NEW GUINEA MANDATE: THE VIEW FROM GENEVA*

W.J. Hudson

Introduction

Elsewhere, I have said something of Australia's reaction to League of Nations surveillance of the New Guinea mandate.¹ In this paper and in however fragmentary a way, I wish to indicate something of League attitudes, of how Australia and New Guinea looked from Geneva. It can be argued, I think, that a complete picture of the New Guinea mandate will emerge not only from the territorial history of the period and a study of government activity in Melbourne and Canberra (on both of which much of the research has yet to be done), but also from a knowledge of the League of Nations which supervised the mandate and which, until 1941, provided the only substantial source of embarrassment to the Australian administration.

The Entities

Convention allows reference to 'the Australian view', 'the Australian policy' or 'the Australian reaction' although, very often, there is no such thing. Similarly, only perhaps decisions of the League Council formally represented League policy or views but, in everyday terms, one speaks of 'the League', 'the League view' or 'League attitudes' without necessarily having the Council in mind. What, then, was the League? In the mandates context, the entities involved were what might be called the political (the Council and the Assembly), the statutory (the Permanent Mandates Commission) and the administrative (the Secretariat - and, especially, its Mandates Section).

The Council, the League equivalent of the UN's Security Council but more successful in remaining master of its own house, met several times a year. While the Covenant made it the ultimate mandatory authority in the League structure, its agendas were heavy and it

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rarely did more than briefly discuss and ratify reports by the Permanent Mandates Commission. Most of the attention which was paid to mandates went to the Middle Eastern 'A' mandates, to Iraq, Syria, Palestine and Jordan, where questions of war and peace and the sensitive interests of the dominant powers were involved. Occasionally, it was called on to resolve questions like that of the nationality of the inhabitants of mandated territories, questions which affected the substance of the mandatory system, but as a rule the Council did not concern itself with details of administration in the 'B' and 'C' mandates of Africa and Oceania. The League Assembly, like its UN successor, met only once a year and represented all members. Its committee system allowed for wider discussion of mandatory performance, but the spacing of its meetings, together with the absence of crusading zeal of the anti-colonial kind with which we are familiar in the United Nations, robbed it of impact. Unlike the UN General Assembly in the trusteeship context, the League Assembly was only a debating chamber; authority rested with the Council. These were the political organs of the League, organs which convened occasionally, which were dominated by mandatory powers and in which expert knowledge was very unevenly distributed.

Expert knowledge was meant to come from the Permanent Mandates Commission. The Commission comprised ten members chosen for their specialist capacities, alleged independence of their governments and, in theory but not in practice, without respect to state of origin except that nationals of mandatory powers should be in a minority. Selected by the Council, Commission members included a fair sprinkling of noblemen; most had behind them successful careers in politics, colonial administration or diplomacy. They received annual reports from the mandatory powers, examined them, questioned representatives of the powers and commented to the Council on mandatory performances. These comments then went as a rule to the mandatory governments as Council comment. The Commission could muster considerable colonial experience, it possessed some dedication and most of its members served for long periods, but it only met in Geneva for two sessions of about three weeks each year (thirty days in session was the annual minimum for which members could earn their modest stipend, as a German member was disconcerted to find when appointed half way through a PWC year). For about nine or ten months of each year, the League in physical, operating fact was the Secretariat.

The Secretariat

Compared with its New York successor, the Secretariat was

small, overwhelmingly European and a little patrician. Its members communicated easily with each other and with their official friends in the European capitals. At least in the 1920s, and perhaps until the resignation in 1933 of Sir Eric Drummond as Secretary-General in favour of a Frenchman, J.A. Avenol, the British presence in the mandates area was strong. Drummond's immediate assistants were all British - men like F.P. Walters, A. Buxton and J.V. Wilson, the last a New Zealander. The first designated head of the Mandates Section was George Beers, President Wilson's adviser, who felt unable to take up the post in view of Congress reaction to the League. Philip Baker, a much-admired young man borrowed from the League of Nations Union in London, then almost an adjunct of the Foreign Office, filled the gap until the appointment late in 1920 of W.E. Rappard, Professor of Economic History and Public Finance in the University of Geneva. Rappard held the position until 1924 when he resigned to accept the vice-rectorship of the University (later he became a member of the PMC itself). He was succeeded by his Italian deputy, Vito Catastini, who, after a long tenure, gave way in the mid-1930s to E.R. de Haller, another Swiss. During Baker's period, links with Whitehall on mandates issues were utterly intimate, but even under Rappard they remained close. It is apparent that Rappard at times was slow to appreciate the nuances of Drummond's relaxed but punctilious dealing with his London friends, but he became very close to W. Ormsby-Gore, the first British member of the PMC and, after the defeat of the Lloyd George Government, deputy to the Duke of Devonshire at the Colonial Office. Even under Catastini, relations with London were extremely friendly.

The point here is that the 'administrative style' of the Secretariat was of a kind easily jarred by gauche diplomacy and Australian activity could easily appear gauche. To take a trivial example, the Prime Minister's Department in 1926 sent to the Secretary-General for circulation to League members an extract from the Australian Board of Missions Notes in which the Anglican Bishop of Melanesia was quoted as saying after a visit to New Guinea that 'this is what one has dreamed that a "protectorate" might really be'. The Secretariat was astounded. The Mandates Section secretary supposed that 'we must circulate this, but is it necessary to translate?' Buxton wrote to Walters asking 'could we not inform (R.G.) Casey and ask him whether he could persuade the Australian Government that it is stupid to circulate this stuff?' In this case, Wilson could at least explain to his colleagues that Bruce was trying however crudely to offset adverse publicity about the New Guinea administration.² Earlier, in 1921, Rappard had been utterly baffled by a telegram from Melbourne grandly proclaiming the advent of civil administration in New Guinea, a development known for some months to the Mandates Section which already had the

Australian press blanketed by an exhaustive clippings service. Appreciative of the 'deference... proffered spontaneously by a Mandatory Power', Rappard evidently felt, nevertheless, that there must have been more here than met the eye and he put on record that 'before taking any action by way of acknowledgment or publicity, I am... having (the telegram) circulated among... sections and departments... requesting them to supply me with information which they may possess'.³ In neither instance were Australian intentions sinister, but the Antipodean combination of naivety and known hostility, of which more will be said below, was found disturbing.

A second feature of the Secretariat to be noted is its special regard for the mandates system. This sprang essentially from experience during the period following the 1919 Peace Conference, when the whole League experiment seemed to be in jeopardy. The lack of machinery for translating the mandates from the conference, which awarded them, to the League, which was to confirm and supervise them, seemed to buttress that section of western public opinion which saw mandates as a scandalous fraud. This, in turn, it was feared, was making the involvement of the United States, and thus perhaps the success of the League, more difficult to achieve. Equally, the failure of the United States to ratify the Covenant might put the mandates system into limbo and so damage the League's prospects. There was, too, the fear that Germany, bound someday to enter the League, would make trouble if her lost colonies had merely been absorbed into the colonial systems of her conquerors. The Secretariat had a vested interest in the rapid and successful introduction of the mandatory system. As Rappard declared in a minute of May 19, 1921: 'If... it be recognised that the Mandatory system is a distinct asset to the League of Nations, it would obviously seem to be the duty of the Secretariat to itself, to the League of Nations and to the world at large, to do all in its power to strengthen the system'.⁴ In March, 1922, Rappard wrote to Drummond urging the need for a quick settlement of the 'A' and 'B' mandates lest the Secretariat share in blame for slowness to have the system instituted. Drummond thought it clear enough that the fault lay with the Peace Conference and the United States, but he suggested that Rappard ask Baker to 'write privately to Lord R. Cecil & get him to ask a question in the House of Commons' so that the reasons for the delay could be stressed publically.⁵ Then, in July, 1922, Cecil wrote to Sir Edgar Walton, South Africa's High Commissioner in London, at Drummond's suggestion:

My friends of the Secretariat of the League - and particularly Drummond - are rather worried because they have a note from General Smuts saying that the

Government of South Africa have not been able to prepare a report on the administration of South-West Africa...

Drummond thinks it would be most unfortunate if South Africa, whose Prime Minister was to all intents and purposes the founder of the mandates system, seemed in any way behind hand in making the mandates system real and effective.⁶

The effect of all this was that the Mandates Section carried weight within the Secretariat. As Baker, then no longer with the section, was expelled to Drummond in mid-1921, the future of the ex-German colonies could gravely embarrass the League unless the mandates system was effectively applied, effective application depended on how the PMC did its work and 'the work of the Mandates Commission...will depend on the work of the Mandates Section!'.⁷

Related to this point is a third, that the Mandates Section tended to see itself as the guardian of the purity of the mandates concept. In 1921, Rappard listed three functions for his section:

1. To prepare the work of the Council with respect to the whole problem of mandates (Report to the Assembly, definition of the terms of the mandates, organisation and appointment of the Mandates Commission).
2. To serve as a permanent secretariat for the Mandates Commission which is to meet intermittently.
3. To collect and sift all material in public documents, private books and pamphlets, periodical and newspaper articles with respect to the mandated areas, and the policy of the Mandatory Powers with regard to these areas and general questions of colonial administration.⁸

In performing this third function, in being the eyes and ears of the Commission members, the Section could scarcely have been more assiduous. Let M.H. Ellis or F.M. Forde write newspaper articles hostile to the New Guinea administration,⁹ a backbencher raise a question in federal parliament or a German colonial society make allegations of abuse in the Berlin press, and the Section could be relied on quickly to pursue the matter and brief members.

It might be noted, finally, that the Secretariat view of the mandatory concept tended to be a little more adventurous even than that of the PMC itself. Lord Lugard, who as Sir Frederick Lugard succeeded Ormsby-Gore on the PMC, was probably its most enlightened member and I have chosen to compare some of his views with those

of Secretariat staff. The 1924 Inter-Parliamentary Conference called for increasing self-government and ultimate independence for mandated territories, a familiar enough demand now but, at that time and on a literal reading of at least the 'B' and 'C' mandate terms, very novel. Lugard's response was a minute declaring that 'the "B" and "C" Mandated Territories for the most part consist of many tribes in every state of evolution, speaking many languages. They have no desire to be amalgamated, and it would be unjust to place them under a small oligarchy of foreign educated natives...the principle of self-government can only be applied by giving the different tribal units the largest possible degree of control in their own affairs under supervision, and educating them to a sense of responsibility'.¹⁰ But Finn T.B. Friis, a well-regarded young Scandinavian member of the Mandates Section, in 1929 listed as one of 'the principle aims of the mandates system' that it should 'gradually...educate the native population for self-government'.¹¹ And it is noteworthy that in his original manuscript he first wrote l'administration autonome and later amended it to read merely de se gouverner elles-mêmes.¹² Again, Baker argued that mandatory reports were to be to the Council's satisfaction and 'in the last resort this gives the League the right to send commissions of inspection' to mandated territories.¹³ In fact, inspections did not become part of the mandates system and Lugard opposed them because they would be resented by the mandatory powers and they would add immensely to the cost of the system - views which reflected attitudes as typical of the League period as atypical of the United Nations years.¹⁴ Finally, Huntington Gilchrist, an American for a time attached to the Mandates Section, was prepared to describe the mandates system as representing 'a form of control over colonial government'. Further, 'if a government refused to carry out a recommended improvement, the Commission...could by slow pressure eventually bring about the improvement'.¹⁵ But for Lugard, 'the Commission had, of course, no means of enforcing its opinion other than the force of public opinion...the mandatory system... had afforded opportunity for friendly co-operation and interchange of experience in colonial matters'.¹⁶ The radicalism of the Secretariat should not be exaggerated but certainly, if one drew a line from conservative right to radical left, the mandatory powers would be on the right, the PMC in the centre and the Secretariat generally on the left.

Attitudes Towards Australia

Until the rise to eminence of Bruce in the late 1930s, when he was rather much a freelance statesman but doubtless reflected some glow on the state he formally represented, the view of Australia from Geneva was vague, confused and suspicious. In

uch a Eurocentric organisation, the vagueness was perhaps inevitable. Drummond wrote to J.G. Latham in 1933 that 'the strengthening of relations between the League and important overseas countries is, in my view, one of its chief outstanding tasks'.¹⁷ Officials knew little of Australia and what they learned was not always reassuring. Thus, Rappard wrote to Ormsby-Gore in 1921 mourning that he had no 'authentic information' concerning the Australian mandate to balance against criticism already pouring in from German sources, and received in reply a hostile tract on White Australia and the Navigation Act which were 'bound to be detrimental to the economic interest of Papua and New Guinea'.¹⁸

Confusion stemmed partly from the Secretariat's uncertainties about the status of a country at once signatory to an international covenant and apparently still a component in an imperial system. Drummond, of course, was more familiar than his non-British colleagues with developments in imperial relations, as shown, for example, in 1922 when he intervened to rule that the Secretariat should not circulate a copy of a parliamentary speech by W.M. Hughes forwarded by the Foreign Office 'without being requested to do so by the Australian Government'.¹⁹ But mistakes were still made, as in 1921 when a reminder about an overdue League contribution was sent to the Australian Government through Hankey at the Cabinet office in London. In an irate note which would not have disgraced Hughes himself, Senator E.D. Millen, in London in the course of leading an Australian delegation to that year's Assembly session, declared that 'Australia is one of the original members of the League of Nations, and that, as such, Australia is not under the control, or the direction, of any other member...the action taken by you in forwarding the letter through the Secretary of the War Cabinet was clearly not proper and is highly objectionable'.²⁰ The confusion over Nauru, needless to say, was considerable. Memoranda circulated from time to time on the history of terms used to describe the holder of the mandate but it could be wondered if officials were ever quite sure of the position. The mandate clearly was administered by Australia, which sometimes communicated directly with Geneva on Nauru questions, and in 1928 Gilchrist wondered if all future dealings could not be with Australia, but the Dominions office insisted that it must continue as intermediary.²¹

Suspicion of Australia was perhaps the inevitable result of W.M. Hughes' performance at the Peace Conference. He accepted the mandate with the worst possible grace and, while occasionally he made kindly references to the League, as often he was contemptuous. This was known in Geneva, and remembered. Gilchrist, for instance, claimed disappointment at the failure of efforts to have Hughes visit Geneva after the 1921 Imperial Conference: 'I believe it could have done him good! I believe it would have made him respect the League a little more too'.²² Sir Joseph Cook who, as High

Commissioner in London, was a frequent Australian representative at Geneva in the early 1920s, was not much liked and, in Rappard's case, was clearly loathed. He was aggressive in his dealings with the Secretariat and he seemed often not to have done his 'homework'. Then, again, J.V. Wilson toured Australia on behalf of the Secretariat in 1925 and subsequently reported to the Secretary-General that, apart from a few individuals, Australians were unfriendly towards the League and, further, that 'friends of the League do not seem to be satisfied with the administration of the Australian mandate over New Guinea'. His quoting of these 'friends of the League' as telling him that 'the Administration was regarded as a means of finding jobs for ex-officers of the Australian Expeditionary Force and that most sent were of the "nigger-driving" kind' could not have been better devised to blacken Australia in Genevan eyes.²³

It should not be supposed that the Australian image was utterly ebony. Latham and Bruce were known and respected. They encouraged Geneva (Latham was not beyond posting across Hansard proofs of pro-League speeches); Geneva encouraged them (Sir Herbert Ames, a Canadian and director of the Secretariat's Financial Section, wrote to Bruce in 1922, for example, congratulating him on an able speech on the League and 'taking the liberty of writing you regarding the more recent developments, as I am confident that there will be other occasions when you will not fail to speak a word for the League').²⁴ But Rappard once summed up what seems to have been the general Genevan attitude:

It is obvious that we must, on the one hand, do everything we can to avoid offending the Australians who seem to be particularly sensitive and not over-enthusiastic about the League. On the other hand, I think we should equally avoid being subservient and passive merely because of possible misapprehension.²⁵

There were, indeed many occasions when care was taken 'to avoid offending the Australians' and to reassure them as several instances in one year, 1924, show. The first incident arose when the Australian Government wrote to the League seeking permission to lend £67,000 to the New Guinea Administration for public works. This represented unnecessary humility at odds with general Australian views about the proper interpretation of the League's supervisory role and was subsequently declared by other mandatory powers to be objectionable practice, but Drummond nevertheless urged a quick response from the Council because 'it would be good and pleasing to Australia that the League should show that it can act speedily'.²⁶ Again, at a time when Australia was acutely sensitive to German claims, Rappard brusquely dismissed a protest

by three former German colonists alleging inadequate compensation from their own government and none at all from Australia, quoting PMC views that the League was not responsible for the Treaty of Versailles or the financial situation in Germany.²⁷ When the Australian Government published a collection of League documents relating to mandates, Rappard wrote to Cook, with his tongue perhaps not altogether in his cheek, saying 'what a precious encouragement it is in our work here to see such a document, testifying as it does to the Australian Government's interest and faith in the mandatory system'.²⁸ On the other hand, Gilchrist's reaction to Australia's report on New Guinea for 1924-5 and Drummond's every comment on it show something of the critical and slightly contemptuous attitudes which often showed through. In a minute to Drummond, Gilchrist criticised the report for failing to answer observations made by the PMC on the previous year's report, for failing to include laws and ordinances applied in the territory ('this has reduced the size of the report and the cost to the mandatory Power') and for including 'a not inconsiderable number of pages on the "Vocabulary of Native Languages" which could hardly be of any value to anyone except an anthropologist or a language expert'. Drummond's note on the minute reads: 'Seen. I hope that the Mandates Commission will do nothing to discourage the philological zeal of the Australian Govt.'.²⁹

Power of the Secretariat

Implicit in this paper has been the view that the attitudes of the Secretariat mattered, that they were elements in an international situation which Australian diplomacy had to face. The following, rather bald, list shows some of the ways in which the Secretariat could exercise power.

In 1922, Ormsby-Gore, aware that Cook was asking the Colonial Office to discipline him and even have him removed from the PMC, asked Rappard to help at the Geneva end by 'detaching' New Zealand's Sir James Allen from Cook. Throughout late 1922, Rappard did everything possible to aid Ormsby-Gore in his conflict with Cook, keeping him informed of Cook's activities, sounding out other leading British figures in Geneva, pointing out allies (including Sir Francis Bell of New Zealand).³⁰ And Cook was the loser. He failed to unseat Ormsby-Gore; he received more hostility from the PMC than that body usually showed.

The following is an extract from a minute prepared in the Mandates Section for Rappard in 1924 and marked 'not for circulation in the Secretariat':

In February, 1923, the question of the national status of the inhabitants of the B and C mandated Territories was put on the agenda of the next Council...The matter seemed to affect the Dominions having mandates so directly that a discussion took place in the Secretariat as to inviting them to send representatives...It resulted in invitations to Australia, New Zealand and South Africa...The two latter came...Australia asked the British member of the Council to act for it.³¹

- 3 It was little wonder that Australia did not seek direct representation. During the 1923 discussions in the Secretariat, Rappard argued that mandatories' views had already been obtained and that their participation in Council discussions would reflect on the PMC. He was over-ruled by Drummond who ordered the despatch of telegrams of invitation. Cook, in London, was sufficiently puzzled by the wording of the telegram to ask whether direct representation was called for. Rappard replied that Australia could communicate its views on the nationality question if it wished, but 'the cablegram does not necessarily call for any action in the matter of Australian representation at the Council meeting in April'.³²
- 4 In 1923, one of the Australian delegates to the Assembly, Sir Neville Howse, Cook's successor later in London but then an M.H.R., actually criticised what he claimed was the PMC's easy-going approach to health problems in New Guinea. Rappard, of course, was less interested in the irony of this than in the criticism of the PMC, and he wrote apologetically to Lugard: 'Had I been informed at an earlier date of the intentions of...Sir Neville Howse, the Australian delegate, I might perhaps have succeeded in persuading him to modify its tenor and the arguments used in its defence'.³³
- 5 Petitions comprised the one way in which opponents of a mandatory administration, whether dissident indigenes or external critics, could bring complaints against an administering power within the mandate system. Given the European and colonial backgrounds of the PMC members, it is scarcely surprising that petitions seldom enjoyed an easy passage. Here, the role of the Secretariat was important. The Secretariat culled out what it regarded as serious petitions, informed the PMC chairman of them, and began its own investigations preliminary to the appointment by the chairman of a PMC member to make a report on a particular petition to the full PMC. The

following provides an outline of the procedure followed in the case of one petition.

On November 13, 1935, Reginald Bridgeman, international secretary of the League Against Imperialism and for National Independence, wrote from London to the Secretariat quoting an Australian press report to the effect that the New Guinea Administration officials had seized indigenes' prized food gardens near Rabaul for use as an aerodrome. Bridgeman likened the seizure to that of Italian Fascists in the land of the Abyssinians' and asked for an investigation by the PMC. On December 12, de Haller, then acting Director of the Mandates Section, wrote to H.R. Cummings in the League of Nations' London office, telling him of the petition and asking for 'some information as to the standing, composition and reputation of this League'. Cummings replied to de Haller on December 19 to the effect that the League was of little importance, that 'its tendencies are very much to the Left and its speakers are largely of the Communist brand'. On December 26, de Haller wrote to Bridgeman acknowledging receipt of the petition and, on February 1, 1936, it was roneoed for circulation to PMC members. On January 1, 1936, a copy was sent to the Australian Government and to the High Commissioner's office in London. With the latter, de Haller enclosed a letter stressing that this was the first petition concerning New Guinea received in ten years, that its formal receipt said nothing about the reliability of its source and drawing attention to the fact that 'the Mandatory Power is of course at liberty to challenge the authority or the disinterestedness of the authors of petitions'. On April 3, de Haller received a letter from H. Duncan Hall, an Australian who had been with the Secretariat and at the time happened to be in Canberra. Hall acknowledged a previous letter from de Haller, stating that 'the matter of the petition which you raised...I took up immediately with the Secretary of the External Affairs Department so as to ensure that there should be no feeling of unfair attitudes on the part of the Secretariat'. Hall reported the Department's surprise that 'criticism from such a source should have been thought worthy of circulation as a petition'. On May 4, de Haller wrote to Lugard, informing him that the PMC chairman had chosen him to deal with the petition. On June 7, Lugard sent in his report. He declared that the League's publications were 'of a violent communist kind', that he knew of no supporters of the League ('if any'), that there was no case for Australia to answer because the Administration, after sending out an inspector to inquire into the natives' need for the land in question, had cancelled its plans to take over the area. A few days later, his report was accepted by the PMC and on October 31 its contents were made known to Bridgeman. In this case, Australia's reaction to the petition made it irrelevant but it is clear that, once the Secretariat had made up its mind about the petition's origins, the mandatory power was to be given every assistance.³⁴

The Responsibility

A Sydney Morning Herald special correspondent once reassured his readers during a spate of publicity hostile to Australia's mandatory performance in these terms:

The League of Nations Permanent Mandates Commission is a critical body...as steward of the rights of the world's backward races, it tends to severity in criticism and judgements...Australians are aware of the criticisms which have been levelled at their own country by the Commission in regard to New Guinea. This attitude is not exceptional. It is typical of the Commission's handling of its examination of all Mandatory Powers.³⁵

Certainly, no mandatory power was beyond the Commission's criticism, but the journalist here was not only erroneous in fact (the PMC was not 'steward of the rights of the world's backward races'); more to the point, he overlooked both the validity of criticism of Australia's record and that much of it probably could have been avoided.

A scarcity of men and money, a restricting vision of the mandated territory as a security buffer and a lack of colonial experience made almost inevitably vain the PMC's repeated pleas for what Rappard called 'a philosophy of colonial administration'.³⁶ Such a philosophy came only with Paul Hasluck, who would have been warmly admired in Geneva in the 1920s but whose confident paternalism unfortunately was anathema in New York in the 1950s. Again, Australian governments seem to have been unsettled by Germany's unremitting campaign for the return of her colonies, a campaign of such perseverance that in the 1930s men of the stature of Archbishop J.V. Duhig, D.B. Copland and L.F. Giblin were reported to be urging appeasement.³⁷ These factors, together with the peculiar physical difficulties facing New Guinea's administrators (difficulties never adequately understood in Geneva) meant that some criticism virtually was unavoidable. Yet Australia received more than some criticism; she received a great deal, and this despite a peaceful domestic situation.

To a significant degree, I suspect, this criticism could have been muted by effective diplomacy. Casey has written that 'without any representation at all, foreign policy is about as effective as a blind man's buff'.³⁸ Yet Australia was without real diplomatic representation at the League while exercising a mandate from the International organisation - undeniably an area for the exercise of diplomacy. Diplomacy was not practised because, of course,

Australia was only slowly emerging during the mandate decades as a full member of international society. For most of the period, her membership of the League was anomalous. A Melbourne Argus leader-writer hit the mark in 1929 when he wrote: 'Australia should realise that in the trusteeship she is exercising over New Guinea on behalf of the League of Nations she is more prominently before the world than in any other capacity'.³⁹ Unfortunately, Australia was not yet equipped for a role on the world stage. The result was that, while PMC members and Secretariat staff picked up a great deal of information unfriendly to the Australian cause, there was no satisfactory machinery by which the balance adequately could be restored.

Ad hoc representation was a poor alternative. A man like Cook, in his element in domestic politics, was not in his element in Geneva. Nor were other representatives notably more successful. In 1929, the PMC held over its report on New Guinea owing to the insufficiency of information supplied by Canberra and the poor performance of Sir Granville Ryrie during interrogation. But even a man of Casey's calibre ran foul of the Commission,⁴⁰ and it seems likely that the system was as much at fault as individual representatives, that their briefing may have been inadequate, that they were expected to accomplish too much. It was reported of Ryrie, for example, that, while 'he appeared to know much less on the situation in New Guinea than most members of the Commission, on many questions (he) avowed his lack of knowledge'.⁴¹ Earlier, in 1922, Madame Anna Wicksell, a Swedish member of the PMC, was reported to have urged the Australian government itself to provide fuller information rather than 'leaving it to be dragged out of the High Commissioner' (Cook).⁴²

Other techniques, too, were overlooked. Britain, for example, very early gave attention to methods of communication with the League. At first, all communications went through Hankey's office, but there was then instituted a practice whereby officials in the various government departments were nominated to deal directly with their opposite members in the League Secretariat. Over a period of years, considerable intimacy developed from constant correspondence and meetings in London and Geneva. T.I.K. Lloyd, for a time the Colonial Office liaison man, described this practice of 'direct co-operation between the Mandates Section and the Colonial Office' as an unqualified success'.⁴³ Communications between Australia and the League, on the other hand, tended to remain impersonal, involving either the Prime Minister or his department's secretary at one end and the Secretary-General at the other. That the British system could usefully have been adopted is suggested by the understanding which developed between Mandates Section staff and C.W. Fuhrmann, secretary to successive High Commissioners in London

Thus, in 1928, Fuhrmann was advocating 'entirely on his own initiative' and in private conversations with Gilchrist the desirability of visits to New Guinea by Commission members or Secretariat officials 'if the Commission really desired to understand conditions'⁴⁴; by 1938, he was submitting in advance questions which he wanted put by the Commission in its interrogations on New Guinea and Nauru reports.⁴⁵

NEW GUINEA MANDATE: THE VIEW FROM GENEVA

NOTES

1 W.J. Hudson, 'Australia's Experience as a Mandatory Power'
in Australian Outlook, April, 1965.

2 League of Nations Archives, 1919-1927, file 1/50316x/9599.
League archives material currently is being reorganised.
At present, files, registry and section, are numbered
mainly in year groupings and according to subject. Files
vary in content from dozens of documents to one or two.
In this paper I have abbreviated references to indicate
files rather than fully describe the source, destination
and date of each document.

3 LNA, 1919-1927, 1/12690/9599.

4 LNA, 1919-1927, 1/12747/12747.

5 LNA, 1919-1927, 1/19376/161.

6 LNA, 1922, S263 No.8.

7 LNA, 1919-1927, 1/12747/12747.

8 LNA, 1921-1931, S263 No.11.

9 See Sydney Daily Telegraph, 22,23,25,27 and 28/6 and
2,3,5/7/1923 and Sydney Evening News, 19,22/10/1923
respectively.

0 LNA, 1919-1927, 1/40657/161.

1 Finn T.B. Friis, 'Mandates and Missions' in International
Review of Missions (London), October, 1929.

2 LNA, 1928-1932, 6A/12727/258.

3 LNA, 1919-1927, 1/2855/2855.

4 LNA, 1919-1927, 1/40657/161.

5 Oxford Times, 1/3/1929. Gilchrist served mainly with the
Administrative Commissions and Minorities Questions Section;
he was secretary to the trusteeship committee at the San
Francisco Conference in 1945.

- 16 Manchester Guardian, 31/5/1930.
- 17 LNA, 1928-1932, 50/39242/39242.
- 18 LNA, 1921-1924, S284 1 (9).
- 19 LNA, 1919-1927, 1/25031/9598.
- 20 LNA, 1919-1927, 1/8557/8557x.
- 21 LNA, 1919-1927, 1/9599/9599.
- 22 LNA, 1919-1927, 21/12818/859.
- 23 LNA, 1919-1927, 46/43659/43659.
- 24 LNA, 1919-1927, 40/19186/19186x.
- 25 LNA, 1919-1924, S284 1 (9).
- 26 LNA, 1919-1927, 1/38526/9599.
- 27 LNA, 1919-1927, 1/32266x/9599.
- 28 LNA, 1919-1927, 1/35440/161.
- 29 LNA, 1919-1927, 1/49578x/9599.
- 30 LNA, 1921-1924, S284 1 (9).
- 31 LNA, 1919-1927, 1/52360x/96986.
- 32 LNA, 1919-1927, 1/23063/16844 (*italics mine*).
- 33 LNA, 1919-1927, 1/31464/161.
- 34 LNA, 1933-1940, 6A/20948/4320.
- 35 Sydney Morning Herald, 7/10/1930.
- 36 PMC Minutes, XXXIV, p.163.
- 37 Duhig seems to have urged the direct return of New Guinea to Germany (Manchester Guardian, 10/7/1933); Giblin and Copland were among a University of Melbourne group advocating 'redistribution' - to whom is not quite clear (London Times, 17/4/1937).

- 38 R.G. Casey, The Conduct of Australian Foreign Policy,
Brisbane (A.II.A.), 1952, p.4.
- 39 Argus, 9/9/1929.
- 40 PMC Minutes, XX, p.17.
- 41 Manchester Guardian, 7/7/1929.
- 42 Argus, 21/9/1932.
- 43 LNA, 1928-1932, 6A/11650/516.
- 44 LNA, 1928-1932, 6A/2819/2819.
- 45 LNA, 1933-1940, 6A/34010/324.

MEETING THE MOKOLKOLS, NEW BRITAIN 1950-51

D.M. Fenbury

Australia's report to the United Nations on the Trust Territory of New Guinea for 1950-51 mentioned that during the year the Mokolkol people of New Britain had been visited by an Administration patrol. The report added: "For more than a quarter of a century, the Mokolkols have been known to the Administration as a small band of primitive nomads, apparently of Bainings origin, living in the country at the foot of the Gazelle Peninsula. Administratively, they have enjoyed a notoriety disproportionate to their slight numerical importance through their long-standing habit of raiding outlying hamlets, wantonly butchering men, women and children, and disappearing without trace. Before the war, several patrols endeavoured to get into friendly contact with these people but they were always met with hostility..."

This paper is simply an account of the two expeditions that resulted in the Mokolkols changing their profession. The story may have some passing historical interest in its sidelights on a phase of the Territory's development that is rapidly receding. The only lesson it conveys is that luck is as important in bush work as in other fields of human endeavour.

One stormy morning in July 1950, a Qantas Catalina flying boat on a scheduled flight from Rabaul to Talasea diverted from its normal course to avoid a heavy rain storm. Flying over the mountainous neck of country that separates Wide Bay from Open Bay, just below the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain, the pilot was intrigued to observe a small, neat village and a patch of new garden. As an old New Guinea hand, he knew that the country beneath him was uninhabited - except for the legendary Mokolkols.

Late that same afternoon I met the Catalina pilot in the District Commissioner's office. After he had told his story and had roughly plotted the position of the village on the wall map, Keith McCarthy, the District Commissioner, passed me a radiogram sent to him the previous day by the Patrol Officer at Pomio, 80 miles down the south New Britain coast. The message read tersely:-

"Luluai of Kasalea reports Mokolkols
raided outlying hamlet June 11th killing
nine persons. Investigating."

Kasalea was the name of a group of hamlets at the head of Wide Bay.

The Pomio message was the first post-war notification received by the Administration that the predatory Mokolkols still existed. Their story was a strange one, even for New Guinea. In 1950 the north-east sector of the Gazelle Peninsula at the top of New Britain, with Rabaul as its centre, was probably the most highly developed area of the Territory with a history of European settlement going back 80 years. But across the southern end of the peninsula, only some 50 miles airline from the New Guinea Club, lay a 500 square mile tract of mountainous virgin bush, shunned by whites and indigenes alike. Neither the enterprising Tolais, the primitive Bainings of the adjoining ranges to the north, the timid Sulkas and Timoi hunters to the south-east, nor the Nakanai fishermen to the south-west, ever dared venture into this area. Presumably, Jap bands moved through it during their long overland marches in 1944-45, but they left few signs of their passing and no record of any native contacts. This was the Mokolkol country, notorious since German times as the domain of a mysterious tribe of elusive and wanton killers.

Fantastic tales were told of these people. Contrary to the normal pattern of pre-contact New Guinea society, in which perennial feuding between fairly static village communities is usually punctuated with intervals of uneasy amity, involving common feasts, exchanges of hostages, barter, and inter-marriage, the Mokolkols apparently had no fixed place of abode, and, quite definitely, no social or trading relations with any other group.

The New Guinea rain-forest has insufficient game and edible fruits to support humans practising a hunting and collecting economy, but the Mokolkols had apparently come close to achieving this. Their hidden gardens were small, scattered, and apparently evoked none of the religious and sentimental attachments that bind most Papuo-Melanesians to their land. Once discovered by outsiders, their cultivation patches were abandoned and never re-visited.

A second peculiarity, in a land where the bow, sling, spear and club are conventional indigenous weapons, was the Mokolkol predilection for axes. Their victims were always chopped. This was one reason why the depressed little Sulka and Timoi communities of the south coast, a favoured prey, regarded the raiders with a superstitious horror, believing them to be masalai, or forest demons in human guise.

Invariably the Mokolkols struck without warning, after carefully spying out the land. They generally chose isolated beach hamlets at times when the men were out fishing, or jumped parties of unsuspecting women peacefully working in their gardens. The raiders

always attacked with berserk ferocity, killed without mercy, and vanished within minutes, snatching up any readily portable loot, especially axes, as they went.

Following a raid they might not be heard of again for months, and then in a distant locality. They were expert bushmen, and were credited with unbelievable feats of endurance and agility. Thus the Timoips believed that the Mokolkols lived in trees, could see through solid objects, were able to move swiftly through heavy jungle without touching the ground, and could become invisible at will. They were said to have no dogs or poultry, and to train their pigs to follow them silently through the bush.

The attitude of the sturdy Baining mountaineers to these outlaws was less tempered with supernatural awe. There was a dim legend that the Mokolkols were originally part of a Central Baining clan, exiled in ages past for breaking some particularly sacred tabus. In support of this story, there was evidence that the Mokolkol language was closely akin to a near-extinct Baining dialect. On the other hand, a Nakanai folk-lore tale attributed the Mokolkol genesis to a volcanic eruption on Lolobau Island.

From the Administration viewpoint, apart from humanitarian considerations, this continuing ability of a tiny band, adjacent to civilisation to harass the countryside with impunity, constituted an old and frustrating thorn in the professional pride of the pre-war Department of District Services and Native Affairs. While tens of thousands of savage tribesmen were being brought under control each year on the New Guinea mainland, the Mokolkols, right under the noses of Headquarters, continued merrily on their predatory course.

In the early days of Australian civil administration, bitter complaints by coastal villagers regarding the depredations of these wild men had resulted in some special expeditions being mounted against them. I have not been able to find any official accounts of these operations, but the east Nakanai people had a story that, in the 1920's, the Mokolkols, then allegedly quite numerous, had openly attacked an armed police party at Baia on the east Nakanai coast, and had suffered heavy losses. Following this experience they confined themselves to hit and run raids. In the 1930's some special efforts were made to contact the Mokolkols and establish friendly relations. One such expedition was Penhallurick's patrol in 1931.

After weeks of careful and arduous work in the empty, inhospitable ranges, Penhallurick located a village on the edge of a steep ridge. He was experienced in "uncontrolled" area work and tried a time-proven

method. With his constabulary he crept up to the village just before dawn, laid out gifts of knives, axes, salt, mirrors and cloth, retired a little distance and, as the sun came up, yodelled in New Guinea mountain fashion. The Mokolkols rushed out, snatched up the axes, jabbered excitedly, and fled into the bush. "New" people sometimes react that way, so Penhallurick made camp in the village, posted guards, and patiently waited for human curiosity to overcome primitive timidity.

In uncontrolled area work in New Guinea, village squatting, as it was called, is quite a common method of extending Government influence. It nearly always works, providing you have the time and the rations, and can prevent your bored police and porters from getting into mischief. Once contact is made with one or two venturesome souls, others drift in; the patrol commences trading for vegetables, dressing sores and injuries, and generally establishing friendly relations. It is a hopeful sign when the women and children appear - and the jungle housewife is quick to appreciate the advantages of commercial salt over the crude potash substitutes laboriously prepared from burning wild sago roots.

Penhallurick waited four days without making any contacts. It was cold and wet in the mountains, and probably everyone became a little bored and careless. I can still recall the opening words of Penhallurick's patrol report diary covering the fifth day: "Dripping rain and mist. At 10.20 a.m., as I was sitting in my tent playing patience, a number of Mokolkols climbed the vertical side of the ridge unobserved and raced through the camp, swinging long handled axes". In that one rush the patrol party had two men killed and four badly wounded porters were painfully carried back to the coast. Headquarters asked Penhallurick nasty questions about playing patience in mid-morning. Obviously, the Mokolkols were not quite like ordinary "new" people.

During the second term of office (1933-34) as Administrator of Milne Bay General Griffiths, a crusty World War I soldier who considered the proximity of outlaws to his Territorial capital as a personal affront, "Mokolkolling" as it was known in the service, became a routine, if scarcely popular, assignment.

In 1911 an officer named Gregory was sent into the Mokolkol area. He had rolls of barbed wire, with instructions to build a compound and incarcerate any wild men captured. Gregory was physically a dark man, and cautiously inclined. After some weeks the District Officer paid him a visit. He found that Gregory had fastened the barbed wire around his own camp, and was in the habit of firing off shots at sundown, to discourage any Mokolkols in the

Next to have the assignment was Mark Pitt, a hard-drinking veteran of early patrols in the Kukuluku country of Morobe, who had won the Distinguished Conduct Medal as a machine-gunner in France. Pitt and his constabulary combed the broken terrain for more than six months without finding a permanent settlement. Aware that they were being chased, the Mokolkols maintained a game of hide-and-seek in which most of the advantages rested with the hunted. A few small gardens and temporary camps were found, and near one of these an aged man, two elderly women, and four children were apprehended. One woman escaped again; the others were brought to Rabaul and subsequently sent to Talasea station where the adults, too old to adjust themselves to a strange environment, soon pined away and died.

Soon afterwards, a change in Administrators and the increasing need for field staff on the New Guinea mainland resulted in Pitt's patrol being withdrawn. With the death of the adult Mokolkols the children - two of whom appeared to be of coastal origin - could not be repatriated. They grew up at Talasea station, horribly spoilt, in the wards of the Administration.

During 1938 two Mokolkol raids cost the lives of twenty persons and an Administration police post was established at Pomio, on the south New Britain coast. The policy was to maintain a small, highly mobile standing patrol, ready to proceed swiftly to any point in the area where Mokolkol activity was reported or suspected, and thence to try and track the wild men down. By these methods Jack Milligan made contact twice, and two raiders were shot, but the main group of Mokolkols was always able to lose its pursuers, and no settlement could ever be found. In 1940-41, twenty-six people, mostly women and children, were butchered by Mokolkols. A rapid pursuit patrol under Malcolm English nearly succeeded in trapping the main party. They picked up a ten-year old girl, abandoned because of a leg injury. She was ultimately adopted by the wife of a police corporal. Such was the situation up to the Japanese invasion of the Gazelle Peninsula in 1942. I will now return to the happenings of 1950.

Following the pilot's sightings of the village, the District Commissioner arranged a part charter and made a more detailed aerial inspection of the locality. "I think they're Mokolkols", he said on his return. "Houses fairly new and definitely Bainings type, and quite a big taro garden about half a mile to the south-south east. We didn't see any people but there was some smoke. We didn't want to stay around too long. It is in broken limestone country near the headwaters of the Mavulu". He gave further details of the topography and opined that the village might be difficult to locate on the ground, and even more difficult to approach unseen.

Subsequently, over some beers, I volunteered to join the venerable ranks of Mokolkollers. At that time my job was to organise native Local Government in the relatively sophisticated Tolai area. From a comfortable chair on the lawn, the idea of returning temporarily to the old bush walking routine had a certain nostalgic charm. My bargaining point with the District Commissioner was that four Mokolkols equalled one month's use of the precious District trawler for an inspection trip to Baluan Island at Manus, where I had professional interests in an embryonic Local Government Council that was slowly digesting a cargo cult movement.

We decided to wait another month before investigating the village. If the inhabitants were Mokolkols, the aerial reconnaissance might have disturbed them. It also seemed best to arrive in the area towards the end of the dry season, when taro gardeners should be at home clearing new garden land. The patrol party included 10 constabulary, mostly strangers to me, Cadet Patrol Officer Normoyle, and Bill Heather, a Forestry Officer who was interested in the area's timber resources. More importantly, from my viewpoint, Heather was well-known to the East Nakanai people from whom we hoped to obtain carriers, and was a skilled map reader. We also arranged to bring with us two morose little survivors of the Mokolkol raid on Kasalea, and two Central Bainings village officials for possible use as interpreters.

I thought longingly of my war-time Aitape police detachment and worried that the party might be too large. Apart from the portage problems, I had long known that in the rain forest I am a blundering ignoramus, heavily dependent on the educated senses of indigenous colleagues. I had also learnt, the hard way, that important bits of local information can be missed when a scouting villager is too shy to interrupt the chatter of white men. The patrol party got one firm instruction on its first briefing: No talking on halts.

We planned to enter the Mokolkol country from the north coast side, and made a comfortable trawler trip around the Bainings to Baia inlet, just south of Open Bay. The elders of the tiny village - the most northerly of the Nakanai coast dwellers - regaled us with ancient tales of the wild men in the mountains behind them, but had no recent information to give. Heather continued down the coast to recruit carriers while young Normoyle and I set about arranging matters for the task ahead.

Preparing for an expedition of this sort entails much more careful organisation than in patrolling inhabited country, where carriers can usually be hired from village to village and supplies

can be eked out through local barter. In the course of a routine day's march in the New Guinea rain forest, you can generally bag a pigeon or two, and the occasional encounter with a cassowary, possum, python or tree-kangaroo gladdens the light hearts and strong stomachs of the constabulary. Granted a modicum of political droitness and some knowledge of local supply and demand peculiarities, the continuing subsistence of a patrol operating in tribal areas is largely equatable to the convertibility of compact trade items such as salt, razor blades, knives and fish hooks into bulky stomach-filling yams, sweet potato, taro, corn, bananas, sago and pork.

Much has been written of the horrors of jungle travel. In fact, if you're sound in legs, lungs and digestion, are tropic-proofed against prickly heat, safeguard your greased boots from starving village dogs, keep your basic stores dry, bring plenty of tobacco, a dullish book you won't finish quickly, cherish a folding camp chair with back and arms, an efficient pressure lamp, and a benchman able to bake bread without an oven, then touring tribal areas in the rainforest country can be reasonably carefree and comfortable. But a Mokolkolling assignment in virtually uninhabited country, searching for humans much wilder than the local game, is a more exacting job. Because of the need to conceal the patrol's presence, you cannot establish advance bases or be supplied by air. You cannot shoot for the pot and you cannot expect to augment supplies by barter. A patrol of this sort must be entirely self-sufficient, and its duration is limited by the rations that can be carried. Fancy foods must be discarded: rice, bully beef, biscuits, sugar, tea, vegemite and onions form the staple diet for all hands. Strict discipline is necessary: no talking on the track, no strong lights, extreme care regarding smoke and noise when in camp, and night guards.

A permanent carrier line is necessary, and this involves some logistical exercises. The maximum load for a porter is 40 lbs., and he will eat about 1-3/4 lbs. of rations a day. With strict supervision of meal issues, this means that in about 20 days a porter will have consumed a weight of food equal to his original day load - but he can't be sent home when his load is used. Long-range war-time patrols proved that even with camping gear reduced to minimum essentials, and irrespective of the number of porters, a completely self-contained party could not operate efficiently for much beyond 16 days. On this particular trip there would be three officers, 10 constabulary and 2 cooks. We studied the map and estimated that a comfortably rationed 12 days' wandering in the wilderness would require 36 porters. The calculations included provision for young Normoyle's fruit juice and my bottle of rum.

During the next day a trickle of porters arrived, including a dozen rather scruffy little Kaulons from Kol, on the slopes of volcanic Mount Ulawun (the Father), New Britain's highest (7546 feet point). This was a pleasant surprise, not only because mountaineers are best for mountain patrols, but also because the Kaulons (the word is a mildly derisive coastal Nakanai term, roughly equivalent to "hillbillies") lived under a constant threat of Mokolkol raids, and feared them intensely. They were eager to accompany us, they said, as long as they weren't expected to fight. They had no recent information of their predatory neighbours' movements, and had never ventured into enemy territory. The two survivors of the Kasalea raid flatly refused to move from Baia: they said that they preferred to wait and see what happened to us.

That afternoon I gave firing practice to the police, explained to them the nature of the job, allotted positions in the column of route (a bush patrol necessarily moves in single file, and rearguard duty is particularly important) and rehearsed the tactics to be adopted in the improbable event of our being attacked whilst on the march. Apart from the corporal and my old friend Constable Bosi, the detachment comprised youngsters not long out of the training depot.

Meanwhile, Chris had made up the stores into man-loads, packing rice into the few rubberised bags we had managed to cadge, and using leathery bark sheaths of the limbom palm to water-proof the remainder. He had borrowed a couple of new sanitary pans from the Rabaul sanitation depot - galvanised drums with rubber-lined clip-on lids, and they proved ideal containers for sugar, salt and tea. We decided to bring three patrol boxes. These are two-man loads, carried on poles which at night can be used to rig stretchers.

At sundown Bill Heather arrived back in the Ulamona Mission launch, piloted by Father Stemper, who is now the Bishop of Kavieng. They brought 20 more carriers, two fine Spanish mackerel, and my garrulous old friend Moite, the luluai of Ubili, who had served on several Mokolkol expeditions in his youth. We dined on the fish and listened to Moite's tall stories. The Father left at moonrise, after staking a claim to salvage rights over all Mokolkol souls.

Next morning we paddled in canoes across to Open Bay, near the mouth of the Mavulu River, and headed inland. The heavy rain forest of the coastal flats was heavily infested with lawyer-vine, and the four bush-knife wielders at the head of the line were kept busy. When we had climbed a little the undergrowth thinned out, and the patrol, fifty-four in all, wound silently through the

ense timber at the steady two miles per hour that is a fairly normal rate in virgin New Guinea bush. It was damnably hot, and at every ten minute halt the little black sweat bees, as usual, paid concentrated attention to the whitemen.

Early in the afternoon we cut a network of faint tracks made by humans, and finally came to a recently used hunting camp of five crude conical shelters strung along a ridge. There were saplings for 15 beds, and four large racks for smoking pig carcasses. A few discarded axe handles, of typically elongated design, identified the camp as Mokolkol. They had been there a fortnight earlier. After scouting the area we moved on, observing occasional signs of recent activity but no regular tracks. A thunder storm soaked us, but surface water was scarce and we finally camped near a small stagnant pool in a tiny clay pan, obviously favoured as a wallow by the wild pigs. To the disgust of the carriers a pair of cassowary, seemingly aware that we dared not shoot, stared at us insolently from a thicket before lumbering off into the dripping loom.

We carried only three light tent flies, but, to those familiar with it, the rain forest is fairly kind to campers. Poles, lashings, hatching material and firewood are usually obtainable within a short radius. To get dry kindling, one simply hacks away at a dead soft-wood trunk until a dry layer is reached. The tool of all work is the 18 inch bush knife, carried by every porter. Within an hour of halting every man was under cover and insulated from the wet ground, firewood had been collected, shallow latrines dug, and the cooks were busy over the rice saucepans. Chris Normoyle was the quarter-master, while Bill Heather doctored injuries, and dispensed paludrine and aspirin to the ailing. Corporal Kindili checked his night guard roster with me.

The water from the claypan was strongly flavoured, but we got enough from a water-bearing tree vine to fill the coffee pot and dilute the rum. We breakfasted at daylight, and extinguished the fires before the morning mists dispersed. The patrol resumed its winding march through the trees at a little after 7 a.m., with locking farewells from a raucous hornbill. Tolat, my old cook, put everyone in a good humour when he dramatically accused the bird of being a Mokolkol spy, meantime fingering the shotgun suggestively. The hornbill's flesh is tough and gamey, but makes wonderful soup.

The next three days were much the same, only wetter and rougher. It was slow going. Whilst maintaining a general compass bearing towards the marked map location of the village, we had to scout every likely sign. We found a small garden clearing, long out of cultivation, and a clump of tall galip (canarium almond) trees whose

upper branches had been lopped (to obtain the nuts) only a few weeks before. Occasional deep axe cuts on tree trunks greatly interested the carriers, some of whom began to fashion crude spears. Meantime we had climbed to nearly 3000 feet, and limestone formations became increasingly evident on the ridges. The intervening gullies absorbed the heavy afternoon rains like sponges, and our evening searches for water became more arduous.

On the fifth day we left the cadet in charge of the camp, and Bill and I, with a scouting party of police and Kaulons, explored the higher country to our south and south-east. According to the aerial observations, this was the area in which the village was located.

Before long, an uneasy suspicion which Heather and I had been harbouring during the previous twenty-four hours crystallised into glum certainty: the airborne patrol, forced to rely on the inaccurate war-time provisional maps, apparently had mistaken the ridges when the village's position was plotted. The area into which we had climbed rose steeply to the head of the central range in a succession of limestone ridges. It was poor country, meagrely clad with moss forest. No natives would ever live voluntarily in such terrain. There were no longer any old signs of human activity to be found; even the wild pigs avoided this unpromising slice of wilderness.

The clouds began to sit on us damply, and the shivering Kaulons, fearful of masalai, urged us to return to camp. Heather finally managed to get a hasty compass shot of the western tip of Lolobau island: our line seemed fairly good, but we had come too far inland, and were probably between the wrong tributaries of the Mavulu.

We circled to the north-west, silently cursing the cold drizzle, the inaccurate map, the plane spotters and the eroded limestone pinnacles that ripped our hands. After another three hours' rough going, including two ravine crossings and a scary climb down a cliff face, we struck what appeared to be the main Mavulu gorge, here a sheer walled canyon. Its floor showed little patches of sand between tumbled masses of limestone boulders and flood debris. Despite the rain, it was dry as the proverbial bone. Ultimately, we found a crossing point and the Kaulons, "breaking bush" as the Melanesians say, unerringly guided us back to camp.

When we trudged in, dog-tired and pessimistic, the cadet reported that the carriers, with nothing to do all day except regard their navels and swap fearsome Mokolkol yarns, had become

exceedingly nervous at our long absence. It seemed that a wild
 xeman lurked in every shadow. Mr le was not improved by a sudden
 break drop in temperature, which caused kidneys to work overtime.
 A shivering Nakanai deputation requested that the camp be moved
 next day, and delicately hinted at the folly of leaving unarmed
 carriers inadequately protected. Old Moite sneered at the softness
 of the younger generation. They became more cheerful after an
 additional snack of vegemite soup, spiked with hard-tack biscuits.

Huddling in sweaters under a tent fly, we checked plottings and
 concluded that the village was probably some distance to our south-
 west. The aerial spotters had been definite regarding the bearing
 of the place from the peak of the Lolobau mountain, but had
 apparently sited it wrongly in relation to the confused pattern of
 deep gorges that formed the headwater to the Mavulu. We drank tea
 and pondered. If our deductions were correct, the village should
 not be very far west of the main tributary, and in map miles we
 might be already quite close to it. Just before sundown the
 weather cleared, and two Kaulons climbed a tall tree and searched
 without result for smoke from cooking fires. We faced the
 probability that unless we could surprise the Mokolkols within
 the next twenty four hours, they would get wind of us - if they
 had not already done so - and flee. Our route next day needed
 to be well considered.

If the patrol simply crossed the canyon at the nearest
 negotiable spot, and then scouted the bush to the south west, our
 chances of taking the village by surprise were slim. If we worked
 down the water course, exploring all possible crossing points, we
 might be observed from above, we might miss the village altogether,
 or we might get trapped in a cloud-burst. Nevertheless, this latter
 plan seemed preferable. Firstly, from the recent signs observed on
 the trip in, it was certain that the Mokolkols frequently came north
 of the Mavulu headwaters to forage and returned home with loads.
 Hence they probably crossed the gorge at the nearest place to the
 village where there was reasonably easy access on both sides. And
 secondly, unless these people were unlike any other New Guinea
 primitives, the village site should be not too distant from
 permanent water. In this highly absorbent limestone terrain the
 most probable source of permanent water would be where the
 subterranean Mavulu drainage, in its descent to the coast, finally
 merged as surface streams. The areas near those points would
 warrant careful checking. I decided on the gorge. Moite, as usual,
 was pessimistic but grudgingly endorsed the plan. He emphasised
 that in the old days the wild men always took pains to avoid making
 horn tracks.

The next morning, a Sunday, broke clear and sunny, but by the

time we had climbed down into the canyon a stiff breeze had begun to drive dark cumulus in from the coast. This was helpful, despite the danger of a sudden flood: villagers are less inclined to wander about if the weather is wet, and the wind direction was in our favour. The patrol column was under strict orders to observe complete silence, and I had Constable Bosi, the wily old bushman, scouting several bends ahead. Behind him, two of the most agile police investigated every possible means of ascent on either side of the canyon.

It was slow difficult climbing over the boulders and erosions in the canyon floor, and the carriers had a tough time. After nearly three hours' painful progress, without discovering a single fruitful lead, we began to doubt whether we were in the main Mavulu canyon after all, and had almost decided to break out of it to the west. Moite's constant flow of sibilant advice was becoming very trying.

Then we rounded one more bend and were waved to a halt by a scout. I went up to him and he silently indicated where Bosi, around the next corner, had gone to earth behind a boulder. Fifty yards ahead, on the west side, the limestone was broken by an intrusion of dark loose shale, streaming down like a steep earth-slip. Another fifty yards below this point a shaft of sunlight glinted on a steady trickle of water emerging from limestone crevices in the canyon floor. Just as he had rounded the bend, whispered Bosi, he had "smelt" the water and hidden himself. Then he saw a woman, with two bamboo water containers, clamber up the shale bank and disappear. We were in luck.

I sent back word for the halted patrol to disperse behind boulders along the gorge, and with Bosi climbed up the shale. Its soapy fragments showed no tracks, and it took us some time to discover where the woman had gone. Near the top there were several huge boulders, behind one of which was a narrow passage, leading to where the weathered grey limb of a huge fallen tree jutted through a crack in the canyon rim. Half way along its length there was a flat-topped boulder which served as a step to another mouldering trunk. From the far end of this led a narrow but clearly discernible track. I removed my spiked boots and we cautiously scouted the trail along a gently undulating ridge for more than half a mile. Bosi pointed out occasional imprints: a woman and child, he said. Somewhat belatedly, it occurred to me that bushmen as skilled as the Mokolkols could probably recognize each others' tracks at a glance. I sat down, longing for a cigarette, and sent Bosi to investigate further. He was soon back: there was a small village no more than 600 yards away, and it was occupied.

"Do you think they're Mokolkols?"

"Who else? Only Mokolkols, pigs and masalai live in this bush. That woman I saw was a Mokolkol".

"What about Japs?"

Bosi spat. "Where are their tracks? Besides you know the Japanese fashion. We'd hear them talking from this distance".

We returned to the gorge and planned the next move over a hasty bite of cheese and biscuits. Surprise was essential, and that meant speed. The weather had turned clear and sunny again, and most of the people should still be in the gardens. According to the aerial observations, these lay west of the village, or on the far side from us. We couldn't hope to catch the Mokolkols there. My police were too few and too inexperienced to risk a night raid. Theoretically, a descent on the village just at daylight should catch everyone at home, but with these people I dared not wait so long. It was not quite noon. Even if we withdrew to a safe distance and camped, the chances were that some wildman with an educated eye would come down the trail before nightfall and detect signs of strangers. If that occurred, we'd miss out, badly. I decided to raid the village immediately.

I took young Chris and seven police, together with eight Nakana volunteers and old Moite, who was pessimistically sure that we would not reach the place unobserved. Bill Heather, eager to be in the fun, reluctantly agreed to stay and look after the jittery carriers. With Bosi leading, we sneaked back along the track, expecting to meet a Mokolkol at every turn. Finally we reached a point where the ridge broadened, and Bosi, eyes glittering strangely in his weathered face, indicated that the village was around the next bend. We could smell smoke, and a faint scrap of talk, like someone admonishing a child, wafted to us on the hot drowsy air.

In usual mountain fashion, the place was strategically sited atop a little rise, and we guessed that the ridge fell away steeply on the far side. A cautious reconnaissance showed that to gain the village necessitated crossing a shallow little saddle, almost devoid of timber, where we would be in plain view to anyone chancing to look down. Fifty yards was a longish start to give a Mokolkol. I detailed Corporal Kindili, with three constables, to work around the village to the gully on its far side, checked my watch with him, and gave him fifteen minutes to get into position. Our job was to rush the huts and try to prevent egress. Kindili's team was to grab

any fugitives diving into the gully.

Squatting, we sweated it out, cringing when two hornbills, mercifully unobservant, lumbered overhead with swishing wings. Under the stress of imminent action the Melanesians' brown faces seemed to have a greyish tint. With their brows pulled down and nostrils flared, they looked a nasty bunch. Only old Moite, nonchalantly biting on a betel nut, battered felt hat set jauntily on his grey wool, seemed unperturbed. A young constable began to unsheath his bayonet, and I irritably motioned him to desist.

The cadet, a school boy during the war, crept up and whispered: "What happens if they turn out to be Japs?" Against that remote contingency he had lugged an Owen sub-machine gun for the whole trip. I patted it and whispered back: "You go in with that, son. I'll write the citation". We started when somebody in the village called out loudly. Then a woman laughed. Another minute, and we moved in.

Still unobserved, we had only twenty yards to go when a large black pig suddenly appeared and stamped in snorting alarm. A tall, gaunt, middle-aged woman immediately peered around the nearest hut, emitted a fearful yell and streaked across the ridge. We rushed in. For a few seconds there was pandemonium, dominated by the screams of children struggling in the arms of Nakanais. Most of the huts were empty. A huge bearded fellow, grimacing horribly, with an axe in either hand, began to emerge, stooping, from the low doorway of a hut, and the two Nakanais facing him backed away. Hoping not to hit anyone, I put a hasty carbine shot into the dirt at his feet and he drew back into the darkness. Behind me, two police struggled to put handcuffs on another axe-man they had disarmed. Two reports boomed down in the gully: somewhere else a woman maintained a frenzied repetitious call. Then things quietened down. It took quite a little time to winkle the big man out of his dark lair. He made signs for us to kill him there and then.

The police searched the surrounding slopes without success, and we sorted out the catch: two men, a woman, four children... indubitably Mokolkols, said Moite. I had hoped to do better. The gaunt lady athlete had escaped into the gully after clouting Constable Tingi with a piece of wood. He had fired after her in anger. He was later awarded extra guard duty. The captives were uninjured, and apart from Tingi's bleeding ear and wounded vanity, our only casualty was a carrier whom one of the children had bitten. This being a legalistic age, and feeling suddenly facetious, I went through the ludicrous formality of telling the uncomprehending captives, in English, that I held a warrant for their arrest for murder.

After posting guards I sent Heather a note, telling him to cache part of the stores and have the main party carry up as much water as possible. Then we put the captives in a hut and examined our new camp-site. The hamlet consisted of nine closely-grouped conical huts, each about ten feet in diameter, and a larger (20 x 10) rectangular structure - obviously a men's house - divided into two sections, one of them floored with banana leaves. From the condition of the sago-palm, the hamlet seemed to have been built within the past year. Four of the huts were used mainly for cooking and food storage, and we counted altogether only 14 beds. Allowing a maximum of five or six bachelor occupants to the long house, we estimated the total population, including children, to be less than 30. Unless there were other Mokolkol groups, it seemed faintly ludicrous that such a tiny band of mountaineers could have achieved so much ill fame.

The carriers arrived in high spirits and were even happier when they sighted a large heap of beautiful taro corms. In New Guinea society to eat your enemy's food - and sometimes his person - is to imprint the seal of victory. Besides, they were tired of rice.

Thick bush covered the slopes of three sides of the tiny clearing, and remembering Penhallurick's unfortunate experience, I set the line to building a crude anti-blitzkrieg fence. They needed no urging, and finished the job by sundown. There was some minor excitement when eight pigs, seeking their evening meal, appeared silently out of the darkening bush. Moite importuned, and Tolat longingly caressed the shotgun, but I was adamant. After sniffing at us briefly, the hogs vanished as silently as they had come. We did not sight them again. There were no dogs or fowls.

To forestall looting, Chris concentrated all the village chattel in one hut. The articles, crudely utilitarian, indicated a typical gaining-type culture. Except for a few beaded armlets, probably stolen, personal ornaments were lacking; nor were any implements decorated with the magic motifs beloved by the artistic Melanesians. There were no cooking vessels but numerous pits equipped with baking stones. Bamboo water-carriers and lime containers, string bags, expertly constructed flexible wicker baskets, oyster shell and obsidian taro scrapers, digging sticks, crochet hooks fashioned from the wing bones of flying foxes, a few stone adzes and doughnut-type stone clubheads, slings and water-rounded sling stones, torches of congealed canarium almond sap, and lengths of limbom palm pith impregnated with sea water, made up the household goods of local manufacture.

Wooden spears apparently had been discarded in favour of looted coastal pig-spears, made from steel rods mounted in bamboo handles.

One of these, bound with U.S. Army telephone cable, was newly made, and I set it aside. Curiously, for raiders addicted to attacking people in gardens, there were very few knives, but this deficiency was more than compensated for by the hamlet's wealth in axes. We counted 42 of them, mostly light tomahawk heads. Many were worn out, their temper destroyed by fire. Others were highly polished, razor-sharp, and mounted on straight black limbom palm handles some four to five feet in length. These were the unique fighting tools with which the Mokolkols had hacked out their legend. We searched in vain for whet-stones.

The amount of freshly harvested taro in the village, while surprisingly large, was dwarfed by the quantities of canarium almonds (galips) stored away in string bags. Bill Heather calculated a total of six hundred-weight of nuts. In addition, there were cooking bananas, sugar-cane, wild betel nut and pit-pit tops; a few joints of smoke-blackened pork hung from the roofs. Our hosts lived well. "They wanted to stage a feast for us", said Bosi, "but we arrived too soon".

We had nobody able to understand the captives' language, so could only guess at the import of some brief, spirited harangues delivered by the older man. It appeared that he wished us to release him. His superbly muscled friend, similarly full-bearded, and clad in a palm-leaf breech clout, remained morosely silent, glaring steadily at us with murderous blood-shot eyes. Whenever he thought he was unobserved, he sawed industriously with a flake of obsidian at the handcuff linking him to his companion. The men did not smoke, but avidly accepted some of their own "kabibi" - the wild betel nut. The woman, aged about 25, short, plump and roundheaded, with an intelligent face, sported bunches of leaves fore and aft, after the fashion of most New Britain mountain tribes. She carried a baby girl, perhaps six months old, in a sling, and two of the three small boys apparently belonged to her.

On the slender chance that some of the people might still be lurking nearby, I decided to camp in the village for as long as the rations permitted. During the next day I kept all hands, except an escorted water party, close to home. The police and carriers built a fine cook house and several latrines, including special arrangements for the lady. We learnt the captives' names by calling our own whilst tapping our chests, then tapping theirs to the accompaniment of interrogative grunts. The woman, named Manu, was the brightest and most co-operative of the adults. By indicating us, then making a circular motion with her hand, whilst pointing skywards and simultaneously emitting a growling noise, she demonstrated that she connected our arrival with the aerial reconnaissance. I abandoned a half formed plan to release her and the children. She was going to be valuable.

The hamlet (or the mound on which it was built) was called Atar, which, after some mystifying pantomime by the lady with a strip of salted limbom pith, we ultimately deduced meant "salt water": in clear weather a shimmering patch of distant sea was visible through a gap in the western ridges. The elder man, Malil, became spasmodically cooperative, and was persuaded to join with Manu in directing some fruitless yodelling at his absent friends. Of course, we had no check on what they said. Their sombre companion, the formidable Lamu, remained grimly uncommunicative. I suspected that he was suffering from fever, and had been asleep when we raided the place. He could not be persuaded to swallow any tablets, and when, rather foolishly, I endeavoured to take his temperature, he promptly chewed up our sole remaining thermometer. It rained heavily during the afternoon, and the night was cold and misty.

Next morning we patrolled the area without observing any signs of lurking humans. The unfenced gardens, some 1000 yards from the village, were about five acres in extent and had been carefully tended. Taro, of extremely good quality, was the favoured crop, interspersed with a few clumps of sugar cane, bananas, and 'aipika' spinach. There were areas in four different stages of development: matured, half-grown, newly planted, and newly cleared. The half-grown section of garden was sub-divided by saplings into sixteen individual plots with one larger area. Our indigenous colleagues argued at length about the social significance of this arrangement and the probable number of cultivators involved. Bundles of withering taro tops, apparently brought from an old cultivation about a mile away, showed that planting had been in progress when the raid occurred. Moite expressed his satisfaction: "For years and years, these Mokolkols have raided people working in their gardens" he said, contemptuously squirting a crimson jet of betel juice over a banana trunk. "Now they know how it feels". Careful circling of the rain-washed ground failed to disclose a single fresh track at either the old or new garden sites. It indicated that, in traditional style, the Mokolkols had fled to distant parts, and that it was useless to wait longer.

The following morning, after leaving some trade goods prominently displayed, we vacated the village and commenced the return journey to Baia. Previous mortifying experiences of the difficulties involved in keeping bushmen in custody when a patrol is travelling in single file over rough country, had taught me one effective trick. The Mokolkols were invited to emulate the Nakanais and carry a patrol box slung on a pole, but in their case, each had one wrist connected by a handcuff to one of the long metal box handles. This arrangement permits changes of grip, and freedom of movement, but two men, linked to a box, can't suddenly slither over

a ridge and vanish. Lamu staged a brief sit-down strike when we were about to move, but gave no further trouble. At halts, the prisoners rested beside their box, and at night, with the pole removed, they slept one on each side of it. The lady was placed in old Moite's care. She walked in front of him, with a length of light cord fastened around her waist and tied to his wrist. Risks had to be accepted during the intervals, including the daily changes of floral raiment, when ladies must be alone, but these were minimised by temporarily relieving her of the baby. The three small boys climbed the ridges with a nonchalant ease that put us to shame.

We made good time, working on a compass bearing, and finally pitched camp, in heavy rain, on one of the Mavulu tributaries. There was a momentary panic when one of the Kaulons, seeking firewood, wandered some little distance off in the gloom, and was mistaken by the nervous Nakanais for a Mokolkol. We reached the coast on the third day.

On arriving at Baia I immediately sent for the two miserable little Kasalea men who had been looked after by the Tultul. They both swore that they recognised the prisoners. According to them, even the Mokolkol children, down to the baby girl, had taken part in the raid. Under cross-examination their identification became increasingly suspect: only one of them had been near the scene of the murders, and he had got away to a flying start. As they fidgeted, searching for more convincing lies, their attention became focussed on the new iron spear with the telephone cable binding, which had been placed by itself in a corner of the rest-house verandah. We affected not to notice, and I terminated the conversation. They turned to go, then the older man, Anuti, sulkily spoke up:

"I would like that spear".

"Ask the luluai here to sell it. He made it".

"No he didn't. My wife's brother Kipu made that spear two months ago, and gave it to Pagoni, the second son of my kinsman Timoni".

He gave a lengthy discourse on the weapon's history.

"All right. Tell Pagoni he can come to Rabaul and get it.

"The Mokolkols killed Pagoni and his daughter".

I gave him the spear. Our Atar friends were the South Coast raiders.

In May 1951 Chris Normoyle and I were back at Baia, preparing to travel again into the Mokolkol country. This time the basic problem was to evolve a method of repatriation for the graduates of our short course in civilisation that would ensure us contact with the remainder of their tiny band. While none of the different nominal rolls we had compiled of Atar's former residents checked exactly, I was reasonably certain that there was only one Mokolkol group, not exceeding 27 persons all told. The men apparently outnumbered the women - an indication of population decline that was supported by some of Malil's statements. One amicable meeting should open a new chapter in the sordid little Mokolkol saga. But failure might set us back years.

Nothing had been heard of the wild men in the six months' interval, and we agreed with Malil's opinion that they would not be found in the vicinity of Atar. The alternatives, therefore, were either for the patrol to go and search for them, or to send off our tame Mokolkols by themselves to locate their friends and persuade them to come to us.

The first course meant roaming for an indefinite period through some 500 square miles of mountainous bush, hoping to make contact with the wary bushmen through the good offices of Malil and Lamu. Among the objections to this strenuous idea was the possibility that our graduates might succumb to the call of the wild, and quietly decamp. If kept under close guard their usefulness would be limited, and they would be justifiably suspicious of our real intentions.

If sent alone, they could probably find their friends fairly quickly but might not return. Keeping the woman and children with us in the meantime would not necessarily bind the men to us; the primitive's philosophy is often disconcertingly callous - and these were peculiar people. There was also the possibility that their ardently isolationist kinsmen might regard them as renegades and kill them. A certain Kukukuku tribe in Morobe had successfully frustrated Administration intentions for quite a few years by following a similar, brutally effective, defensive policy. However, our men seemed to have no worries on this score. Whatever the course of action, success depended on the validity of our assessment regarding the new outlook of the three adults.

Throughout their stay in the Rabaul area, they had been one of Normoyle's responsibilities. We had quartered them at quiet Nonga, on the beach, and they had been looked after by two veteran policemen

one of whom, Corporal Pangal, was the foster parent of the Mokolkol child picked up years before by English's patrol. This girl, Meia, now married to a constable and herself a mother, was brought to Rabaul from distant Vanimo. She was immediately recognised by the adults - they reacted much as if she had been away visiting friends for a few days - but had forgotten most of her native tongue. Of more importance were three Bainings men from a group north of Wide Bay, who, haltingly, were able to converse with the Mokolkols. They were hired as tutors for the duration of the re-orientation course.

In the early stages, the two Mokolkol men were as suspicious as newly caged wild animals, and inclined to mope. Shortly after reaching Rabaul, Lamu had been desperately ill with broncho-pneumonia. He survived only through intense medical care. His magnificent frame never completely regained the weight lost during his illness, nor did the curiously light eyes, set deeply beneath a low brow, ever lose their baleful stare. He did not seem to be particularly intelligent, was subject to sudden rages, and throughout took only a spasmodic interest in the novel environment. Despite our reassurances he spent much of his time collecting pieces of shell and salt-impregnated sticks to take home to the hills. Only at the end of the return sea voyage, when the cloud-topped ranges of the Mokolkol country became recognisable, did Lamu's attitude change. As the trawler nosed into the Baia inlet he became excited and almost garrulous. As we anchored, he came up to me with an interpreter and courteously asked for an axe.

The older man, Malil, whom the Bainings interpreters believed to be the Mokolkol leader, had shown more adaptability. After a few weeks at Nonga he began to practice a sort of jovial diplomacy. He was keen to return home and readily agreed that his people should make friends with the Government.

Malil had a sense of humour and some histrionic ability. On the Mokolkols' first visit to the crowded Rabaul market he had quickly detected the element of awe in the immense interest shown by the Tolais. Surrounded by a respectful throng, and excited by the noise and the sight of the fabulous wealth in food displayed, he had suddenly embarked on an impromptu little song and dance act whose culminating point was a liberal sampling of whatever took his fancy. The owners declined to press for payment, and he finally staggered off with a huge load of fruit and vegetables. He now proudly sported the seal of official recognition - a Tuluai's cap.

The woman, Manu, whose husband was still in the ranges, had fulfilled her early promise. She was definitely the brightest and

best adapted of the adults, had learnt some Melanesian pidgin and, in contrast to the men, had overcome most of her prejudices regarding new foods. There had been one misfortune. Early in their tabaul sojourn her youngest boy had been admitted to hospital with dysentery. His condition was not considered serious, but he suddenly took a turn for the worse and died. It was then discovered that Manu, stubbornly fearful that he would starve to death on a liquid diet, had filled him with chunks of half-cooked taro she had smuggled into the ward. She wept bitterly for two days and then, with the stoicism of her kind, appeared to forget the child completely. The other two lads thrived, quickly learnt to prattle fluent Melanesian pidgin, and became exuberantly confident. The infant girl was plump and content.

My decision to send the two men off alone was greeted with polite scepticism by the shrewd Kombe sergeant of the new constabulary detachment. Moite, who was with us again, opposed the scheme. "These men are still wild pigs," he grumbled "you'll never see them again". Against this was the attitude of Manu, who had been included in each discussion. She seemed quite confident that her husband would come to claim her, and had herself suggested that she and the children wait with us.

As it seemed unreasonable to expect the wild bushmen to venture right onto the open beach, we moved inland to our former camp site on the Mavulu. Early the next morning I gave Malil and Lamu an axe each, whatever rations they wanted (they took only a few taros) and instructed them carefully to be back, with or without their friends, within four days at the latest. They slipped into the bush, and we settled down to explore the fishing possibilities of the Mavulu pools.

The fourth day passed without sign of the Mokolkols. Moite chewed betel nut and jeered amiably. Manu smiled, suckled her baby, and shrugged maddeningly. A day or two means little to people who know neither calendars nor clocks. I waited another 24 hours, and prepared to move into Atar, which would at least provide a base for subsequent operations.

The following morning, somewhat grim, we headed inland. Heavy floods during the last monsoon had left few traces of our old track. A thunderous explosion from within volcanic Mt. Ulawun, accompanied by a sharp earth tremor, did not improve morale. At 5 p.m., still uncertain about the best route to Atar, we made camp near a stagnant pool.

I sent out scouts at daylight, and pending their return we leisurely began to break camp. A sudden outbreak of yelling had

the constabulary cocking their Enfields, then Malil and Lamu marched in, volubly self-satisfied, and accompanied by six more Mokolkol men, all unarmed. We gave them an enthusiastic welcome. They immediately asked for axes.

In diplomatic parlance, we spent the next four hours around the conference table. There were official exhortations, reassurances, and distributions of presents. Of the new-comers, one was a sharp-featured lad of about sixteen. The others were from 20 to 35 years of age, tall and muscular, and - excepting one fellow of mildly idiot aspect - with intelligent faces. At first, despite a show of nonchalance as befitted warriors, they obviously felt that they were taking a tremendous risk. They smiled readily, but their muscles were tense and their eyes roamed unceasingly about the camp. The fluttering stomach pulses - always a tell-tale sign - betrayed the suppressed excitement. At least within living memory, this was the first amicable intercourse three Mokolkols had ever conducted with strangers.

The ice was broken when I presented Manu's husband, an impressively rugged fellow named Mulau, with a new three-quarter axe with a hickory handle and a sharp polished blade. His reunion with his wife and family had amounted to one or two casual grunts, but the axe proved too much for Mokolkol reserve. The wild men patted it lovingly, laughing gaily and chattering at frantic speed in their high-pitched, unpleasantly nasal dialect. Then Mulau tested the blade by taking some tremendous swings at a tree. After a few others had done likewise, they sat down and we conversed, painfully, of many things. But this particular axe was infinitely more attractive than any official discourse. At intervals, as though succumbing to sheer rapture, one of the Mokolkols would leap up, seize the tool, and try a few more strokes. Unlike most primitives they were remarkably proficient axemen, and after an hour we began to view some of the surrounding timber with misgivings. Normoyle took out a flat file and began to demonstrate its use as a sharpener. This swiftly drew protests, and the axe was again examined, anxiously, for signs of damage. I reverted again to the subject of raiding. "We won't raid any more", they said, "now we know where the axes come from."

Our other gifts, including mirrors, knives, matches and cotton print excited mild curiosity. Salt was viewed with suspicion. The newcomers could only be persuaded to try it after Malil, Manu, and we ourselves had eaten uncomfortably large amounts. They displayed little interest in our equipment, although boots and spectacles intrigued them considerably.

Our guests seemed not unaware of their own notoriety. They

carefully examined the interpreters and carriers for scars, and when they found some, asked smilingly: "Did we do that to you"?

In all these affairs of state the chief spokesman and master of ceremonies was Malil, the expert on white culture, and the organiser of this highly profitable rapprochement. He said that he had located his friends near the headwaters of a river that we guessed was the Sai. He added, laughing, that he had travelled without sleep for three days. Just how many miles his search had taken him, what sort of account he had given of his odyssey, and what arguments he had used to persuade the wild men to come down to us, could only be conjectured. We suspected that the irresistible lure was our reported wealth in axes.

Malil was too busy for reminiscences. Gesticulating vigorously his face sweaty with fatigue, the luluai's cap perched askew on the back of his woolly head, and his huge betel-red mouth working overtime, he enjoyed his triumph to the full and remained always in command of the situation. It was Malil, possibly fearful that an inscrutable Government might wish to replenish its Mokolkol stocks from the new material available, who swiftly vetoed the idea of any of the new men accompanying us back to the coast. Because of our generosity, he said, they had too much to carry home. Apart from that, the women could not be left unprotected for long.

Neither were the Mokolkols receptive to our suggestion that we should all proceed to the new Sai settlement. It was too far for us, said Malil - with a deprecatory gesture towards a patrol box - and there was little food there. Moreover, they intended returning to the Atar site, where the soil was good. We were anxious to learn the easiest route up the confused system of spurs and ridges, and proposed that we all go to Atar. Again Malil demurred, explaining, not unreasonably, that the gardens were now overgrown and the houses in ruins. "Give us time to rebuild Atar, and then we will cut a road to the salt-water, so you can come and visit us without trouble, and I will give you taro to eat because you are my friends". So saying he threw down his axe, straightened his cap, gave a grotesque parody of a policeman's salute, and embraced everyong within reach. It was a splendid performance, indicating genuine talent.

It was clear that the Mokolkols were keen to be off, and that any further persistence on our part would rekindle suspicions regarding our intentions. So we parted, swearing eternal friendship. Even Lamu cracked an ingratiating smile as he indulged in the novelty of shaking hands. I promised them that a patrol would visit them six full moons from then, and Malil himself accompanied us back to the Mavulu - just to be sure that we were really leaving. Moite,

who had contemptuously held aloof from the Mokolkols, regarded Malil speculatively: "This lapun knows a little", he said.

The Mokolkols did no more raiding. Patrols visited them at Atar in 1952 and 1953. Then, with changes in District field staff and competing priorities, Administration interest in this tiny isolated community inevitably waned.

In 1956 a planter at Wide Bay reported in the "Pacific Islands Monthly" that the Mokolkols had suddenly appeared on his station, grabbed his terrified cook, licked him all over, and asked for salt.

As I was finishing this paper, Mr. Harry West, District Commissioner, East New Britain, called on me. In response to my inquiry he said that the Mokolkols now lived with a Bainings group at Matanakunai near the mouth of the Toriu River, north of Open Bay. They were relatively wealthy through the sale of timber rights, and occasionally visited Rabaul in their outboard powered canoes.

IN RETROSPECT 1945-1952:PAPUA-NEW GUINEA AND TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

Colonel J.K. Murray

When I accepted the invitation of the University of Papua and New Guinea to take part in this seminar on "The History of Melanesia" with a paper relating to my term as Administrator of the Territory in the immediate post-war years, I thought impressions and recollection relating to the government policy followed during the period October 1945 to June 1952 might be acceptable and of some interest.

I have used few names except in relation to politics, as it could not be possible with memory limitations and lack of records, to do otherwise.

The material is not in any strict chronological order. I may use the term "New Guinea" loosely in the way Australians commonly do.

THE 1945 POLICY FOR PAPUA-NEW GUINEA

1945-1949

The Cabinet Committee appointed in relation to New Guinea Affairs played the plenary role.

Among the bodies decisively influencing opinion and people affecting the policy to be determined upon for the post-war administration of "New Guinea" was the Allied Landforces Directorate and Civil Affairs. Its director, Colonel A.A. Conlon had what may be realistically termed a unique staff, full-time and part-time, including professional people drawn from many fields, the universities in particular being called upon.

That Colonel Conlon influenced directly (and indirectly by bringing knowledgeable people into contact with the Minister for External Territories) the formulation of a Rooseveltian New Deal for Papua and New Guinea is undoubted. He put forward major principles which needed to be given effect to in order to apply the 1945 programme in native administration as a common policy in a joint administration of the possession of Papua and the Territory

of New Guinea. Through General Blamey, to whom his directorate was directly responsible, he modified the thinking and procedures of the Army in relation to the use and treatment of native personnel in the Army and its auxiliaries.

He and his directorate decisively countered a naive tendency to depend on precedents for action, in a revolutionary new system, on what had happened in the between-wars period in the two territories.

His estimate as to what it would cost to put the new deal and arrangements into operation, three million pounds was a figure I believe he used, was regarded as astronomical. Actually it was close to the mark; in the three commencing years from October 1945 to June 1948 the grants-in-aid amounted to four million pounds.

The holding of the portfolio of External Territories by Mr. E.J. Ward (he was also Minister for Transport) was timely in relation to the creation and control of a policy for New Guinea. He was approachable, a good listener, humanitarian in outlook and was responsible for the basic policy that was to last from 1945 to the present day which was, and is, that the interests of the native people are paramount and that priority be given to their educational, social, economic and political development. Ward was fortunate, in relation to Papua and New Guinea, in having as Prime Minister first Mr. Curtin and subsequently Mr. Chifley (who was Treasurer in both governments) and Dr. Evatt as Minister for External Affairs. Evatt and his department could be depended upon to support and defend the policy which Ward defined in his second reading speech on the Bill for an Act for a Provisional Administration for the Territory of Papua-New Guinea. Chifley supported increased expenditure in Papua and New Guinea when the allocation had reached a figure causing the following estimates to face serious curtailment.

The Curtin and Chifley Governments in 1945 were as relevant to the future of Papua and New Guinea - in a more restricted range - as was the Attlee Government in relation to India and Ceylon. These governments enacted and administered policies in keeping with principles enunciated at San Francisco where Dr. Evatt and his staff contributed to the evolution and achievements of the U.N.O. Charter.

Mr. Hasluck was not a member of the Parliament during the critical years of policy formulation, enactment and implementation in 1943-1949. He was a member of Dr. Evatt's staff from 1941-47, a period which included the San Francisco Conference from April to June of 1945 which evolved the U.N.O. Charter. I have often

pondered whether he devised the Trusteeship provisions.

Unlike India and Ceylon, Papua and New Guinea had no educated indigenous elite and independence was really unthinkable, but the application of Articles 73 and 76 of the Charter were given effect.

POLICY - 1950

The grant-in-Aid for 1949-50, the last appropriation of the Whitely Government was \$8,369,000; the 1950-51 grant was \$8,709,000.

The year 1950 may have been a year of some uncertainty as to Australian policy to be followed in New Guinea.

Mr. Ward had been succeeded by Mr. (later Sir Percy) Spender who was also Minister for External Affairs. The major portfolio would be expected to claim greater attention. However, External Affairs, with its international outlook in relation to New Guinea, had in 1945-49 supported progressive moves in relation to the Territory and to the Australian School of Pacific Administration (I was a member of its Council).

A United Nations Mission was visiting the Territory at the time of a visit by Mr. Spender. He was reserved in his attitude to the Mission, perhaps out of tune.

Old territorians in the private sector rather expected that, with a Liberal-Country Party in power, the 1945 policy would be revised in their favour. At a dinner tended to him at Kokopo by commercial and plantation interests, Mr. Spender made a speech which they may have found non-committal, perhaps disappointing.

The Minister's disapproval of the proposed establishment of a multiracial High School at Wau was a major disappointment in educational and social development. We had already received the Crown Lynn heavy crockery from England which bore "Wau High School" on every item of it; we were so sure in 1949 that the project would go ahead.

At a meeting at his home, the Minister suggested that I might like to take up appointments in Sydney as Principal of A.S.O.P.A. and as an Australian Commissioner on the S.P.C. He allowed me to decline the offer.

A few days prior to leaving for Washington to take up his position as Ambassador, he gave me some time in Sydney and considered

and finalised some thirty submissions which had been awaiting decisions, some for long periods.

Mr. Spender was succeeded by Mr. Hasluck.

POLICY 1951-52

The grant-in-Aid for the year was raised to \$10,569,000, an increase of about 20% on the previous year's allocation.

The continuance of Australian policy, in relation to the native people, that the administering power would ensure "their political, economic, social and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses" was to continue.

THE PROVISIONAL ADMINISTRATION

1945-1949

The civil joint administration of Papua and New Guinea functioned under the provisions of the Papua-New Guinea Provisional Administration Act of 1945, which was assented to on the 3rd August of that year. This date interested me since the proposed legislation was enacted before the atomic bombing of Hiroshima on the 6th August and a year or more before the anticipated end of the war, using conventional methods. As indicated earlier, planning for the post-war government of New Guinea had been given attention for two or more war time years.

I arrived in Port Moresby on the 25th of October, visited the army commander at Lae, after meeting the D.E.T. Liaison Group at Port Moresby. The Act being promulgated as from the 30th, the Provisional Administration commenced to function on the 30th October 1945, the Act providing for the administration of Papua and that portion of the Territory of New Guinea no longer in enemy occupation, which was taken as "South of the Markham". The dates of the subsequent take-overs (all in 1946) of districts or areas were as follows:

Huon Peninsula, Madang and Sepik Districts	February 28
Manus District	May 15
New Britain (excluding the Gazelle Peninsula which included ANGAU headquarters)	May 31
New Ireland District	June 8
Gazelle Peninsula	June 24

The commencement of the second financial year (a complete one) saw the civil administration operational throughout the whole of Papua-New Guinea.

The Department of External Territories had a Liaison Group co-operating with ANGAU when I took over as Administrator. This group became the nucleus of the Civil Administration. It included personnel who were well experienced members of the two pre-war civil services and much acquainted with the frustrations arising from incomplete Australian intent and shortage of funds in giving effect to the humanitarian regime of Sir Hubert Murray in Papua and to the Mandate's directives in New Guinea.

The pre-war Australian governments had shown faint interest in native advancement. An outstanding progressive movement (of great moment) in the Mandated Territory was, I think, the arrangement of a short course in anthropology and allied subjects at the University of Sydney for civil service cadets, from whom came some of the most valuable officers of the post-war administrations. Papua had the advantage of its civil service moving in the aura of Sir Hubert Murray.

The Civil Service grew with key personnel released by ANGAU, and a steady stream of informed men came from the Allied Landforces School of Civil Affairs and its civil successor, the Australian School of Pacific Administration. Staff additions from these schools were motivated by an earnest interest in the welfare and development, social, economic and political of the native people.

Shortages were felt in sections of departments. Australia was not a place from which could be obtained staff additions who were experienced professionally in relation to the problems besetting an administration in a tropical dependency. These shortages were at their worst in relation to education, agriculture, veterinary science and medicine. Orientation courses at ASOPA helped in relation to rural society adjustments, but (for instance) only experience of agricultural graduates and diplomats with plantation and subsistence crops can make them an early asset in extension activities. Sending Australian graduates in the Administration's service for a post-graduate year at the College of Tropical Agriculture in Trinidad provided additional tropical expertise.

The Director of Medical Services solved part of his problem (the purely professional shortage) by local registration of fully qualified European medical practitioners who had been refused permission to practise in Australia.

Under another heading there is mention of a limited but very welcome number of senior officers made available by Commonwealth departments and instrumentalities.

From about 30 in all on the 25th October 1945, personnel available rose to about 1300 in 1951.

There were many thousands of native people doing essential work in connection with all departments. They included a number of skilled men with pre-war and wartime experience, but the great majority were semi-skilled or unqualified. It was necessary that we obtained men with constructional skills, mechanics etc. from Australia. The technical colleges did not function till later and the unavailability of instructors made the liberal post-war-reconstruction grants for training greater than the missions and ourselves could use. Generally speaking Australian craftsmen who had seen war service in New Guinea accepted the native assistant as a fellow man; others included some conceited racists.

Some departments, Commonwealth and our own, instituted courses of training for native people and solved some of their needs by training men on the job.

The police were a very good force. The combination of the two sections became the Royal Papuan and New Guinean Constabulary. Law and order were competently cared for.

A developing danger to the morale of the civil service lay in housing shortages, both quantity and quality. Old army structures designed to meet the temporary requirements of a campaign had been pressed into service. The acute discomfort and lack of reasonable amenities might be allowed for by those who had served outside Australia in the armed forces. But some of the members of the civil service who had been in Australia during the war years chafed under the conditions. The risk of loss of people who might not be replaceable, and a fair go for those who battled on in the conditions was not understood in Australia, which suffered from post-war shortages itself. The Department of External Territories failed to respond to requests to make provision for adequate housing to replace army structures and also to provide for the rapidly expanding civil service and other government employees.

Patience continued, but a mass meeting at Port Moresby of officers of the administration protested against the continuance of the conditions. To meet the emergency, Public Works personnel present at the meeting proposed to design "paper houses" (of wooden framework and floors, sisalcraft walls and galvanised iron roofs) of sizes to meet occupants' needs. Temporary accommodation again, but new. The area around what was known as Champion House was the first site for a "suburb" of new paper houses and they were accepted as built, with alacrity and cheerfulness, with the hope in the not-distant-future of something more fitted to the climate and social needs.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

October 1945 - October 1951

In the immediate post-war years there was no Legislative Council and no Executive Council for the now jointly administered territories. There was thus a necessity for an advisory body in relation to (a) proposed legislation (draft ordinance submitted to the Department of External Territories), (b) major decisions affecting more than one of the local civil service departments, (c) major decisions in relation to the implementation of ministerial policy and (d) major emergencies and contingencies.

I presided over such an advisory body which I called The Staff Conference which generally met weekly in the conference hut in Government House grounds. The members were the heads of departments and, ad hoc, other officials.

The majority of the heads of departments were men experienced in the pre-war civil services of Papua and the Mandated Territory of New Guinea, or in adjoining colonial areas. They were not often influenced, and then advisedly so, by pre-war precedents and, to my knowledge, were stimulated by the truly liberal programme for development of the native people and of the Territory. Although occasionally surprised or disappointed or both at some lack of provision, they were appreciative of the unprecedentedly high financial allocations provided to implement the programme.

I used committees extensively, not only in an advisory capacity but with spheres of action. I was aware of disparaging references in the literature to "Government by Committees". I found them to lessen the load which would otherwise fall on the Staff Conference and to speed up action when two or more departments were involved in important applications of policy. Absurd, perhaps, but I thought at the time of the committees of the U.S.A. Senate!

Minutes were kept of the decisions made and of the proceedings of the Staff Conference.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

When the Legislative and Executive Councils commenced to function in 1951, it was a return to not dissimilar measures of "self-government" in which the separate territories had engaged pre-war.

Some of the proposed provisions of the bill for the 1949 Act were considered by a conference of some dozen or so people which the

Minister, Mr. Ward, convened in the Commonwealth offices in the Commonwealth Bank, Sydney. After discussion there was, I consider, unanimity of opinion that the Legislative Council consist of twenty-nine members: the Administrator, sixteen official members and twelve non-official members.

Proposed arrangements for the twelve non-official members included two basic features. One, the election of three members by the literate community and the other, the inclusion of three indigenous members, nominated by the Administrator who was also to nominate three representatives of the Missions, and three persons to strengthen the Council in respect of interests not adequately represented. Suitable nominees were the subject of much consideration by the Staff Conference at Port Moresby, the members of which included many people with long experience and wide knowledge of territory people.

We had perhaps most difficulty in selecting the indigenous people. Territory of New Guinea having two thirds of the population was thought to have a claim for two members and Papua for one. Merari Dickson, a good English speaker trained at Kwato and recommended by the Abels was chosen as the representative from Papua. For the New Guinea mainland of Territory of New Guinea we selected Simogun Peta, B.E.M., a distinguished member of the Pacific Islands Regiment, a strong character with business acumen, likable, interested in the future of his country in a discerning way. For the other Territory of New Guinea member the choice was Aisoli Salin of Bougainville, a pleasant, devoted teacher, trained at Sogeri.

The Missions represented were (a) the oldest missionary organisation in Papua, the London Missionary Society; (b) The Roman Catholic Missions, who had made the earliest (1848?) attempt to establish a mission in the Woodlark Island group and had, in 1951, several vicariates (dioceses); and (c) the Methodists who had one station (East Cape) on the mainland of Papua, but many elsewhere in Papua and New Guinea.

One of my subsequent regrets was that I did not include two women, Miss P.D. Abel of Kwato in addition to Mrs. Doris Booth of Wau; and somehow find room for the Anglican bishop of New Guinea, Dr. P.N.W. Strong, in the final three nominations.

An Assistant Administrator was appointed in 1951.

An overriding unease with regard to any political development was how it could meet the pressures arising from the not improbable development of large industrial enterprises based on the known great hydro-electric potential, the known natural gas reserves and the oil possibilities.

NATIVE LOCAL GOVERNMENT, 1951 DEVELOPMENT

The Papua and New Guinea Act of 1949 made provision for the setting up by ordinance of native village councils.

The humble but effective beginnings were in two areas where there had been prolonged contact with Europeans. A basic principle adopted was that women as well as men could "vote" for candidates.

Hanuabada was the first. It had a quite long history of cultural contact which included the L.M.S. Mission in the eighteen seventies, Commodore Erskine's proclamation of a protectorate followed by Sir William MacGregor's governorship and culminating in Sir Hubert Murray's long judicial and administrative control. This first Papuan native village council was established with ease, even serenity and embarked on local projects, having one of the early co-operative society ventures.

The second was at Rabaul which had had a long series of contacts, mostly European, but including a grim period of Japanese occupation which had influenced Tolai "color" thinking. This native village council emphasised the realization by the native people of the apparent importance of education in advancement by sending an amount for offering it (I am not sure which) of some sixteen hundred pounds to the Education Department, no doubt Mr. Groves really, to defray the cost of teachers in a school which they would build. It reminded me of an early 1946 assemblage of native people at Finschhafen from Sattelburg and the Mangi River country behind it. They asked for two things, one the continuance of the functioning of the American army hospital (which Lutheran personnel were staffing) and the other the provision of schools, to the cost of which they emphasised that they must be allowed to contribute.

The granting of equal electoral rights to women and men and limited taxing powers to the Native Village Councils seemed more important than the Legislative Council reappearance; it was starting at the grass roots in the political education of an enormous electorate to be.

THE CIVIL SERVICE

STAFFING AND ORGANISATION

As has been stated there was no local legislative body and thus the Civil Service lay at the root of Government in a singularly critical way. In the account of the Commencement of the Provisional Administration, some details are given of the building up of the

civil service and problems associated with its accommodation.

The staffing of some departments presented difficulties which were almost insuperable, and it was considered wise to ask that some Commonwealth departments accept responsibilities in the territory.

A Department of Air was an obvious one and the Commonwealth Department of Air (or Civil Aviation) accepted similar tasks to those for which it was responsible in the Australian states.

I also requested that major public works and housing, as well as town planning be accepted as a responsibility of the relevant Commonwealth Department, and that communications (post, telegraph and telephone etc.) be placed with the P.M.G'S department. There was some difficulty with the P.M.G. and I saw the Director General of the P.M.G. department with a view to his concurrence. He agreed but I was given to understand that the requirements of the six states must first be met. He, nevertheless, gave us senior personnel and some staffing. This department trained its own indigenous craftsmen which was doubly valuable.

In the pre-war administration and in the joint administration in the early years, public service administration was within the province of the Department of the Government Secretary. The Department of External Territories held an overall brief and, in relation to appointments of heads of departments, made the decisions though submitting applications to the Administration for advice. The delays were great, a permanent head of the treasury not being appointed for years.

A recommendation that there should be a public service commissioner was eventually approved, the Commonwealth Public Service Board being helpful and making a senior officer available for the post.

The essential reclassification of the new, much larger and growing service was a long business, but the classification of positions, manning charts and the fixing of salaries, superannuation etc. was eventually completed and sent to the Department of Territories and, with some modifications, approved. The Department, however, with a continuing and extraordinary shortage of staff who had any experience in the Territory, huddled too many decisions to itself.

I do not intend, of course, to refer in detail to departments which in name and function were the successors of the corresponding pre-war departments of the civil services, but two new departments, Education and Labour, were basic parts of the new policy and thus may warrant some comment.

The private sector pre-war Europeans of the territories had been accustomed to the activities of departments in relation to native welfare. The degree of irritation shown in relation to the new Departments of Education and Labour perhaps represented an assessment of the expected adverse consequences of these departments activities on the pliability and cost of labour. I was disappointed to find that the new conditions of employment of native people met with some opposition from Missions which had commercial interests.

THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR

Mr. Ward's early direction that a Department of Labour be formed was a development that could be expected and welcomed. It was an essential in the application of the new policy and would lighten the load that, without it, would fall heavily on the Department of Native Affairs.

Ward had been Minister for Labour and National Service in a Curtin Government and now faced a situation in which nine-tenths of the unskilled and semi-skilled occupations in the territory were filled by indigenous, illiterate people.

His policy with regard to the department stressed, as much as most changes, the fundamental alteration in the attitude of Australian governments in relation to the social and economic development of the native people.

An ordinance and ministerial instructions directed that there be improvement in the accommodation for workers, a new ration scale nutritionally balanced and adequate be adopted, improved medical care for workers be provided, an increase in cash wages per month to 15/- be made and that hours be reduced to 44 per week. Radical changes in other conditions of employment included reduction in the length of indentures, their replacement as early as possible (1950?) by agreements of relatively short duration and the abolition of penal sanctions in relation to employment. Free labour was to be the goal.

Despite staffing difficulties and the generally unsympathetic, even hostile, non-indigenous human milieu in which it worked, the department carried out with success its share in the administration of a policy giving effect to the principles of the Trusteeship which were applied throughout the Territory.

It was a difficult time for the "administered" but neither was it easy for the departmental personnel. From the Provisional Administration's inclusive viewpoint it was advisable to get basic policy adjustments over early.

How much a harassed person can be out of touch with an Australian viewpoint was evidenced in a request made by a planter who asked, with all sincerity, that I view favourably the admission of a hundred and fifty indentured Chinese labourers for the rehabilitation of his properties.

THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

The formation of this new department in 1946 followed on a specific obligation "to promote the educational advancement of the trust territories", an obligation which Australia and New Zealand extended to their colonial territories.

The problem of organisation, administration and finance in relation to this undertaking was not realistically assessed by the Australian people nor the Australian Parliament. It is as if, in Queensland, which has a similar population, there were no State schools (primary, high or any other); that the only education was that afforded by the denominational schools, and these mostly teaching to only a sub-primary standard (except for seminaries); that the Queensland parents were illiterate, divided over seven hundred language groups; and that the general teaching medium would not be any of the seven hundred languages known to the various groups.

Knowledge of vernacular languages in Papua and New Guinea was in the main confined to missionaries and they could encompass only a small part of the mass of languages. There was little indeed of printed material in any vernacular language beyond that which directly served evangelisation.

Education, because in its best sense, it is the basis of understanding, must be in a language which is rich in literature and in the technologies. English, mainly because of its being, in a sense, our own and because we can handle it with some degree of facility, but basically because it is, overall, the richest in the printed record of man's achievement, was the only language of choice as the medium of education and instruction. Pidgin and basic English had their advocates for primary school work, but it seemed wise to make subsidies to the missions on the basis of teaching English as a subject and its use subsequently as the medium of instruction.

The Administration had few schools. Sogeri, a heritage from the breadth of vision of ANGAU, was the principal one. The most was made of the site on Eworogo Creek convalescent depot area, using the army buildings and adding some. The school had a sequence of first rate headmasters and played an important role

n turning out good full course primary and some secondary school leavers, able, courteous.

The policy in relation to the development of the native people was believed to rest on the precept that "only the educated are free" and that education and public health were the bases on which the rest of the pyramid could be built.

To obtain, as far as possible, a joint effort with the missions in relation principally to education and medical services, conferences were arranged of the heads of departments and mission representatives drawn from the major centres of the missionary colonies. Expenses were met by the Administration.

The Administrator presided at the opening session and the Director of Education thereafter.

The Administration was much concerned with (a) educational standards and facilities; (b) the co-ordination of health services, particularly such special services as the treatment of leprosy and of tuberculosis in which fields the unlimited devotion of the mission personnel was invaluable; and (c) as nearly as possible a uniform code of ethics and morals. In the absence of an adequate established government educational system, arrangements were made for capital and recurrent grants to missions in respect of the fields in which their functions contributed to meeting the obligations which Australia had agreed to accept in relation to the U.N. Charter. Emphasis was placed on the teaching of English and its use as a medium of instruction. Within the funds available, the department expanded its activities in various branches of educational effort.

JUDICIAL SYSTEM

The 1945 Papua-New Guinea Act provided for one Supreme Court in lieu of the pre-war separate judiciatures. The Chief Judge (now Chief Justice) and judges exercised their jurisdiction in each territory, though there was an early tendency for judges to function in the territory each knew best. The Territory was fortunate in having a judge of long experience from each of Papua and of the Territory of New Guinea and a later appointment was that of the Papuan Chief Law Officer who had been in Sir Hubert Murray's regime; Sir Hubert exercised judicial functions over a very long period.

As control extended and air services improved the judges moved out to regional centres in lieu of the hearing of the cases in the large towns. This had obvious advantages in social development.

The problems of interpretation were often intricate. Two fusions of Papuan districts, each having a small population, and the formation of three highlands districts, where there were some 600,000 people in all, varied the district arrangements but were welcomed by the Chief Judge as facilitating justice.

Provision was made for appeal from the Supreme Court, there being no Full Court, to the High Court of Australia.

In the lower courts, the district officers (to become district commissioners) and assistant district officers acted as resident magistrate (so called in Papua pre-war) with similar responsibilities to those of the pre-war period. The movement of these officers from territory to territory, which I was anxious to arrange, complicated legal problems somewhat for they now had three sets of laws to administer, those of the joint administration which superseded similar pre-war provisions and those of Papua or the Territory of New Guinea whichever was relevant.

Well prior to the end of the war Dr. T.P. Fry (a first class honours man of Queensland, Oxford and Harvard) commenced the task of assembling The Annotated Laws of Papua and Territory of New Guinea, a compilation of ten volumes each of about one thousand pages, and this became available, later than planned or wished, but the planners could not anticipate the welcome, early end of the Pacific war.

THE PRIVATE SECTOR

The circumstances and atmosphere were ill-conditioned for a smooth entry into recovery from wartime destruction and dislocation. Enemy and allied operations had destroyed towns, some utterly, and laid areas waste.

The decision to repatriate Australian troops as quickly as possible (the Prime Minister visited the G.O.C.i.c. 1st Australian Army at Lae to press the matter) was paralleled by a ministerial decision to repatriate all natives who had been compulsorily assigned or volunteered to join the Army, its auxiliaries or labour units, including plantation labour working under the Production Control Board of Angau.

Civilians, after years in Australia, returned to take over the running of plantations and commercial interests expecting, in too many cases, to resume operations under pre-war conditions for labour and commercial supplies. Rabaul and some major centres in New Guinea had been completely destroyed or near to, and other centres had suffered in varying degrees.

The much criticised "demobilisation" of labour of native men so that they could return to their villages and their people was on a par with the return of Australian servicemen to their cities, towns, rural areas and their people, but with different results to the economies. The return of the Australian troops to their homes strengthened the Australian (cash) economy. The return of native troops etc. and labourers, who had been away from their homes for years, weakened the territorial cash economy but strengthened the basic (subsistence) economy which supported in excess of a million people whose houses and food gardens had been poorly maintained, and could not be renewed when necessary by the old men, women and children. Japanese incursions added to the deterioration brought about by the absence of the young and middle-aged men.

The territorial cash economy required rehabilitation on an extensive and major scale. The merchandising section picked up relatively quickly. The plantation side needed much replanting, with little cash return for four to eight years or more. The bombed and shot-up areas (machine-gunning of palms) were worse off than the merely neglected ones.

The Zebu-British cattle herds needed recovery and Territorially widespread development; the latter was encumbered by the necessarily severe measures adopted by quarantine authorities in relation to Asian bull imports.

The Australian New Guinea Production Control Board could only reach an area, to bring it into production if possible, as the enemy were driven out. The position was much worse in the Territory of New Guinea than in Papua, where the enemy's occupation was confined to an area east of a line joining Port Moresby to Cape Ward Hunt.

As indigenous labour became available, the conditions of employment involved increased wages, a new ration scale, improved housing, clothing and medical care as well as a reduced working week. The European employees' salaries were somewhat higher too. Fortunately the prices for what exports there were, were not at disastrously low levels.

Banking services were restored as quickly as physical resources permitted, but some of the services, such as advances against property values for rehabilitation purposes were handicapped by the absence of land titles. In the Territory of New Guinea area they were largely lost owing to the Japanese occupation and the resultant destruction, both in Rabaul and Lae, one the old capital and Lae the new one to which records were being transferred, both towns being totally razed. It was a time for pre-war bankers who

knew; fortunately the pre-war Secretary for Lands was available for this appointment in the new Provisional Administration; but personal knowledge could not fully compensate for destroyed records. Requests for legislation to facilitate the handling of this intricate, almost intractable situation took years to obtain. The cash situation was helped by the war damage compensation payments which were well handled by an ad hoc body.

TRADE, TERRITORY PRODUCE AND GENERAL

Conditions in which trade was conducted post-war, particularly the comparatively low to widely varying prices for tropical produce of most dependent, or newly-emerging-into-independence territories made things difficult for all those engaged in the rehabilitation of a monoculture as copra production mostly was. Where it was joined with interplanted cocoa, the position could be levelled out, improved or worsened.

Trade circumstances were buoyant for firms with varied capital interests - shipping, wholesale and retail stores, cold stores, plantations etc. They were fitted to counterbalance within their associated industries, and increase or reduce costs of rehabilitation in any one of them. The fast-growing expenditure in the public sector (a multiple of pre-war figures) flowed in an increasing stream, directly or indirectly, to commercial enterprises and, while they cried "ruin" in relation to government policy, business had never been better. This rapid recovery in business stimulated essential expansion.

The position for those in the straight agricultural industries was ameliorated by favourable government or government inspired action. A levy on copra, when the prices were above estimated costs of production, helped to stabilise returns, offsetting to a useful extent erratic market trends and building up a disposable reserve.

Rubber production, in amount only a small fraction of Australian requirements, was eventually guaranteed a market in Australia at a somewhat higher price than that ruling for the Malayan product of a similar grade. The action was long delayed; large rubber consuming companies with plantation or other production tie-ups, who welcomed the trickle of rubber from Papua in the worst war period, felt no concern for the survival of the territory industry. The industry set to work to help itself, with assistance, where necessary, from the Department of Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries, by the importation of high-yielding rubber clones (both types) and their use in new or replacement plantings, making possible an eventual doubling of the average yield of rubber per acre. No

uch possibility presented itself in relation to the coconut palm.

The Lowlands Agricultural Experimental Station at Keravat which had done notable work in relation to cocoa pre-war suffered great damage during the war, an airstrip being located there. It got onto its stride quickly and contributed to the re-establishment of the industry which contributed in an impressive way to the economy.

There is a wide range of tropical fruits, nuts, and fibres that a native cash economy may fit into its production eventually.

TOWN PLANNING

The Town Planning Group of the Commonwealth Department of Works and Housing worked on the Lae site and would have commenced early on the Gazelle Peninsula area project. The Administration was unanimous in its Staff Conference meetings that the Gazelle Peninsula town site should not be at Rabaul and so twice advised the Australian Government. The risks from volcanism are too great. Expert opinion from the, then (1938) N.E.I. volcanological service had advised that two major eruptions a century would occur in the Rabaul area. The Australian decision was to rebuild at Rabaul.

A town site for Lae was designed and occupied, not without some opposition. It was regarded with satisfaction, on the whole, by those who had lived in and knew the old township round the strip. It was an excellent achievement.

Some designing for Port Moresby itself was done, but the town planning group wisely devoted its attention to a suburb survey at Proko which has served well the very limited Port Moresby site's expansion needs.

There was a natural tendency for those who returned to the territory to plump for the old town arrangements as "good enough".

COMMUNICATIONS

It was strange to be in a town for years, which was the capital of the political units, not having a newspaper. There had been pre-war newspapers, but it was some years before "The South Pacific Post" was published in Port Moresby and airtailed to other centres. Air services brought in Australian newspapers and "The Pacific Islands Monthly" was widely circulated.

Generally telephone services were restored from existing armed services systems and/or materials. A shortage of materials in

Australia extended to the Territory. Local radio telephone and telegraphic services, for a country just emerging from theatre-of-war conditions, were built up into a widespread and reasonably effective cover. For a short time the P.V.C. land line through the Kokoda gap was maintained, relatively little maintenance of course, being required.

The cable link to Australia was abandoned; reconditioning would have been expensive and the radio links with Australia were good and improving. The P.M.G.'s Department, if not generous, was reasonable in sparing some of its personnel to meet necessities; it took much time to meet all needs in reason by peace-time standards.

The postal services used air, sea and whatever roads were available; the constabulary did most of the rural work, among many other services, as mentioned, maintaining the historic trans-island Kokoda Gap service to the Northern Division for some years.

Broadcasting

The A.B.C. was approached to consider favourably the taking over of the army-become-administration broadcasting service and to accept responsibility for territorial broadcasting in the entertainment and information fields.

Mr. Boyer (later Sir Richard Boyer) was sympathetic and co-operative. My intention was to make arrangements which would avoid crudities, misleading advertising and possibly, slanted news (both commission and omission) which would add to the complexities of culture contact in a territory of indigenous, unsophisticated people in contact with many literate, influential, employers in the private sector who were unsympathetic to the social development plan.

The Minister agreed with the proposal and the A.B.C. took over. It was a prudent, successful arrangement.

For English-speaking people of all races wishing for alternative programmes, reception from Australian stations was reasonably good.

For native broadcasts in police motu or motu, pidgin or vernaculars, talent was available early from ANGAU and the Missions. Receivers were obtained in considerable numbers from the Commonwealth Disposals Commission; these receivers were rugged army ones, and were distributed by the Department of Education and Native Affairs to areas of listening promise.

Railways

None. In most 'modern' countries, railways and roads transport most goods and most people. In Papua and New Guinea there are no railways and, except for a possible funicular railway to meet a special problem or an ordinary railway to serve a minerals (including oil and gas) requirement, railways are unlikely. The terrain is prohibitive. New Guinea is a long island, relatively narrow and the cordillera with scores of mountains over 10,000 feet high along its length make railways and highways across it impracticable as a capital venture. The rainfall each side of the central ranges is up to 300 inches per annum which makes long littoral lines impracticable because of the multiplicity of well-fed rivers and streams making their way down the valleys to the sea.

There must of course be an exception. Two mining companies constructed very short lines, one on Misima Island and one at Footless Inlet (this one fed by a flying fox). They had a short life.

Roads

There were very few. A German constructed one, 120 miles long from Kavieng to Samo along the narrow N.W. - S.E. tongue of New Ireland, where there were no major road problems. The very expensive to maintain Wau to Labu (later Lae, when the Markham bridge was constructed) was some 90 miles long and much of the cost was army money. There was a war time jeep track or road from Arona to Goroka and, for the rest, they were mainly fifty miles or less running out from the ports.

Air

Air services covered essential roles with which only they, then, could cope. In the earliest period the R.A.A.F. came to our aid, though they must have been anxious to return to Australia. Wherever Catalina or a land plane could be put down to meet an emergency or an essential administration need, it was available.

Quantas, T.A.A. and G.S.A. brought us back to civil aviation; C.A.A., professional, but reasonably tolerant, permitted the airmen to hold the communications, an invaluable, irreplaceable, courageous service.

Air transport of all kinds was the business-like internal transportation system, par excellence, in this region of great mountain ranges. Advisers counselling extensive road and highway construction were mostly drawn from countries whose road systems

were the product of centuries of human endeavour and in the aggregate, immense expenditures of capital.

Subsidised, as necessary, air transport was a feasible proposition. The air is free and air terminal charges are not great. Meeting the cost (capital and maintenance) of main roads was quite impossible. Other developmental responsibilities had to be met and these were basic to social and therefore to economic development. To us the roads could wait, and air did the job at low cost compared with the fantastic costs of the alternative. If UNESCO finance, or finance from other international sources at really low rates of interest is available, it may be a different story, but I doubt it. New Guinea must think in terms of air transport as normal transport, as indeed, it has.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIGENOUS SECTOR OF THE CASH ECONOMY.

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

The native people were not confronted in a vital way by the problems of rehabilitating the cash economy. They could live comfortably in most areas, not merely subsist. Cash resources, shared in kinship fashion, from wartime employment, made for temporary indifference in some areas. War damage compensation, applicable to indigenous people, as well as to Europeans, of course, was difficult and slow in application, and did not affect the economy any faster than the already overburdened civil service could make the essential investigations and payments.

Co-operative enterprises had attraction because of the linking of native communal thinking with a communal profit project. The rural progress societies also contributed to recovery and growth.

It was early realised that any viable self-government for the Territory would depend to an increasing extent on the indigenous cash economy.

To hasten its development, much attention was given to the establishment of a co-operative training centre and co-operative ventures with emphasis on the production side, but development necessarily on the consumption side, also, because of its appeal and the widespread feeling that native people were overcharged in retail dealings. These were actual difficulties; in big towns the retailers were also wholesalers and shipping owners or agents, and were in a position to arrange prices. An attempt to determine maximum prices by law proved to be unworkable.

The staffing of the co-operative section was good, and their attitudes, keen, helpful even paternal. Growth of the movement was pronounced both in the number of societies and in the improvement of production, both quality and quantity. Ability to purchase wholesale, like a wholesale co-operative society, grew by direct links with Australian suppliers and the use of small ships to ensure consumer supplies outward and production 'exports' to their market without the delays consequent on lack of shipping services or being y-passed.

Some trainees (co-operative societies' employees) got into financial trouble early owing to their almost instinctive compliance with cultural systems of kinship obligations. The trouble was real and tough, and was played up by those adversely affected in business. Responsible trainees of good will, ability and culturally adapted, became effective proponents of co-operation.

Difficulties associated with the cultures differing from ours necessitated the services of able, informed, sympathetic counsellors and this requirement was met.

One of the interesting unsolved trade problems in T.N.G. then, was the currency. Shell money was backed in a Tolai area, by an impressive general reserve, including a treasury of native ownership in which the largest "doughnut" filled with the extremely small money units would be a man's height and a foot in diameter, and cores of others of varying sizes, all of fine workmanship. German marks and Australian shillings had an exchange value in this currency, but it was only slowly realized that the shell currency was not current in Australia and would possibly eventually lose its value locally.

REHABILITATION OF NATIVE VILLAGES

In late 1945 and early 1946 returned native servicemen and labourers whose contracts had been concluded or terminated returned to their villages and engaged in rehabilitation and reconstruction, the commitment varying with the degree of exposure of the region to the havoc of war. The task was simplified by the fact that the bulk of the material required was native and available locally. War damage compensation payments assisted in the purchase of durable materials.

This reintegration of the village social system produced the skills and energy required. The returning men were healthier than the norm. Most had had service rations in the field army or ANGAU activities and medical care and were freer from disease and

particularly hookworm (and thus had a relatively high haemoglobin figure). Much so called laziness of native people was due to very low haemoglobin figures.

Where the Japanese had been cut off from supplies and were dependent to a great extent, as in Bougainville, on native foodstuffs, conditions had been hard for the native villages. Directly the war ended provisions from Army base areas such as Torokina became available to ration the native people. A tour of the war area on foot from Torokina to Buin by the Director of Public Health and in which he conducted a clinical examination of the inhabitants of all villages in the 90 mile stretch, indicated that, despite specific statements to the contrary then current in Australia these people were well nourished.

Under peace-time conditions, poverty of the degree and extent existing in some parts of the world was absent. The extremes of capitalist society were absent; communal arrangements included co-operation in capital ventures such as housing and canoe-making, and the care of the aged and mentally ill.

The immense native industry of subsistence foods production - coconuts, sweet potatoes, yams, taro cassava, sago (sago palm) etc., had had the shrewd, able services of the garden magicians for centuries. Remarkable skills were available instanced by; the bamboo pipeline irrigators; the yam gardeners of the Trobriand Islands; the drainage experts and mulch users (for early sweet potato crops) on the black soil squares of the Waghi Valley and other highland areas; the taro growers using pits in the solid coral 'marble' of the Ninigo and Hermit Islands groups; and the technique of recovering sago from the sago palm, adapting palm materials to the sifting and other separating processes.

As mentioned earlier, war damage compensation to the native people was a difficult problem which the District Services personnel handled with knowledge and care. Payments in relation to claims were apt to be slow. There were regrettable cases of hardship but, generally speaking, the delays in payment to the native people conserved funds for them until durable consumer goods were becoming available.

THE HIGHLANDS

This region with 600,000 people, extensive areas of some of the most fertile soils in the Territory and a climate which most Europeans much preferred to that of the coastal areas, was one

f the real trusts of trusteeship, in 1945-52. The L.H.Q. Directorate of Research and Civil Affairs was well aware of the highlands potential, and also of the population of about half a million people dependent upon it for subsistence, some of this half million (like the Chimbus) being already hard pressed for food-producing country. It considered that here was an area in which social and political development might really commence at the grassroots, outside penetration and influence having so far been minor. Entry by Europeans commenced about four years before the outbreak of the 1939-45 war.

The natural tendency of colonists to bargain for or have granted to them the most attractive areas from the viewpoints of production and climate, had gone far enough in New Guinea, the exception being new pilot areas which might form the model on which production might be based by the native people. Wholesale alienation should be avoided in the interests of the half million who would require the land for their own living in a cash economy, it being taken that there was no doubt of their innate farming ability. What they lacked was and still is crop and animal husbandry know-how applied to their region.

The effective commencement of cash economy in the region was the development of coffee-growing, the passion fruit industry and, slightly, tea production, all of which gradually included a dominant native participation. Three ex-district officers (district commissioners) played the deciding pioneering and developmental role and methods in relation to the native sector's people.

A factor of great economic consequence in the three highlands districts, in which no notable fuel deposits have been found or exploited, will be hydro-electric power, the spread and potentials both being high.

Given altruism, resolution and political sagacity (both Australian and indigenous) the highlands should be spared the troubles of other regions.

The influence of the Highlands Agricultural Experiment Station at Aiyura is apt to be overlooked as similar institutions' basic contributions to Australian agriculture were rarely acknowledged. The work of the Baiyer River Animal Husbandry Station promised a balance of stock and crops.

The war did not much affect the highlands in a physical way but dysentery and malaria were introduced and the programme of their eradication presented much difficulty. Highland labour used on the lowlands and coast, subsequent to the war, continued the threat of

introduction of disease, but had some value in social development. The public health authority took steps to reduce the disease risk to a minimum.

Sir Edward Hallstrom

Mr. Hallstrom, as he then was, did a great deal for the Territory and its interests. He was much interested in its fauna and flora and particularly in the birds of paradise of which he had a uniquely complete collection at the Taronga Park Zoological Gardens (Sydney) of which he was Chairman of the Trust.

Nondugl.

He established a fauna reserve at Nondugl in the highlands. Because of the cold, the native people retired at dusk into their low-walled conically roofed huts, with constant central fires. Their scanty clothing was of vegetable fibres. He considered that sheep might do well and solve the problems of both warm woollen clothing and the shortage of animal protein, a reasonable assumption.

He flew in hundreds of sheep and interested people in the project which cost in all £30,000 or more.

The sheep (Romney Marsh) did not thrive and there appeared to be no way in which the veterinarians could overcome the parasitological and physiological problems.

The Nondugl sheep experiment was a useful investigational project. The native spinning and weaving of the wool was quite successful and they were very enthusiastic. Other cold, damp country sheep may succeed, but we did not know enough then.

A.S.O.P.A.

A.A. Conlon told me that he believed that Mr. Hallstrom would be interested in a project to assist in the establishment of a library at a school on the north side of Sydney Harbour and suggested I approach Mr. Hallstrom regarding a South Pacific Library at Asopa, which I did.

Mr. Hallstrom suggested a sum of £50,000 but he wished for an ordinance to be drafted to cover the gift and its purpose. I did not anticipate any great difficulty but the approval for an ordinance was not given; ministerial treasury decision.

Mr. Hallstrom then arranged for a credit for £10,000 to be available to me at the Mosman branch, Sydney, of the Commonwealth

ank. Conlon and Miss Ida Leeson (ex-Mitchell Librarian) selected the books. Invoices were paid for by cheques which I drew against the account. Mr. Hasluck took over the balance of £700 when he became Minister. The A.S.O.P.A. library is the Hallstrom Library.

The Legislative Council Opening, 26th November, 1951.

The excellently produced and illustrated book on the "Inauguration of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea" was arranged for by Mr. Hallstrom at his expense.

There have been few private people as interested and prepared to achieve things in the interests of Papua and New Guinea as Sir Edward Hallstrom.

THE MANUS BASE

I was in the Manus district in 1944 when there was a great assembly of U.S.A. vessels, ranging from capital ships to tugs, in the submarine-proofed Seeadler Harbour, which was some 40 miles long and 6 miles wide at the Ponam (western) end and about a mile wide at the Momote-Mokareng (eastern) end. The U.S.A.F. was using the two airfields for bombers, fighters and transports. The U.S. Army (1st Cavalry Division) was clearing the Japanese from the centre and west of Manus Island. Angau had a liaison group with the American forces. I knew the great base at one of its very busy periods. The command provided me with transport to do the work I was on, which corresponded with the U.S.A. Foreign Economic Administration activities in the S.W.P.A.

In 1946 the Americans still had a U.S.N. force of 2,000 at the Base with a commodore in command and a small U.S.A.F. on the airfields. The commander and other officers I spoke to hoped and, I think, expected that Australia would agree that this base, costing "some scores of millions of dollars" remain with the U.S.A. to give strategic depth from Guam. The political proposal appeared to be that the Manus District would, with Australian concurrence, be allotted by U.N.O. to the U.S.A. for administration, preferably under the Security Council (as had occurred in Micronesia), otherwise under the Trusteeship Council.

I assessed the agricultural potentialities of the Manus district as minor, and the soils as mainly second or third class. Soil possibilities were not considered. The American suggestions appeared to me to fit in with probable Australian post-war strategy and interests.

The Americans hung on but, as the months went by, the size of the force decreased and the rank of the commanders fell. The final stage was the crushing of motor vehicles, three or so at a time, in presses and their consignment as metal junk to Chiang Kai Shek's China.

The opportunity of retaining a powerful Western ally with a massive comprehensive military base in northern New Guinea had, in this period of great issues, been lost.

From the logistics angle, particularly Armed Services maintenance and supply in the S.W.P.A., the base seemed attractive to American thought. Apparently it was not to ours. The Americans may not have cooled off without discouragement from Australia; on the other hand, military planners can change their minds.

I have thought that political personality clashes, lend lease friction, or the caustic opposition of a R.N. Admiral to the American proposal may have swayed the issue.

The Commonwealth Disposals Commission retrieved what it could, and the R.A.N. and the R.A.A.F. were given an inexpensive task of maintaining a small force at Manus.

THE MOUNT LAMINGTON ERUPTION

Sunday, January 21, 1951

An authoritative account of this eruption is given in "The 1951 Eruption of Mount Lamington, Papua" by G.A. Taylor, G. C., a volcanologist of the Bureau of Mineral Resources stationed in the Territory. The bulletin is No 38 of the Department of National Development.

In his Foreword, Dr. N.H. Fisher, Chief Geologist of the Bureau writes "The area had no volcanic history; native local folk lore contained no legend of an eruption, nor were any surface expressions of volcanic activity known in the area. Mt. Lamington was not merely regarded as extinct - it was not even regarded as a volcano at all".

Taylor wrote "an age determination carried out on a piece of carbonised wood from a neighbouring valley indicates that Pelean activity possibly occurred 13,000 years ago".

The district officer reported activity in the week preceding eruption and the Deputy Administrator Judge Phillips, who had

een through the 1937 eruptions of Matupi and Vulcan at Rabaul which killed 400 people went to Higaturu (6 miles from the crater), the headquarters of the District. He advised me that he considered that activity was declining.

Captain Jacobson of Qantas, on a routine flight to Rabaul saw the eruption and reported the terrifying happening to Port Moresby. Judge Phillips and a party from the Administration flew to Popondetta and arranged for first aid posts and evacuation of personnel. Higaturu and its airstrip were in the midst of the area of maximum destruction. Taylor was in the Rabaul area as were my wife and my self. We flew in Captain Jacobson's return flight, diverting to the Mt. Lamington area to make an assessment. On reaching Lae, Taylor and I went to Popondetta in a Drover aircraft. The Deputy Administrator returned to Government H.Q. The Deputy Administrator, the Director of Medical Services, nursing personnel, senior officers of the administration, with the general community had under way all that could be done to succour the injured. Supplies came in constantly.

The volcanologist advised that further eruptions were possible and might be even more severe. It was decided to evacuate all native people living within an area having twice the radius of complete devastation. Refugee camps were set up on the coast and supported by sea and air (the U.S.A. Dobodura airfields) until Mr. Taylor advised that further dangerous activity was unlikely.

Nearly 4000 people were killed, including all the Higaturu staff and that of the Sangara Anglican Mission.

Taylor was provided with facilities, particularly air services, to make a unique, continuous observation of a very active clean type crater. D.C.A. in the first week made daily flights through the active volcano and Qantas pilots continued these, for a long period, completing a photographic and observational record. To put it mildly, this was a risky business well beyond the call of duty. Science, as Taylor says, is deeply indebted to D.C.A. and to Qantas pilots and to Qantas management. No other such record exists and the knowledge gained may prevent similar calamitous losses.

One of my abiding memories is that of the courtesy and restraint of the journalists, led by Mr. Underwood, in this scene of disaster unparalleled in Australian history.

MULTI-RACIAL CHARITYU.N.I.C.E.F. and the Red Cross

Appeals were arranged in the Territory on behalf of these two bodies. The total contribution in each case, if my recollection is correct, was in excess of £20,000, and about one quarter to a third of the amount came from native contributions.

The territory community worked together in a national way in these appeals, two of the most notable instances of "togetherness" perhaps "nationalism" during my time in Papua-New Guinea.

The U.N.I.C.E.F. result justified stress being placed upon it, and a special Government Gazette was published listing all subscribers. The non-native contribution was not surprising, but the response of the native people to the needs of children in other countries was a revealing exemplification of the brotherhood of man.

In both appeals the work of the A.D.O's and the patrol officers, who made most of the contacts, was remarkable but to be expected from a devoted service, which achieved results in keeping with those of the missionaries who were somewhat similarly inspired.

The natives who, in their subsistence economy, rarely experienced hunger, though malnutrition was marked in some areas, reacted to starvation among the world's children in a fraternal, warm-hearted way.

The actual amounts subscribed were:

UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'SEMERGENCY FUND

<u>No. of subscribers</u>		<u>Amount</u>
1,440	Native people [†]	£ 7120. 12. 9.
1,497	Non-native people [♠]	<u>£10012. 19. 5.</u>
	Total	<u>£17,133. 12s. 2d.</u>

RED CROSS*

<u>No. of</u> <u>subscribers</u>		<u>Amount</u>
.....	Native people	£
.....	Non-native people	£ _____
	Total	£ _____

NOTE: + This figure represents both group and individual native donations.

Ø This figure represents both group and individual European and Asiatic donations.

(Europeans: 956, Asiatic: 541, Total: 1,497)

* This information is not available. It was contained in files which are thought to have been accidentally destroyed.

SCOUTS AND GUIDES

Of the multiracial organisations, the Boy Scouts movement and the Girl Guides organisation are strikingly effective in action. Races, colors, creeds, nations do not stand in the way of the meeting and mixing of the young in various age groups, at small or very large gatherings. For this reason grants were made to each organisation from territory funds.

The Scout law and promise and the similar undertakings of the Girl Guides fit in so well with the aspirations of all who hope that nationalism, as we have it now, with its corollaries of immense expenditure of human resources in preparation for and destruction of human beings and their social and physical achievements, will be replaced by the aspiration that "our true nationalism is mankind".

This with its corollaries that human wealth will be allotted and devoted to (a) the economic, educational and social development of all people, (b) expenditure needed to alleviate the results of great human disasters of all kinds and in all places.

A united organisation of people may replace a united organisation of nations. The U.N.O. agencies such as U.N.E.S.C.O., I.H.O., U.N.I.C.E.F. are straws in the wind.

Greatest resistance may not come from nations in the formation of a human society; statesmen and politicians change their aspirations. Religions and denominations are the present inflexible factor, which only unfettered education can mellow. Love is not greater than dogma, yet.

The Scouts and Guides are on the side of mankind.

THE WINNOWER WIND

There was much chaff and not much grain in the Federal Government's pre-war gestures of interest in the welfare and development of the native people of Papua and of the Territory of New Guinea.

Administrators and civil service personnel in both territories knew the humanitarian and mandate obligations and problems and, within the possibilities open to them, did distinguished work for the native people.

Disinterest and lack of financial provision to meet its obligations characterised Australia's attitude, and responsibility was shuttled about.

The pre-war programmes of advancement of the British and French dependencies, if known about, were ignored and laissez faire the Australian policy.

The change from rhetoric to intent beyond question became crystal clear when, five years from the war's end and from the commencement of the New Deal, the Australian grant-in-aid to Papua-New Guinea had reached ninety times the pre-war figure. The pertinent figures are:

		\$
1939-1940	Papua	90,000
1945-1946	Papua and New Guinea	505,000
1946-1947	" "	4,037,000
1947-1948	" "	3,734,000
1948-1949	" "	6,393,000
1949-1950	" "	8,369,000
(5th year)		
1950-1951	" "	8,709,000
1951-1952	" "	10,569,000

Political intent had been roundly stated in Mr. Ward's second reading speech on the Papua-New Guinea Provisional Administration Act of 1945, and in the Treasurer's undertaking to finance the

elfare and advancement of the inhabitants of New Guinea, which had been liberally embarked upon.

The policy was confirmed when, after a change of government from Labour Party to Liberal-Country Party, the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the trust territories continued to be accelerated, although I am rather inclined to think that the Department of External Territories, not unreasonably, was anticipating going into reverse to the status quo ante bellum.

AN ADMINISTRATOR REFLECTS.

Sir Donald Cleland

It was with pleasure that I accepted the invitation to address this Seminar. The actual wording of the invitation was to deliver, and I quote, "an address in which you reflected on your own period of office". It is no small task to cover the activities of some fifteen years of office, in the time available to me.

As a matter of fact it is longer than that because I was here during the war with Angau for two and a half years - The Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit. As this period has some continuation at least in my own life, to the subsequent period when I was Administrator, I believe it is reasonable to refer to some of the aspects of the Angau Administration.

ANGAU: 1943-1945

After war service in the Middle East I was, on the return of the A.I.F. to Australia, posted to H.Q. 3 Corps in Western Australia in March, 1942. In December of that year I was ordered to report to Land Headquarters in Melbourne for special duty in New Guinea. On arrival there I was informed that I was to be appointed as Deputy Adjutant and Quartermaster - General (in effect Chief of Staff) to Angau, and, at the same time, to become Chairman of the proposed Australian New Guinea Production Control Board. After three months in New Guinea Force H.Q., I took up my new positions with Angau in March 1943. These entailed building up Angau and organising the staff and their work on to a proper and efficient basis for the task ahead; and at the same time laying the foundations for the Board. Let me take the Board first.

THE PRODUCTION CONTROL BOARD

After the Japanese invasion all men under 45 years were called up for service and the balance evacuated. This meant that production ceased on the rubber and copra plantations, particularly in Papua. Most of the plantations on the New Guinea side were in enemy hands. After the Jap had been pushed back in Papua, owners of plantations made application to come back and bring their plantations back to production. This was in 1943.

At that time there were practically no facilities to help these planters, so at the direction of the Cabinet and the C-in-C the Board was set up under the then National Security Regulations. Its

main functions were: -

- (a) the procurement of native labour and allotment of it to plantations;
- (b) the supply of food, clothing and other necessities to the plantations; and
- (c) the sale of produce.

Time does not permit of any closer examination of the Board's activities, suffice it to say it functioned well and served its purpose until it was replaced by the present Copra Marketing Board in 1952. Constituted by an Ordinance passed by the then Legislative Council,¹ as its name signifies it became a marketing Board.

There is just one other aspect I would comment upon and that is the Production Board also set up and ran Trade Stores to give the people a spending outlet for the money they were earning as wages. It was provided in the then Regulations that any profits made by these stores would be used for the benefit of agriculture in the Territory or as the Minister may direct. When the Native Loans Board was established in 1955 these profits, totalling \$113,444, were paid over by the Commonwealth as the initial credit of the Native Loans Account.

Thus there were two things flowing from the wartime Board into my period of office as Administrator.

ANGAU FUNCTIONS

Now I turn to Angau - the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit. When the Japanese occupied Rabaul the civil administration of New Guinea ceased; and in Papua the civil Administration was suspended on the 14th February, 1942. As an interim step towards providing some civil control of the population, the Papuan Administrative Unit and the New Guinea Administrative Unit were formed. These were subsequently formed into Angau.

One of my first tasks was to weld the staff into a corporate whole. There were men who had served in the New Guinea administrations pre-war, and those on the Papua side who had served under Sir Hubert Murray. There were differences between them in outlook and methods. The New Guinea officer had the more practical approach which resulted from a succession of administrators who were professional soldiers, whereas the Papuan officer was imbued with a more liberal attitude arising from the policies of

Sir William MacGregor and Sir Hubert Murray. Then there were too many army officers who had come into Angau with their specialist knowledge, who did not have much interest in the Territory. In the ultimate they all worked into a cohesive and efficient team.

After the preliminary work of establishing a sound organisation and methods of working, I issued an Administrative Instruction on 15th February, 1944 (2), which gave the formation, objectives and direction. In this instruction the functions were clearly set out and I quote: -

"Angau is a formation of the Australian Army under command of H.Q. New Guinea Force and as such its functions are twofold:-

Operational

(a) To take its place in the Order of Battle and operate against the enemy in accordance with any orders of H.Q. N.G.F. or of the particular Commander of the area in which Angau personnel may be located, including U.S. Commanders where U.S. Forces are operating in any part of the Territories.

Administrative

(b) to carry on the Civil Administration of the Territories including control of the natives, administration of justice and the education of the natives."

As the Army won more territory from the Japs, so Angau extended its administrative activities, and many of the officers played an outstanding part with the Forces in their operational role. Time does not permit me to go into a lot of details about the operations of Angau, but I would pay tribute to all those who served with me. They formed a splendid corps for the future civil Administration. In fact Angau paved the way for the amalgamation of the two public services and the Administrative Union of the two Territories as set out in the Papua and New Guinea Act.

During this period there was a Directorate of Research at Army Headquarters in Melbourne, which was the adviser to the Commander-in-Chief on Territory affairs and future policy until Civil Administration was re-established. Frankly it had then little or no influence on the activities of Angau. One of this Directorate who paid periodic visits to the Territory was Col. J.K. Murray, my predecessor, who was then agricultural adviser to the Director. I found him in his own field to be an exceedingly efficient officer, courteous and extremely interested in the agriculture of the Territory.

FIRST CONFERENCE OF DISTRICT OFFICERS

Finally I would refer to the first conference of District Officers, held at Angau H.Q. on 7 - 12 February, 1944. At this conference I, as Chairman, projected future policy and what I said then, I believe I carried forward in later years, little realising that I would have the opportunity of doing so.

During the conference several references had been made to a balanced policy, which I clarified in the following terms, and I quote: -³

"Subject to such strategic obligations which must be recognised, it is a policy based on one thing and one thing alone - the objective development of the country and its people to the fullest extent of moral and material welfare of its people. It must be a policy which owes allegiance to no particular interest, whether it be political, commercial, anthropological or of the Church. Whilst it owes allegiance to none, it cannot exclude one as against the other. It must recognise that each has a contribution to make to the country and to the people. It is a matter of sound judgment, determination and courage to ensure that the contribution of each is made equally and shaped to the joint welfare of the country and the people".

After some further remarks I then concluded, and I quote: -

"So we look to the future as one team with one purpose and one task. Our purpose is to establish an administration which can stand whatever tests the world may care to apply. And our task is to bring to that purpose an honesty of endeavour, courage, the highest efficiency and enthusiasm built upon the vision of the future, and last, but not least, humility in achievement".

Whether we succeeded in the purpose and the task, history alone will relate.

I retired from the Army in April 1945 because of the death of my senior legal partner. I left with a sorry heart, having learnt to love the country and its people, and with a full admiration of those who had served under me - those who had carried the heat and burden of it all. I little realised then that I would have the opportunity of coming back again.

MY OWN TENURE OF OFFICE 1951-1966

During my period in Australia (1945-1951) the desire to come back was growing. In mid 1951 the Government called for applications for the position of Assistant Administrator. I applied and was selected and took up office on the 9th September, 1951. Then I was Acting Administrator from March 1952 to February 1953, when I was appointed Administrator.

As a preliminary I would comment on the fact that some critics said that Col. Murray did not want an Assistant Administrator. This was quite contrary to fact. He wanted assistance and help. On my taking up duty he handed me a letter⁴ with enclosures totalling some fourteen foolscap pages, in which he set out his views and matters upon which he sought my assistance and advice. It was obvious from the points which he raised that he was looking ahead, and beyond the sights which had been set, either by himself or by others, in those intervening years.

In addition, during the first week he handed me a copy of his printed lecture, the "Provisional Administration of Papua and New Guinea", in which he was generous enough to make the following endorsements: -⁵

"With compliments, may I say how greatly you, as D.A. & Q.M.G. and as Chairman ANGPCB, contributed to a healthy native administration and economic situation facilitating the establishment of the Provisional Administration in October 1945".

Throughout, our relationships were harmonious and friendly. He welcomed what he and I both thought to be a partnership of some duration.

Fifteen years is a long period to cover in an address such as this - however, I hope to pick out some of the more salient matters. Initially it was some sort of homecoming, because at least 50% of the staff had already served under and with me in Angau - a very useful and pleasurable start.

Then my period of office was unique - in that for a period of 2 years there was one Minister⁶, one Secretary of the Department, and one Administrator. This meant that as the years passed, a continuity of developing policy and a growing and reciprocal trust developed between the Government and the Administration.

History will, I am sure, record the fact that Mr. Hasluck was the greatest Minister which the Territories have had. He was a man of great ability and capacity, with a vision and tenacity of purpose.

He laid the foundations of many of the policies which are operating today. In some ways he was a hard and exacting Minister, but he had the will and desire to get things done.

Now I will turn to what I consider to be some matters of moment over the period under review. Naturally there are many subjects and many episodes which I could mention. To do so would, I believe, make this address a jumble - so I have concentrated on certain subjects of basic import and/or of general interest.

SOME BROAD STATISTICS

Before dealing with specific matters I would quote some overall statistics which show the growth and expansion which has taken place. They are shown in detail in the Appendix attached to this address, but I would make the following comment. The financial figures speak for themselves and the increase in the Grant indicates very clearly the great contribution which the Australian Government has made and is making. The growth of the Public Service shows the extent to which the indigenous members are increasing and developing.

RESTRICTED AREAS

One of the first tasks was to extend law and order to the then uncontrolled areas, which, as you will see from the Appendix, in 1951 covered some 26,000 square miles and a population of a quarter of a million. This work proceeded with the patrol officers and field officers of other departments working together with a common purpose. The work of these young men has been so effective that by the end of 1966 the restricted areas had been reduced to 800 square miles covering a population estimated at 10,000 people at the most. These restricted areas are areas where people are not allowed to enter without a protective patrol. Those such areas remaining are in fact located right in the almost inaccessible heart of the mountains.

THE ADMINISTRATOR'S DUTY AND AUTHORITY

Now I pass to the position of the Administrator. This is clearly stated in the Papua and New Guinea Act.

Section 13 says:-

"There shall be an Administrator of the Territory who shall be charged with the duty of administering the government of the Territory on behalf of the Commonwealth."

and then Section 15 says:-

"The Administrator shall exercise and perform all powers and functions that belong to his office in accordance with the tenor of his commission and in accordance with such instructions as are given him by the Governor-General."

These sections in effect mean that, in the process of Government directions on policy and on such other matters as may arise, are given to the Administrator by the Minister - in fact the Minister is the only person who can direct the Administrator on behalf of the Government. The Secretary of the Department of Territories cannot himself so direct. His function is to administer his department and to advise and assist the Minister, and also the Administrator and his officers, but not to direct them. Before I retired there were attempted encroachments in this province, but they did not succeed. This is something which must be assiduously guarded against.

Then under certain Ordinances of the Territory the Administrator has certain discretionary powers. So long as that discretion is exercised faithfully and well, in the knowledge of the full facts and circumstances, and within the general ambit of accepted policy, when the decision of the Administrator cannot be called in question.

Furthermore there is not only the question of discretion vested under Ordinance, but also and more importantly so, is that the Administrator must be the man to make local decisions in matters which arise, and in which there is no time for reference to the Minister, or even if there was time, the action which he desired to take could be vitiated by departmental delays and references.

There was in fact the Hahalis episode in 1962 when because of the circumstances I directed the move of 400 policemen to Buka to restore and maintain law and order in a very difficult situation.

This move was accomplished by air in 24 hours - it was a magnificent piece of planning and co-ordination by the then Commissioner of Police and the Airline Companies concerned. Had I had to refer back to Canberra, the situation could have been lost because of the time factor.

In fact, before I retired, there arose an occasion where the police might have had to be used above and beyond normal commitments and limitations. A direction came from Canberra that they must not be so used, without the Minister's authority. In the event they did not have to be so used, but the direction was, or could have been a bad curtailment on the Administrator's function when he has to act quickly and efficiently in a minimum of time to maintain law and order.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

Passing now to the Legislature. The first task imposed on me by the Minister was to get the Legislative Council into being. Provision already existed in the Papua and New Guinea Act of 1949 for the composition - 29 members; i.e. the Administrator and 16 official - 3 non-official elected members - 3 non-official members representing the Christian missions in the Territory - 3 non-official native members - 3 other non-official members. The official members outnumbered the nominated and elected members. It came into being in November 1951. This Council continued in this form for all years until amendments in 1960 provided for an enlarged body of 37 members, i.e. the Administrator and 14 official members - 12 elected members and 10 appointed members.

I do not propose to comment on this composition, beyond saying there was thenceforth an unofficial majority in the Council, and that the other major difference was the omission of the Mission representation - this I will comment upon a little later. Then in 1964 the House of Assembly came into being.

THE INCOME TAX ISSUE

The Legislative Council functioned well and it is not my purpose to survey its activities in detail. However, the income tax issue is important because in the end the validity of the Papua and New Guinea Act was affirmed and the position which should be adopted by official members was clearly established.

Without going into all the details of the debate and moves which took place, suffice it to say that a Bill for an Ordinance to impose Tax on incomes and to provide for its assessment and collection was introduced on the 20th April, 1959 and, after various adjournments and further meetings, the Bill was finally passed on the 14th July, 1959.

The proceedings are fully reported in Hansard.⁷

On the introduction of the Bill on the 20th April, 3 non-official members walked out and subsequently resigned. On the 23rd June a writ was issued by R.F. Bunting against the President and members 'asking for an injunctior restraining.

- (a) the Defendant Cleland from presiding over any meeting of the Legislative Council in respect of or assenting to an Ordinance passed or to be passed thereby entitled 'Income Tax Ordinance 1959' or making any regulations under the said Ordinance.

- (b) All of the Defendants from holding any meeting of the Legislative Council in respect of or passing the said Ordinance".

At the end of June this was heard by the Supreme Court. The main argument for the Plaintiff at this stage was that Council could not act because there were vacancies in its membership, and he also challenged the Papua & New Guinea Act. By a majority judgment the Court held in favour of the Defendants on all counts.⁸

There was then a move to take the matter to the High Court, which was a determined effort to challenge the validity of the Papua & New Guinea Act. At this point the original Plaintiff, Bunting, refused to take the matter further. He was satisfied with the Supreme Court judgment and was not going to be a party to an attempt to upset the Government of the Territory. Because of this Mr. Fishwick of Rabaul became the nominal Plaintiff.

The matter was heard by the Full Court of the High Court of Australia on a case stated. On the 10th August 1960, judgment was given in favour of the Defendants on all points. Inter alia the validity of the Papua & New Guinea Act was fully and clearly established.⁹

THE ROLE OF OFFICIAL MEMBERS

Now as to the other matter of moment arising out of the introduction of the Income Tax Bill. Naturally the official members were directed to support the Bill. There were five of them who were not certain as to whether or not they should accept this direction. Accordingly, on the 11th June, 1959 one of them on behalf of this group wrote to the Governor-General seeking his advice.

On the 18th June 1959 the Governor-General replied through his Official Secretary¹⁰. After covering various preliminary points which had been raised, the letter then stated the aims of establishing at that stage, the Legislative Council and went on, and I quote: -

"If these aims are to be fulfilled it is obvious that Official Members must support Government policy and legislation inside the Council and in public."

The letter then went on in reply to the request for advice, as follows, and I quote: -

"His Excellency, therefore, advises you that in his opinion you, as Official Members, can and should in

private advise your superiors fully and freely on your views of any proposed policy or legislation. You are not responsible for decisions on policy; that is for the Commonwealth Government acting usually through His Honour the Administrator.

If your advice is not accepted when proffered to your official superiors you must, as all civil or military officers on a staff should, loyally accept and carry out any direction received unless you feel so strongly against it that it becomes a matter of conscience with you. His Excellency would add that a matter of conscience is one of morals not of advisability, wisdom or expediency of action".

THE MISSIONS AND THE MISSIONS CONFERENCE

I referred earlier to the Mission representation in the original Legislative Council. I have never seen the full reasons for their inclusion as a sectional group. It could have been a desire to bring them into closer association. However, those members who were appointed served the Council well and were, in fact, good general members. The decision to delete this representation when the Council was reconstructed in 1960 met with the full approval of the Missions.

In any event the Missions had a closer contact with the Administration through the Missions Conference, which was started by my predecessor and met every two years in conjunction with members of the Administration. The reason for the inauguration of the Conference in those earlier years was to give the Administration the opportunity of explaining its policies and straightening out any misunderstandings. The Conference was discontinued after the 1961 gathering, primarily because it was becoming unwieldy through the growth of new Missions, and in any event some of the major Missions had developed their own liaison with the Administration.

These conferences did a lot to help relationships, not only with the Administration, but also between the Missions themselves. In fact, I am sure, they were the prelude to the present ecumenical atmosphere which prevails in the Territory today.

THE INTRODUCTION OF LIQUOR FOR NATIVES

One of the most interesting sessions of the Missions Conference which I attended was when I sought their views as to the introduction of liquor for native consumption. This was in October 1961.

From the outset of post war administration there was in fact a total prohibition, for the then Section 72 of the Papuan & New Guinea Act read: -

"Subject to such exceptions and exemptions as are provided by Ordinance the supply of intoxicating liquor to the natives is prohibited in the Territory".

Every time the Minister came up on a visit the urban natives always raised the question when were they going to be allowed to drink. The Minister very artfully on each occasion said that it was a matter for the Administrator. However, I watched the situation and reported periodically to the Minister.

By 1961 it was obvious that something had to be done. Illegal drinking in the urban areas was rapidly increasing and there was an acute sense of discrimination growing in the native mind, particularly in the urban areas. The great majority in the outer areas were not really interested at that stage.

I sought the views of my senior officers, District Commissioners, and many others, including the Missions Conference and the Council of Social Services.

In 1959 the Missions Conference was by a majority vote in favour of total prohibition continuing. However, in 1961, after hearing what I had to say, it passed the following motion unanimously:-

"With the development of people towards self determination this Conference is of the opinion that on principle such determination should also be extended to measures introduced for their protection and which now are deemed to be discriminatory.

Therefore it recommends that any change in the present laws covering the use of liquor by the indigenous people should only be decided by the will of the people expressed through some form of local option and be covered by adequate safeguards."

The resolution then went on to recommend that the Administration embark upon an educational campaign on the use of alcohol, etc. All in all it was a very good step forward from the 1959 decision of the conference.

The Council of Social Services had been set up to bring together representatives of the various bodies and missions who were doing

social work in and about Port Moresby. It appointed a sub-committee to examine this question. It reported to the Council in a long report, but the thinking could be summed up in the words of the sub-committee: -

"As matters rest the continuing prohibition on native drinking is promoting contempt for the law generally and is breeding political resentment. If we, as Australians, are supposed to be leading the people of this country on the road to equal partnership and equal responsibility, it seems to the sub-committee that we can no longer treat them as children, and deny them the beginnings of equality, whether they abuse the privilege at first or not".

This report with its accompanying proposals and plan was adopted by the Council and its constituent bodies.

As a result of all these discussions and surveys I recommended to the Minister on the 12th February 1962 "that the time has come to relax the law of total prohibition"¹¹ and further that an independent Commission be set up to advise the Government on the means and method; that in addition the proposed Commission investigate the present laws and make recommendations for a complete and up-to-date licensing Ordinance; and that if the Commission reported favourably then that Section 72 of the Papua & New Guinea Act be repealed or amended.

The matter went to Cabinet, which accepted the recommendation, and a Commission of Inquiry was set-up, which eventually recommended that there should be no prohibition at all. This was accepted and subsequently the present Ordinance was passed by the Legislative Council and the Commonwealth Parliament repealed Section 72 of the Act.

RETENTION OF RABAUL

Now I will turn to some matters of more of an administrative nature - the first is the story of Rabaul.

After the eruption of the Vulcan and Matupit volcanoes in May 1937, suggestions were made of moving the administrative headquarters of the then Mandate from Rabaul. After many enquiries the first official steps to move to Lae were taken in 1939. Nothing had really eventuated when the war broke out and the Japs entered Rabaul.

After the war there was a period of indecision and, in fact, there was no real reconstruction or development of Rabaul. In the

Alternative, schemes were being considered for moving the town to Kokopo and building an artificial harbour at very high cost. Most of these schemes were covered in what was known as the Holmes Roberts Report.

I mentioned earlier notes given to me by the Administrator of matters which he wanted me to give attention. In regard to Rabaul he wrote, and I quote:-

"One of the most important decisions that must be made before the end of the year is what decision is to be made with regard to the present Rabaul township. At a discussion in Rabaul, at which the Minister and the Secretary of the Department were present, there was no dissenting voice raised to my statement that no one wished the town of Rabaul to remain as the residential area. The discussion lay rather, on whether the new town should be formed at Kokopo, with a wharf giving admittedly restricted facilities at that site, or whether the town should be formed in the area known as Nonga-Tavui and Simpson Harbour retained for wharfage stores etc."

In January 1952 I visited Rabaul on my first official visit as Assistant-Administrator. Whilst there I received a wire from the Administrator reading:-

"Feel sure Territories will desire your views regarding proposal concerning Rabaul Township. You are aware of contents of Holmes Roberts Report. Would you like assess usefulness and alleged unanimity of local opinion which is said to favour retention and development present township and report. See Minutes Rabaul Advisory Council 7th December".

I was in and around Rabaul for 9 days in all and in that period endeavoured to assess public opinion accordingly. In addition I carried out reconnaissances of the various areas concerned and generally examined the position. I also gave close study to the various vulcanological reports covering the area over a period of years.

On my return I submitted to the Administrator on the 4th February 1952 my report on the whole situation.¹² I do not propose to weary you with a lot of facts - the report contained 12 closely typed foolscap sheets - but briefly I found that the consensus of opinion was that Rabaul should remain where it is, with some

provisions for a new residential area, and further, that the vulcanologists could give at least three days warning of an eruption.

My first and immediate recommendation in the interests of the people who were already living in Rabaul was that there should be a sound evacuation plan and two good escape roads made and maintained. These were given effect to. My further and basic recommendations were then (a) that the present harbour be retained; (b) that if necessary the Nonga-Tavui area be developed as a residential area for those who desired to reside outside the caldera.

This went to the then Executive Council of the Territory when there was a unanimous vote against my recommendations and proposals. Finally the matter went to Cabinet, which accepted my recommendations except there was to be no official move to establish a Satellite town - from then on Rabaul went ahead vigorously.

OTHER ALTERATIONS IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE SET-UP

So much for the retention of Rabaul. There were other instances of moving District or Sub-District Headquarters.

In 1953 I went to Bougainville with officers of the Department of Works to select a deep sea port for the Island with its growing potential. After looking at several places Kieta was selected and, at the same time, I directed that in due course the District Headquarters should be moved from Sohano to Kieta.

Sohano was a small island with no potential for development and was out of touch with the bulk of the people. When Kieta was selected there was no indication of the developments which are now taking place there.

On the Papuan side there were four changes. Initially the H.Q. for the Gulf District were at Kikori, well towards the western end of the District and completely out of touch with the bulk of the population and, in fact, very inaccessible. This H.Q. was moved to Kerema.

There were other instances of district or sub-district headquarters being situated on islands just off the coast - the reason for this in the early days was one of defence from the fighting mainland people and for health reasons, being free of mosquitoes.

However, they were completely away from the people. To make for more effective administration and closer contact, Sub-District

headquarters on Yule Island were moved to the mainland at Bereina, and from Abau to Marshall Lagoon. Then, finally, was the move of the District Headquarters of the Milne Bay District from Samarai to Cameron's Plateau, or Alotau as it is now called.

OPENING UP OF THE HIGHLANDS

Passing now to other developmental aspects. In 1952 there was a road from Lae to Erap and thereafter just a track on through to Gusap and Dumpu. In the then Eastern Highlands a small network of roads was developing, but there was no access from the coast.

How this access was first established is an interesting story. I first visited the Highlands in September 1952 when Mr. Ian Downs was the District Commissioner. At that time there was not a lot of money available for road works; as far as the Eastern Highlands were concerned there was about £9000 left in the maintenance vote.

One evening Ian Downs got me in a corner and began urging the need for an access road to the coast and what it would mean to the future development of the Highlands. To cut a long story short he, in effect, said - give me the use of the remaining £9000 and 300 shovels and picks and I will have the road through by the end of next June. This was Downs' first posting as District Commissioner and I was impressed by his drive and vision. I returned to Port Moresby, and after giving the matter further thought then decided to back this vigorous District Commissioner. The work on the Pass immediately commenced under the late Rupert Haviland, who had with him my elder son Robert, who had shortly before joined the administration as a cadet patrol officer. True to his word the task was completed by the end of June 1953 and I motored through and up the Pass from Gusap through Kainantu to Goroka when the road was officially declared open.

That was the start of the real development of the Highlands. It then followed the planning and development of the road from Lae up the Markham Valley.

Other developmental roads which were approved and commenced during my term of office were, inter alia, the access road into the Warangoi Valley in New Britain; the Wewak-Maprik road; Madang to the Gogol Valley; the Brown River Road; and Oro Bay-Popondetta-Pokoda road. The total mileage of developmental roads in 1951 was 756, which were in very bad repair and almost impassable, and at the date of my retirement the mileage was 8909.

These roads were not so much for administrative purposes, but more so to open up the country for development by private enterprise.

One of my first tasks had been to develop co-operation with and encouragement of private enterprise. The response was most heartening and I take this opportunity of saying how much private enterprise has done to assist in the development of the Territory and its people. It is an excellent record of achievement.

NATIVE DEVELOPMENT

The development of the native people has gone ahead well and steadily over the years. Perhaps the most significant growth has been the growth of Local Government Councils. In 1951 there were only 5 such Councils. At the end of 1966 there were 128, of which 44 were multi-racial. The population in Council areas in 1951 was just on 18,000 - in 1966 it was 1½ million.

Then, too, there has been a corresponding growth in Co-operative Societies; Saving and Loans Societies; and many other activities in which there has been greater native participation.

My time is running out, but I would just say this. What I have said earlier means that there has been a very rapid development in Papua and New Guinea over the last fifteen years and with it big changes to Papuans and New Guineans themselves. Many of them are facing enormous personal and social problems in adapting, to what so many of them, must be quite violent alterations in their way of life, and we should never underestimate the stresses of development on the people themselves or the very genuine personal efforts that they are making to cope with new and complex situations that they find themselves in every day.

I cannot conclude without expressing my very deep appreciation and sincere thanks to all the officers who worked under and with me during my term of office. Without their help, knowledge and loyal service many things would not have been accomplished.

THE FUTURE

Finally, as to the future. The big task which lies ahead is preparation in every field for eventual independence, and that includes deep consideration of what the eventual constitution may be. In my farewell speech to the House of Assembly on 25th November 1966 I outlined a certain approach to that problem¹³, but it is not my intention to develop that theme today, beyond saying these final words to Papuans and New Guineans:

Independence cannot come overnight because, irrespective of whether you want it quickly or not, much time and effort must be taken to find out what sort of constitution you want. Whatever

hat constitution may be, it cannot be imposed by an elite; nor by the coastal people; nor by the Highlanders. It has eventually, if you are going to exist as a virile and national entity, to be a constitution chosen by the people as a whole when they know what they want and what it involves. Above all else, there must be a national outlook, a national conscience, and a national integrity - and it is in the hands of each and every one of us to bring that about.

APPENDIXSOME STATISTICS OF GROWTH

	<u>Year beginning 1st July</u>	
	1951	1966
	\$ (in millions)	\$ (in millions)
<u>Financial</u>		
Amount of Australian Grant	10.5	69.75
Internal Revenue	4.75	44
Exports	30	53.25
Imports	25.5	126
<hr/>		
<u>Public Service</u>		
Expatriates	1280	6039
Local Officers in Public Service	-	9707
Administration servants	3000	1008
Students and Trainees	-	1062
Apprentices	-	365
Other employees - warders etc.	-	12765
Total Work Force	4280	30,946
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N.B.: These figures do not include Commonwealth Departments in the Territory or Instrumentalities.		
<hr/>		
<u>Private Enterprise</u>		
Local Companies and Firms registered	169	997
Total nominal capital	\$31 million	\$255 million
Indigenous employees	38,765	66,278
<hr/>		
<u>Local Government Councils</u>		
Indigenous only	5	64
Multiracial	-	64
	5	128

<u>Population in Council areas</u>	17,900	1,490.000
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Extent of restricted areas	25,000 sq.m.	800 sq.m.
Approx. Population therein	250,000	10,000

AN ADMINISTRATOR REFLECTSNOTES

- 1 Ordinance No.70 of 1952. Papua and New Guinea Copra Marketing Board Ordinance.
- 2 Angau Administrative Instruction No.24 issued from H.Q. Angau on 7th February, 1944.
- 3 Conference of Officers of H.Q. and Officers of District Staffs. Port Moresby 7 - 12 February, 1944. Papers and discussions Volume 1, p.8.
- 4 Letter dated 8th September 1951 - in my personal papers.
- 5 A printed copy of Murray's Macrossan Memorial Lectures delivered in Brisbane on 22 - 24 April, 1947.
- 6 The Rt. Hon. Paul Hasluck - the first Minister for Territories as a separate department. 1951 - 1963.
- 7 Legislative Council Debates Volume IV, No.5 - p.494 et seq. and Volume IV, No.6.
- 8 See Proceedings in the Supreme Court of P.&N.G. - 1959 No.WS 52.
- 9 106 C.L.R. 186.
- 10 Copy letter from M.L. Tyrell official Secretary to the Governor-General.
- 11 Report of the Administrator to the Minister on the problem of liquor for the indigenous people of the Territory - dated 12th February 1962.
- 12 Proposed Removal of Rabaul. An appreciation of the position generally dated 4th February 1952.
- 13 House of Assembly Records - Hansard Volume 1, No.11, at pages 2001-2002.

III ECONOMIC HISTORY



THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PLANTATION ECONOMY IN

THE BRITISH SOLOMON ISLANDS PROTECTORATE

J.F. Hookey

The main theme of this paper is the relationship between Colonial Office land policies and practices, or the lack of them, and the establishment of European plantations in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, between 1893 and 1914.

The considerations which, in 1893, moved the Liberal Government to protect the Solomon Islands, were mainly those of foreign and imperial policy, and were almost totally unrelated to the development of the resources of the group. The Protectorate was established mainly to keep the French out of the Solomons. Associated with this motive was a concern for public opinion in the Eastern Australian colonies, already alarmed by the presence of the French in New Caledonia and the New Hebrides, and the Germans in the northern sector of Eastern New Guinea. Of less significance, although much publicised as the real reason for intervention, was a desire to have more control over labour recruiting in the Solomons for plantations in Queensland and Fiji.

In 1886, agreement had been reached between the governments of Great Britain and Germany as to their respective spheres of influence in the Western Pacific, and the Solomons south of Bougainville fell within the British sphere. The French however, were not parties to this agreement, and by this time were the subject of more apprehension in the Australian colonies than were the Germans.

When the Solomons were brought under British protection there was only a handful of European residents in the group, for the most part traders, some of whom operated from their vessels, without possessing any permanent habitations on shore. Others occupied small trading stations, but at this stage none of them seem to have developed plantations of their own on any scale. Although they dealt in copra, this was brought from the Solomon Islanders.

In 1893, no plans were made for the immediate administration of the Protectorate, which was expected to pay for itself, and had virtually no revenue. A Resident Commissioner was not posted to it until 1896, and then only on a temporary basis, with a tiny staff.

Land alienation on an extensive scale, and the establishment of European plantations in the Solomons, followed, rather than induced, the establishment of the Protectorate. The first large scale alienation of Protectorate lands was to the Pacific Islands Company Limited. However, this alienation did not immediately, or even directly, lead to the development of a plantation economy in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, although the original aim of the Directors was not only to develop copra plantations on an extensive scale, but also to bring it under chartered company rule. In 1898, the year of its formation, the Pacific Islands Company sought a concession from the Colonial Office comprising "all the unoccupied lands" of the Protectorate.

The Directorate of this Company was composed of men with rather dissimilar backgrounds. Mandarins who had spent most of their lives as Colonial and Colonial Office Administrators sat with merchants and traders. But the trading and imperial ambitions of the two groups were at times inextricably interwoven. Of the Colonial Administrators, Lord Stanmore, formerly, as Sir Arthur Gordon, Governor of Fiji and first High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, was the most known. In his colonial service period he was notorious amongst the traders and planters of the Pacific for his not always successful efforts to prevent the alienation of Pacific Islanders' lands; in his commercial period he hastened this alienation with conspicuous success, and an almost total absence of notoriety. Sir Robert Herbert, who, in 1898, had recently retired as permanent Under Secretary of State at the Colonial Office, was Trustee for the debenture holders in the new company, and Sir John Bramston, an assistant Under Secretary of State, was also interested in it.

The principal commercial director was John Thomas Arundel, who, on its formation, transferred most of his interests in the Pacific to the company. These, together with those acquired from the trading and plantation firm of Henderson and McFarlane, comprised its principal assets, prior to its acquisition of lands in the Solomons and Ocean Island. These assets for the most part consisted of licences issued by the Crown to remove guano and plant coconuts on a number of small, and for the most part uninhabited, Pacific islands. There is some uncertainty as to the amount of capital which was actually subscribed on or after the formation of the Pacific Islands Company, but the Directors' original aim to operate on a capital of £250,000 made up of 125,000 5% cumulative preference shares of £1 each, and 125,000 ordinary shares of £1 each, was certainly never realized. Despite, or perhaps because of, its grandiose designs, the company remained chronically short of capital throughout its existence and was loaned money from time to time by Stanmore and other Directors when its bankers became pressing. It owed at least £60,000 on its winding up in 1902.

Arundel and Stanmore had been interested in the Solomons since at least 1895 as a field for large scale plantation development by a chartered company, but by 1898, when the formal application for concession was made, rule by chartered company was becoming less popular in the Colonial Office than it had been in the past. Joseph Chamberlain, then Colonial Secretary, was not prepared to repeat the doubtful experiment of chartered company rule in the Pacific.

Nevertheless, the Colonial Office hierarchy was quite willing to further the commercial ambitions of the Pacific Islands Company. The Western Pacific, both the Resident Commissioner of the Protectorate, C.M. Woodford, and Sir George O'Brien, the High Commissioner, supported the company's application for a concession. In later years, Woodford claimed to have

"induced the Pacific Islands Company to take up land in the Protectorate."

O'Brien's view was that the presence of a powerful group of Europeans around New Georgia, the island in the Protectorate most notorious for head-hunting, would lead to the gradual unpopularity of this pastime, and thus slow down the depopulation of parts of the Protectorate. The Directors preferred unoccupied land, and assumed that the Crown not only had title to it but could make grants of it in the form of freehold or leasehold estates. They did not want to purchase land from the Solomon Islanders themselves, and assumed that a great deal of land which was apparently unoccupied was not subject to any traditional customary rights, a dangerous assumption in the light of subsequent claims.

They were quite happy to accept a long lease, and in September 1899 it was agreed

"to grant to the company a lease for 99 years of any waste land, or land unoccupied by natives, or purchased from natives, for which the company may apply up to 100,000 acres, subject to the reservation of all minerals."

Stanmore continued to haggle with the Colonial Office officials about the area of the concession; the rent; the powers of the High Commissioner to interfere in the transaction; sub-letting; and the time in which the lands were to be selected. However, in their correspondence throughout these negotiations both parties specifically referred to the estate which was to be acquired as a lease.

In June 1900 the Secretary of the Western Pacific High Commission, Merton King, wrote to Arundel in Sydney and told him that when Arundel forwarded amended and corrected plans of the areas to be leased, the High Commissioner would issue provisional leases

" . . . on the terms laid down in Sir Edward Wingfield's letter to Lord Stanmore of 16th September, and Mr. Cox's letter of 3rd of October 1899."

In Cox's letter, the maximum area for selection had been doubled, at the company's request, to 200,000 acres.

However, just when it appeared that the company would obtain its leases for the areas it sought, two major difficulties arose. Six days after his Secretary's letter Sir George O'Brien wrote to Arundel and told him that the Deutsche Handels und Plantagen Gesellschaft - known throughout the Western Pacific as the Long Handled Company - claimed title by a purchase made in 1886, to a considerable proportion of the lands sought by the Pacific Islands Company. The High Commissioner and the Colonial Office never took up a positive stand as to the recognition or disproof of the Long Handled Company's claims, which had never been perfected by occupation, and eventually, in December 1902 the Directors cut the Gordian Knot by buying the claims for £5000 and surrendering them to the Crown for that price.

In addition, in October 1900, a further problem arose, when John Anderson, later to be permanent head of the Colonial Office, who had conducted the negotiations with Stanmore and Arundel on the basis that the estate granted would be a 99 year lease, gave belated consideration to the question of the legal capacity of the Crown to grant estates in waste or unoccupied land in the Protectorate. After several years of talking in terms of a Crown grant of Protectorate lands he became suddenly cautious, and advised against

"the use of terms in the instrument issued to the Pacific Islands Company Limited which might imply Crown ownership."

He felt that the Crown could not

"claim property in these wastelands unless we annexed the islands . . . of course, when we are in a position to annex and these derelict or wastelands become legally the property of the Crown the certificates granted . . . can then be replaced by proper leases or other titles."

Meanwhile, all that was proposed

"was to guarantee and protect certified occupation. We have power to legislate for these Islands under the Foreign Jurisdiction Acts, and under that power we forbid unauthorised occupation of wastelands, and the authorised occupant is protected not by our giving him proprietary rights, but by our forbidding and preventing occupation by others.

"The process is in fact a measure of police, rather than a sale or lease of land in which the Crown has proprietary rights."

Anderson proposed to protect each authorised occupier of wastelands in the Protectorate by the issue of a 'Certificate of Occupation' or a 'Licence for Occupation', rather than a lease. Lord Selborne, then Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, agreed with Anderson's opinion as to the inability of the Crown to grant proprietary rights over wastelands in the Protectorate, and favoured the issue of Certificates of Occupation.

This discussion had been triggered off by a query from High Commissioner Sir George O'Brien, and he was accordingly informed of the Colonial Office reluctance to lease. However, Anderson, who had been in close touch with Stanmore throughout the negotiations, usually keeping him informed of relevant instructions sent to O'Brien, apparently thought it unnecessary to tell Stanmore that he was no longer to get a lease, or any other proprietary right, but a Certificate of Occupation instead. The Sydney agents of the Pacific Islands Company were the first to hear, being informed by the Secretary of the High Commission, in a letter dated 17 December 1900, that the Secretary of State for the Colonies had

"ruled that the Crown cannot claim property in wastelands and therefore cannot grant leases in the Solomon Islands."

Anderson ultimately receiving this news, Stanmore wrote privately to Anderson, pointing out, with controlled asperity, that his company had formally accepted the offer of a lease on 6 October 1899, and had thereupon spent over £3,000 on an expedition to select suitable land. In subsequent discussions with Anderson concerning the Longland Company's claims

"no intimation was ever made that there was any unwillingness on the part of the Colonial Office to issue the leases if we chose to take them. Our last talk on the subject was only a few days ago."

Referring to the letter of 17 December 1900, from the Secretary of the High Commission to his Sydney Agents, he observed that it was

"written in consequence of directions issued by the Secretary of State, and which must therefore have been given some time ago. It is not unnatural that we should feel some surprise that any direction of such vital importance to our interests should not have been communicated to us by the Colonial Office at the same time that its instructions were sent to Sir G. O'Brien."

After attacking the inadequacy of Certificates of Occupation as security for borrowing money, and because they conveyed no power of sub-letting,

"which to us is essential",

he was unable to

"refrain from a little expression of mild wonder that in the course of five months' 'consideration' before the leases were promised, or the year which followed, it should never have been discovered that they could not be given at all".

Anderson failed to reassure Stanmore that the certificates were intended to be the equivalent of a lease, since patently they were not. Stanmore assured him that they were not regarded in this light by those people from whom the Pacific Islands Company Limited wanted credit and finance. From an investor's and lender's point of view, there was a significant difference between an instrument, such as a lease, which conveyed a proprietary interest and estate in land, and a Certificate of Occupation, which did not.

Stanmore, however, remained committed to his dream of a new gubernatorial role in the Solomons, and reluctantly accepted the substitution of Certificates of Occupation for leases, though he became increasingly insistent on receiving positive rights to sub-let the lands held under the proposed Certificates. It is probable that by this stage he planned to develop the concession primarily by sub-letting portions of it, as the Pacific Islands Company remained chronically short of capital until its reconstruction, and the opening up of its phosphate bonanza on Ocean Island. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that a majority of Company's Directors would have committed themselves to the Solomons had it been clear from the first that no lease would be granted, and no estate in land acquired.

The view eventually adopted in the Colonial Office as to the limitations on British legal capacity in the Protectorate was consistent with opinions given in 1884, 1887, 1891 and 1892, by successive Law Officers of the Crown, on the limitations of British jurisdiction in Protectorates; and with Colonial Office policies and practices in the Pacific in the last two decades of the 19th century. Protectorates were, and are, considered to lie outside the Territorial Dominions of the Crown. In Melanesian Protectorates where jurisdiction was not obtained by treaty or agreement with local rulers or chiefs, the Law Officers had advised that jurisdiction was limited by the Foreign Jurisdiction Acts, to British subjects, and did not extend either to European foreigners or the Melanesian inhabitants of the Protectorates.

In these circumstances, it is surprising that the Colonial Office agreed to lease the 200,000 acres of land in the Protectorate to the Company. This is particularly so, in the light of a Colonial Office minute written in August 1898, which doubted

"whether in the Solomons there is anything which could be the subject of a concession from the Crown. It has been held almost without hesitation hitherto that a Protectorate does not confer on the Crown property in the lands of the Protected State and that assertion of such rights of property involves annexation."

This minute was ignored throughout the subsequent negotiations with the company.

By the time the Long Handled Company's claims had been purchased, and the problems associated with the tenure under which the concessions to be held had been sorted out, the Pacific Islands Company was, not surprisingly, in grave financial difficulties. However, in 1900 the rich phosphate deposits on Ocean Island had been discovered by A.F. Ellis, one of its employees, and from this time onwards it became clear that its main hopes of success lay in mining phosphates rather than in developing its Solomon Islands concession. The directors realized that a monopoly of guano deposits in the Western Pacific would be a necessary pre-requisite to the sort of financial success they dreamed about, and entered into agreement with the directors of the Hamburg Company, Jaluit Gesellschaft, which controlled the Nauru deposits. This agreement resulted in 1902 in the formation of the Pacific Phosphate Company, an Anglo German company controlling both the deposits on Nauru and Ocean Island. In the same year the Pacific Islands Company (1902) Limited emerged from the ruins of the original Pacific Islands Company. The 1902 company acquired interests in the phosphate company, as well as

the Solomon Islands concession, when the Certificates of Occupation were finally issued in 1903, five years after the original negotiations formally began.

Largely because of the concentration of the Board of the reconstructed company on the phosphate business, and its financial difficulties in the early years, the Solomon Islands concession was never developed. From this time onwards efforts were made by a number of Directors to dispose of the concession altogether, though Stanmore remained hopeful until the end that his empire in the Solomons would eventuate.

The failure of this first attempt at the development of plantations on a large scale in the Solomons, seems to have been closely related to the ambivalence and uncertainty of Colonial Office lands policies, which resulted not so much from humanitarian desires to keep the Islanders' lands from alienation, as from partially digested beliefs as to the legal limitations of British jurisdiction in the Protectorate.

The question of tenure remained fundamental to the development of a plantation economy in the Protectorate, and the first planting of significance took place not on the so-called unoccupied lands held by the 1902 Company under Certificates of Occupation, but on freehold land acquired direct from the Solomon Islanders themselves. Although, in the period up to 1914, there was considerable emphasis placed on the limitations of British jurisdiction over the alienation of unoccupied lands in the Protectorate, up until 1910 there was only a minimum of restraint placed on the much more significant and permanent alienation of land by private sale. Subject to registration, the approval of the Resident Commissioner, which rarely seems to have been withheld, and to improvement conditions which rarely seem to have been enforced, until 1910 land could be lawfully and permanently alienated from the Solomon Islanders. And after some small degree of security of life and property had been established in the Protectorate, as far as Europeans were concerned, sales of Solomon Islanders' lands took place on an increasing scale. Initially, the purchasers were, for the most part, European traders already established in the islands. For the most part they extended their original tiny holdings, and after some years of buying coconuts from the Solomon Islanders, began to establish plantations and grow them themselves. The Resident Commissioner, Woodford, calculated that 988 acres had been planted with coconuts by Europeans by 1901, and by 1905, the year that Levers entered the group, 3423 acres had been planted. It is likely that the initial success of the traders in turning to copra planting was a factor in inducing Levers to enter the group.

In the early 1900s Woodford was becoming increasingly disenchanted with the Pacific Islands Company, and soon abandoned all hopes that the company would develop its concession. Seeking the economic development of the Protectorate, and its financial independence of Treasury grants, he interested Sir William Lever in entering the Solomons, and was no doubt able to point to the successful, though small scale beginnings, of copra planting in the group. At the same time, the Pacific Islands Company had been trying to dispose of its concession in the Solomons to Lever for a substantial sum, or, alternatively, to induce him to invest in its development, but Lever soon realized that the company did not have a monopoly of the best lands in the Protectorate. Nor was he particularly attracted by tenure under Certificate of Occupation. Accordingly, in 1905, Lever began buying freehold in the Solomons, partly from existing traders and planters, and partly from the Solomon Islanders themselves. He eventually acquired 28,870 acres in this way from Solomon Islanders, and 51,000 acres from European planters. Once he had done this, the Pacific Islands Company had little hope of selling the concession at a profit to Lever, or of interesting him in its development of the original concession while it remained outside his control.

Eventually Lever took the almost unmarketable concession for a small sum after the Colonial Office had agreed to extend the term of the Certificates from 99 to 999 years but it is significant that up to the first World War, he concentrated on the development of his freehold property in the Solomons rather than on the land held under Certificates of Occupation. By 1907, Lever, through Levers Pacific Plantations Limited, controlled 300,000 acres. But in so far as the lands held under Certificate of Occupation were concerned, he remained a disappointment to the Resident Commissioner, because of his refusal to develop them to any extent whilst the parts of his freehold remained undeveloped.

Lever's entry into the Solomon Islands had the indirect effect of putting the Protectorate's finances on a firm footing for the first time, and the revenue accruing to the Protectorate Government, largely through indirect taxation, increased enormously as a result of the flow of money and goods into the Protectorate. Lever's entry also encouraged other extensive investment in plantation agriculture in the Protectorate, notably by Burns Philp.

Up to 1914 the lands policies of the Colonial Office were significant in retarding the development of a plantation economy in the Solomons, and it seems very likely that the failure of the Pacific Islands Company was to a very large extent due to the inadequacies of its title and to the delays in acquiring it. On the other hand, though Lever's initial concentration on the development

of plantations held under freehold title was clearly wiser, he had the additional advantages of extensive capital available to him and considerable experience in the production of copra. In addition, his soap works provided his own market, so that while land tenure problems were fundamental to the failure of the Pacific Islands Company, the partial solution of these by Lever was by no means the only factor contributing to his success.

HISTORY OF STEAMSHIPS TRADING COMPANY LIMITED

Neal Nicklason

The history of Melanesia would not be complete without the inclusion of a section devoted to the contribution by private enterprise, and this can be illustrated best by following the progress and development of one major company.

Steamships Trading Company Limited, with its roots 50 years down in Territory history, with its diversification of interests and its entire resources earned and retained here, is undoubtedly the best example of the development of industry and commerce in this area.

Behind every enterprise is a story, but few are comparable with the fascinating history of this company, its progress and its frustrations over the years, reflecting the emergence of a primitive island culture into a world of ever increasing sophistication.

It was started in 1919 when a small group of business men in Melbourne began a small proprietary company called Steamships Pty. Ltd. with a capital of £5,000 and purchased a 54 year old steamship called the "Queenscliffe", of 99 tons, for the express purpose of salvaging a vessel, the "Southern Cross", which had been wrecked on King Island in Bass Strait. However, by the time the vessel had been made ready for sea and salvage equipment provided, the Bass Strait storms had taken their toll and the "Southern Cross" no longer existed. Undeterred by this setback the company, among whose members was a master mariner named Captain A.S. Fitch, decided to send the ship to Papua with the hope of trading profitably in that area. Captain Fitch commanded the vessel and after numerous difficulties en route they finally arrived at Port Moresby with the cash position reduced to a few pounds. In these days of slow communication, with the headquarters of the company in Melbourne, it was essential to begin earning money without delay. Despite advice that the vessel was too large to be profitably employed on the Papuan coast, Captain Fitch advertised that the "Queenscliffe" could be sailing for ports west of Port Moresby and requested cargo. This met with little response. In fact the outward cargo consisted of 25 empty copra bags, a 15 lb. caddy of trade tobacco and a small repacked Nestle's milk case. On arriving at the place where this was to be discharged it was found to be across a bad river bar which neither the "Queenscliffe" nor other vessels could ever go and the cargo was finally delivered by ship's boat.

At this time, little seems to have been known about the navigational possibilities of this area and apparently even less was known of the trading possibilities. They were spurred on by the fact that to return to Port Moresby with no money and no cargo would spell the end of the venture and Captain Fitch took his vessel into the Purari River in search of trade. It is recorded that he was searching for a village with the unlikely name of Candoo but he was unsuccessful and it is not clear whether the village did in fact exist. The records state that it was now a case of trade or bust and the vessel went further west into the Delta area to a village named "Myapor". Here he encountered friendly natives and trade was made. Twenty bags of betel nut and 300 bundles of sago were exchanged for axes and knives. The vessel returned to Port Moresby but the company's finances were so depressed that the Mate and the Engineer accepted betel nuts in lieu of salary and sold these locally. A shortfall of £7.10.0d is recorded which was subsequently made good by the company. Captain Fitch disposed of the sago for £80, which provided finance for a second voyage, this time bound east to Samarai. This voyage was also successful although considerable time was devoted to discovering channels and places where trade could be made.

It is quite evident that the ability of Captain Fitch and his perseverance in the face of extreme difficulties saved the company during this first trying year. The voyages continued and having established a reputation for reliability, a steady and profitable business was brought up in the carrying of cargo and plantation produce and the procurement of labour for plantations. However, once the "Queenscliffe" was running regularly, Captain Fitch, realising that he was dependent for his cargo on the goodwill of others, decided he should open an office and store and he subsequently handed over the vessel to the Mate, who had been with him.

The office and store were located in his residence on the present site of the National Bank building in Douglas Street. It is stated in the records that the bathroom of the residence was a store room and that trade was carried on through the window. It is also recorded that the best day's business from this store yielded over £1,300, which is an indication of the business which was available in Port Moresby at that time. Both the shipping and the trade ventures prospered and the company's future was assured when they tendered for the Government mail contract and won this, together with a contract from the London Missionary Society.

In 1924, needing additional finance to develop its interests, a new company was formed and took over the entire assets of

Steamships Pty. Limited for £15,000.

The new company, in deference to its shipping and merchandising activities was called "STEAMSHIPS TRADING COMPANY LIMITED" and had subscribed capital in that year of £40,000.

The "Queenscliffe", growing old in the service, had to be supplemented and on the 12th December, 1924, the new vessel named "Papuan Chief", a steamer of 225 tons net register, arrived on its delivery voyage from the builders, Harland and Woolf. She was the smallest steamship built by this well-known firm of shipbuilders.

Shortly after, the auxiliary ketch "Veimauri" was purchased and the three vessels were able to maintain a reliable shipping service on the Papuan coast, thus complementing the merchandising section being developed in Port Moresby.

In 1925 a new store was built in Champion Parade on a block of land behind the Hotel Moresby. This was on the site which is now occupied by Steamships' Supermarket.

By 1927, capital had been increased to £48,000 and from a profit of £4,600 a 10% dividend was paid on preference shares. Early in 1927 the first branch store was established at Samarai. Mr. E.V. Crisp, who had joined the company in 1926 became the first manager of this branch.

"Queenscliffe" by this time was showing a loss on operations and, in 1928, went out of service and was used as a coal store. The list of shareholders at this time was quite short, but it did include the company STANLEY STEAM CARS PTY. LIMITED. Declining produce prices caused by the worldwide economic recession starting in 1928 affected the Company's profitability and the next five years were extremely difficult.

Up until 1931 the Board of Directors consisted of Mr. W.T. Strong, Chairman, and two other Directors resident in Melbourne, with Captain Fitch as Managing Director, resident in Port Moresby. This divided control hampered operations and when Mr. Strong died in 1931, and the other two Melbourne Directors shortly after, their places were taken by Mr. E.V. Crisp and Mr. L. Tracy, both then employed by the company. This gave complete local control without which it seems doubtful if the company would have survived the early thirties.

Copra, which had been as high as £67.10.0d. per ton in London in 1920, fell to £9.2.6d. in 1933 and £7.2.6d. in 1934. Rubber fell as low as 1½d. per lb. at one stage and a comment recorded at that time stated: "rubber is finished, its place has been taken by synthetics".

Marine products, trochus, green snail, beche de mer, dropped below production costs and fishing was suspended. Plantations, which had been developed at considerable expense, were being sold at ridiculously low prices, or abandoned. Salaries of the entire staff were reduced by 20% during 1933 and 1934. However, the company was able to show a profit for each year of trading, although this fell to £4 in 1933 on a subscribed capital of £49,576.

Three additional vessels had been added to the fleet over this period - the auxiliary ketch "H. & S", "Nusa" and "Vaiviri". The latter was recorded as lost at sea in 1929, but no details are available.

The closure of a number of plantations so reduced the volume of cargo and passengers offering on the coast that, in 1933, the ship owners, realising they could not continue profitably while divided, formed a shipping pool. Equity in the pool was roughly in the proportions Steamships two thirds and Burns Philp (N.G.) Limited and J.R. Clay Limited holding the remaining third between them. This resulted in three vessels being tied up but efficiency was improved to such an extent that a profit of over £1,600 was made in the first 10 months of operation. The pool continued for about two years, when improving conditions permitted vessels to be operated independently again.

Economic conditions began to improve in late 1934 and this year Steamships acquired its first plantation interest. This was Mamai Estate, near Port Glasgow, a property of 2,300 acres on which £78,000 had been expended in establishing 557 acres coconuts, 160 acres rubber and 200 head of cattle, together with all the necessary buildings. The purchase price was £875.

In 1935 the New Guinea Rubber Estate, a 2,000 acre property at Sivigolo, was purchased. Later in the year Maira Plantation, of 500 acres on the Vailala River, was bought and these plantations, producing at improved produce prices began to contribute significantly to the company's earnings. Ownership of these properties ensured that all stores and labour to, and produce from them would be carried in the company's vessels, thus increasing their profitability.

Minor increases in subscribed capital occurred in 1935 due to shares issued in part payment for property, but by 1936 it was evident that considerably more capital was needed.

The confidence of the shareholders in the company is shown by the full subscription to an issue of 20,189 preference shares

8/-d. premium and 25,635 ordinary shares at 10/-d. premium, despite the fact that no dividends had been paid since 1929. 1937 showed a return to dividend payments and the prediction in the 1936 prospectus that 10% returns could be expected was fulfilled. A profit of £16,364 was made on subscribed capital of £70,000. 1937 also saw continued expansion and further diversification.

A half interest was acquired in the sawmill at Port Romilly and it is noted that timber was the only local product at that time receiving Government protection.

The Slipway and Engineering Works at Paga Point, Port Moresby, was begun in 1937, with the building of one Slip and Workshop. This project was forced on the company by the lack of repair facilities and the need to service the company vessels.

Steamships entered into the Hotel business in 1937 with the acquisition of the Cosmopolitan Hotel in Samarai. This had been owned by Captain Fitch and Mr. P.J. McDonald for several years following its purchase for £10,000 from Mr. Laurie Henderson. Steamships staff were accommodated at £12.10.0d. per month for board and lodgings. It is recorded that no profit was made from the dining room or accommodation side, but that the bar trade was buoyant and lucrative. Vaiviri Plantation, of 350 acres, on the Milala River, was purchased this year.

The vessel "Maira" normally employed in running to river ports west of Port Moresby was chartered to take the Archbold Expedition to the Fly River and reached a point 557 miles from the sea, the furthest any vessel had been able to navigate up to that date.

Fishing for trochus and other marine products had been revived and Steamships at Samarai employed 130 men full time in this industry. These operated from locally built cutters of from 9 to 20 tons and carrying 3 to 6 dinghies and from 12 to 20 men each. Trochus at this time was very popular for making pearl buttons. The solidity of the company was being recognised further and further afield and agencies for prominent overseas companies were being obtained. Steamships were the agents for Coral Sea Insurance, Bankers and Traders Insurance, K.P.M. Line of Dutch Steamers (The Royal Packet Navigation Company), Vacuum Oil Company and Carpenters Aeroplanes which used to land on the old strip at Kila, near the present animal quarantine station.

In the meantime the merchandising part of the business had expanded, the store in Champion Parade had been increased in size and several bulk stores and cash stores had been opened. In 1938 two more vessels were added to the fleet, "Panther" and "Chinsurah".

The latter was named after a village on the Hoogli River where Captain Fitch had operated as a pilot for vessels entering the port of Calcutta.

In 1939 the "Papuan Chief" suffered damage after grounding on an uncharted rock off Gadaisu in Orangerie Bay about 100 miles west of Samarai. It was considered uneconomical to effect repairs, particularly as steam vessels were being superseded by motor driven ships. She was sold to Japanese buyers for scrap in 1939, just prior to the outbreak of war. The war in Europe had a detrimental effect on trade and profits declined in the years to 1942, when the war spread to the Pacific. No additional capital was raised, although trading continued on a reasonable level. Subscribed capital remained steady at £143,000 and dividends of 8% in 1940 and 7% in 1941 were paid. In 1942 only 7% on preference shares was paid.

The war came to the Territory with terrifying suddenness and disastrous consequences. Although it began only on December 7th, 1941 at Pearl Harbour, by early January troops were pouring into Port Moresby and civilians were being hastily evacuated. Captain Fitch's diary covering this period reveals the shocking lack of discipline which prevailed among all sections of the Army, and the arrogance of the military authorities in their dealings with civilians.

Houses and stores were looted by officers and men alike and stock was taken from bulk and retail stores without any orders given. Although bombing occurred in late January and throughout February and considerable property damage occurred, Captain Fitch states that the greatest damage in this period came from our own troops.

On February 4th the diary reports that one of the staff had his false teeth blown out the window by a bomb blast during the night and was unable to find them the following morning.

Steamships remained open for business as long as this was possible. Virtually all males, including the entire staff of the Bank of New South Wales, were called up for military service. Trading was done for cash in most cases, and takings were used to pay off staff.

As February continued, the position became more and more untenable. Samarai was evacuated and the store and hotel burnt to the ground under a premature "scorched earth" policy. Coastal vessels were commandeered for service and practically all native labour left the town. The area was declared a battle area and all

civilians remaining were instructed to leave the Territory or go outside a 30-mile radius.

Mr. Brewster was sent with stores to Mariboi Estate to caretake the plantations in the Kanosia district. Frank Rei, a local ship master employed by the company, was instructed to control any company vessels not taken over by the authorities. On Wednesday, 15th February, Captain Fitch records that he received a report that troops were again looting the stores and writes: "I prefer not to see it. There is no protection and it is the rape of a peaceful town. I feel very depressed to see the results of 22 years' effort wrecked, not by the enemy, but by our own troops". On Thursday, 16th dejected and disillusioned, he left for Australia by ship, arriving on the 28th.

On March 2nd, 1942, an office was opened in Spring Street, Sydney, with Captain Fitch, Messrs Crisp, Tracy and Hides endeavouring to reconcile accounts and prepare claims.

In 1943 the Australia-New Guinea Administrative Unit was formed under military control but certain civilians were allowed to return to the Territory for the purpose of increasing rubber production which was in very short supply in Australia. Captain Fitch, Mr. Crisp and Mr. Tracy returned and reopened the plantations. This was the forerunner to recommencing merchandising operations which began in 1945. It is interesting to quote from the Chairman's address for the year ending 30th June, 1946:-

"It has been a year of both difficulties and remarkable activity. The year commenced with only the speaker and two other Directors living in a mess at Port Moresby, with a folding table alongside bed stretchers, which composed Head Office and staff. This had been so for the previous two years: in other words, since July, 1943, all property of the Steamships Trading Company Limited, being either destroyed or occupied by the Forces, other than plantations. These we took over in 1943, and proceeded to man, inspect and commence production, all stores in trade being conducted by a Production Control Board and produce taken by them as a contra against stores supplied. Such was the position until November, 1945. We then obtained possession of our main store and office, and with the help of some old hand natives, we proceeded to make temporary repairs and fittings, both office and store being completely gutted and many windows, etc. missing. This being completed, a certain amount of stores were obtained and retail trade started back where the company was

twenty years ago, the three Directors being the salesmen, bookkeepers, etc.

During December, 1945, negotiations were completed for the taking over of the Production Control Board stores in Port Moresby, on a 50-50 basis, with Burns Philp & Co. Ltd., the latter starting business some weeks later.

February was another advance, when the Port Romilly Timber Mills were taken over by the company as Managing Agents, this company, as you know, being interested financially in same, and the business again started off cutting and milling timber. At the present time the mills are working to full capacity.

Slip Block and Workshop: Our old workshops, apart from the slip were completely bombed out on 3rd January, 1942, and the ground thereon is now being put to other purposes. Also, at our slipyard, Paga Point, the workshop here was destroyed. However, the Navy erected large workshops with a considerable amount of plant inside. After several months of negotiations these have now been taken over, together with our own slip, the company having to purchase the whole of the Navy improvements before it could get possession of same. Possession was entered into on the 9th September, 1946, and already we are in operation with regard to vessels on the slip. Engineers and shipwrights are waiting in Sydney for transport, and I have no doubt that same will be in full swing within a few weeks. The whole of the plant, as beforementioned, has been purchased outright, and at the same time priority has been given to vessels needing repair work owned by the Navy, Administration or Shipping Board. Our previous Slipmaster is again in charge, together with the Principal Engineer.

Samarai Branch: During March, staff was appointed to our Samarai Branch, 247 miles south-east of Port Moresby. As the whole of Samarai had been levelled to the ground, we had to makeshift with steel huts, all previous stores and offices having gone without a trace. At the present time we are in full business there, with a turnover larger than pre-war. Business is somewhat difficult as

transport is infrequent, and there being no bank or direct means of sending overseas cables.

Generally it has been a very serious effort to house staff, seven of our staff houses in Port Moresby having been destroyed by enemy action. These, at the present time, are being rebuilt as fast as we can fell and mill the timber. The mills are situated 240 miles west of Port Moresby.

Coastal Shipping: This has been nationalised, and as far as Papua is concerned, the company acts as Managing Agents for the Shipping Board for half the tonnage, and Burns Philp & Co.Ltd. the other half. Great difficulty is being experienced in supplying outer shallow port plantations, due to the unsuitability of the few ships supplied at present on the coast, among which are nothing of the necessary small shallow draft type vessel which previously had been designed and built for each particular bar or port that it was meant to serve. The result at the present time is that many plantations are over two months without having received stores or food. The company itself has been refused a permit to run a small shallow draft vessel which would have relieved the situation, and under such conditions it is hard to see how difficulties can be overcome unless Canberra quickly acts in supplying vessels capable of doing these ports. Lack of knowledge of the conditions has much to do with this set-back to the planting industry."

In 1946 a further share issue of 50,000 ordinary shares was made to assist in the company's reconstruction. Captain Fitch, whose ability and perseverance had developed the company over 27 years, retired on 1st November, 1946. The position of Chairman and Managing Director went to Mr. E.V. Crisp who had been with the company for 20 years and a Director for 15 years.

The long, hard task of reconstruction began, but with rising prices and an expanding economy, the problem was to obtain goods to sell and staff to handle them.

The Shipping Board continued to control coastal shipping and the service was unable to maintain schedules. Plantations waited weeks for stores and more weeks to ship out their produce. The company still owned "Chinsurah" and later bought two "K" boats - the Fly River Scow design - but these were still inadequate.

The shipyard was extended in 1947 when No.2 Slip was built, but staff shortages caused long delays to vessels under repair. In 1948 the Automotive and Machinery Department was added and shortly after the International Harvester Co. Agency acquired. Copra in this year was £41.2.6d per ton and rubber 1/6d. a pound.

Share issues took place in 1949 and 1950 and by the end of the latter year subscribed capital was £286,473 with profits at £61,193 paying a dividend of 10% on preference and 12½% on ordinary shares.

Rebuilding of the Samarai store commenced in 1949 and was completed in 1950. In 1950 two blocks of land adjoining the main store in Champion Parade were purchased and rebuilding of the Moresby premises commenced.

In 1951 two more plantations, Huiva and Baramata, were purchased and rubber rose to 5/-d. per pound, with copra at £57.0.0d. per ton. Steamships were operating several of the Shipping Board vessels on an agency basis and in 1952 they purchased three small ships to supplement this service. Also in this year the association with the China Navigation Company commenced and the "New Guinea Australia Line" was inaugurated to ply between Australia and New Guinea. In 1953 the company successfully tendered for seven vessels owned by the Shipping Board and, once again, resumed the dominant position in the coastal shipping trade.

The building of the Rouna Hydro Electric Scheme started this year and Steamships commenced the construction of a freezing works and butcher shop in Douglas Street. This was completed and commenced operating in 1954.

By 1955 subscribed capital had risen to £700,000, profits rose accordingly and a steady 10% preference and 12½% on ordinary shares was being paid.

In 1957 the vessel "Doma", a 220 ton motorship taken over from the Shipping Board, which had operated a scheduled service on the Daru, Moresby, Samarai run for 10 years, was scrapped, but by this time, a number of smaller new vessels were operating and the service was maintained.

In 1958, the sawmill at Port Romilly, after a closure of two years, was rebuilt at Baimuru, on Romilly Sound, and recommenced production.

In 1959 the company made a bonus issue of 1 for 4 and a new issue of 1 for 4 at par. The balance date was brought forward

from 31st July to 30th June to coincide with taxation requirements which commenced this year.

The new Automotive and Machinery Showroom on the corner of Hunter Street and Champion Parade was completed.

In 1961 Mr. Crisp retired from the position of Chairman and Managing Director, and was succeeded by Mr. H.D. Underwood who has held these offices since then.

A new steel vessel to our own design was built in Hongkong and sailed to Port Moresby, arriving in December, 1961. She was named "Ipi Gari" in honour of a ships master of Elavala Village, who had served the company loyally for many years.

1962 began eventfully with a takeover attempt by W.R. Carpenter Holdings Limited, which was rejected. In turn, Steamships acquired the assets of Colyer Watson (NG) Limited, a company with similar interests to Steamships Trading Company, operating in the Trust Territory of New Guinea. Hitherto, the activities of Steamships had been confined to Papua, but with the acquisition of Colyer Watson a new era began with a chain of branches throughout both territories, Colyer Watson's Branch stores in Rabaul, Lae, Madang, Oroka and the plantations Linga Linga and Cutarp in New Britain. In Papua, Steamships purchased the plantations Veimauro Estate in the Kanosia District and Sagarai Estate in the Milne Bay District.

1962 also saw a change in the capital structure when the £1 preference and £1 ordinary shares were split into 5/-d. stock units and nominal capital was raised to £5,000,000. A substantial interest in the Lamington Hotel at Popondetta was obtained and this marked the company's re-entry into the hotel field after 20 years' absence.

The Cosmopolitan in Samarai had been destroyed in 1942 by the scorched earth policy adopted in that town, and the building of the Hotel Granville on the corner of Musgrave and Douglas Streets in Port Moresby had not been resumed after the war.

In 1963 expansion continued with the purchase of the Brown River Timber Company near Port Moresby, and the establishment of a Sheet Metal Factory to manufacture rain water goods and light sheet metalware.

A timber moulding factory to produce kiln dried timbers, mouldings and wooden dowels for export, began operating in this year.

Subscribed capital had risen to £1,481,900 with profits at £40,387 and dividend at 13.1/3%.

1964 saw further diversification with the development of the subsidiary company Nebiri Quarries Limited, formed to produce metal and aggregate for the local market. A major interest was purchased in the Mount Hagen Hotel at Mount Hagen where a new branch store had been opened the year before. A company, Lae Hotels Limited, was formed to plan and build a modern hotel in Lae.

It is worth noting that the Chairman, in his address to shareholders in 1964, states:-

"Your company financed new investment in excess of £1,000,000 during the year ended June 1964, which arose from share issues and regeneration of funds. Reference to the company's history of expansion can leave no doubt as to the leading place it has taken, and will keep, in the Territory's development."

In 1965 the company purchased the coffee plantations Gisumonos and Korfena, furthering the interests the company had in this product through the subsidiaries, Goroka Coffee Fermentary, Goroka Coffee Producers and Highland Coffee Mill at Mount Hagen.

In conjunction with the Hongkong subsidiary of the world-wide Air Liquide group of companies with headquarters in Paris, Steamships formed a company, South Pacific Oxygen Acetylene Co. Pty. Limited, to produce industrial and medical gases in the Territory. Initial production began in December 1965. Additional coffee plantations, Kenimaru and Wantarufu were added in 1966.

A second steel vessel, designed for the coastal trade, and built in Australia to our design, arrived in November, 1966. This was named "Frank Rei", continuing the policy of naming new vessels after prominent local ships masters who had served the company.

In Port Moresby there had been considerable increases in the various departments of the company and the position relating to staff housing had become critical. Commencing in 1966 and extending into 1967, a building programme to alleviate the position was carried out. A hostel for 20 apprentices was built, plus a settlement to accommodate 144 single male staff permanently employed as stevedores, sales assistants, etc. Fifty-two motel type units - known as "Steamships Village" - were built at 6-Mile to accommodate male expatriate staff. Of greater significance was the project begun at 7-Mile - "Erima Village" - where comparatively low cost timber cottages are being erected for local married staff and their families. This is continuing and will do so while suitable land is available.

The Melanesian Hotel, of modern design and standard, opened in September, 1967 and a new soft drink factory with a Coca Cola franchise, began operations in November at Port Moresby.

The company continues to expand and diversify.

At the end of June, 1967, subscribed capital had risen to \$1,294,249, with profit at \$981,231.

There are merchandising branches in all major centres and dozens of smaller cash stores. There are fifteen coastal vessels chartered and operated by the company, together with local and overseas agency vessels.

Despite the diversification of interests, the "shipping" and "trading" influence is still paramount in the company after almost 30 years.

The growth of the organisation can be attributed to the confidence in the Territory which seems to have been the guiding principle of Captain Fitch in the dark days of the early thirties, of Mr. Crisp in the difficult post-war years, and of Mr. Underwood in the years of changing political and economic climate since 1962.

Confidence has been the key, and while this is not betrayed, steamships will continue to develop, reflecting, in its comparatively small way, the great development and progress of the Islands of Melanesia.

LAND USE AND LAND ALIENATION IN FIJI TO 1885

R.G. Ward

There can be little doubt that the distribution of Freehold, own and Native Land is one of the main determinants of the distributions of population, agriculture and economic activities in Fiji at the present time. Furthermore, the problems of land tenure form one of the mainsprings of the inter-racial rivalries which are basic to the present political and social situation in Fiji. The extent and location of approximately 90 per cent of the Freehold Land held by persons other than the Crown was determined by a Land Claims Commission which began hearings in December 1875 and completed its work in February 1882.¹ Since Fiji was ceded to Britain in 1874, the permanent alienation of Native Land has been prohibited² except for the period May 1905 to April 1908 when 4,142 acres of Native Land were freeholded. Of this, the greater part became Crown Freehold. During its hearings, the Commission considered claims to over 850,000 acres but less than half this area was finally granted to claimants.³ This paper considers the tension of alienated land prior to Cession and the use made of this land by non-Fijians in the immediate pre- and post-Cession years. To a considerable extent, the use made of the land by the claimants, or their predecessors, was the major consideration in the granting, or otherwise, of any claim,⁴ so that the explanations of present patterns of tenure lie in the land use pattern of almost a century ago.

The Land Claims Commission began hearings in 1875 and during the next six years the members visited most areas of the Colony where claims were to be heard. At the opening of a hearing the Commission had before it, the application setting forth the claimant's name; date of possession; name, area and description of boundaries of the land claimed; payment made to the Fijians; and where the deeds were registered, if at all. The last of these referred to registration of land at one of the consular offices prior to Cession. The Commission took verbal evidence on all these points and then proceeded to ask witnesses a further series of specific questions. These covered the names of the Fijians from whom the land was bought; whether or not there had been any disputes with Fijians over the land, or any counter claims by other Europeans; whether Fijians had lived on the land at the time of purchase or since, and if so what had happened to them; how long the land was occupied by the claimant or his predecessors; what improvements had been made, or crops planted; and whether there were any debts or liens on the land. In addition to taking evidence from the claimants, other witnesses (including the vendors) might be called to give

evidence on the sale, amount of occupation and planting, and any special conditions of Fijian tenure, custom or history which might have had a bearing on the sale or subsequent events. The evidence recorded, virtually all of which is now housed in the Central Archives of Fiji and the Western Pacific High Commission, represents a very important body of data, not only on land use on the estates, but on Fijian land tenure, migration, political history, and on the changing patterns of leadership and authority in Fijian society in the decade or so before Cession.

The Course of Alienation

The earliest European visitors to Fiji, sandalwood and beche-de-mer traders, did not seek permanent rights to land and it was not until the mid 1840s that any significant areas or number of pieces of land were occupied by Europeans with the intention of permanently retaining title. From this time the rate of land alienation increased steadily until the late 1860s when high cotton prices caused a rush for land by European speculators and planters. The boom collapsed in 1871 and relatively few sales were made between then and 1874. During the two decades of land purchasing, activity varied in intensity and location and this reflected changes in motives of both buyers and sellers as external and internal economic and political influences varied.

The oldest claims which were recognized by the Commission dated from the 1840s and related to small pieces of land obtained by missions and traders as building sites. These were invariably within Levuka, on the smaller islands or on offshore islets, and it is clear that this decade ease of defence, freedom from boundary disputes and reduced cost of fencing were important considerations for the purchases of islands. A number of these sites were occupied for some years but even so some such claims were disallowed due to long abandonment prior to 1874.⁵ Others, especially mission sites, were continuously occupied and freehold grants were normally issued in respect of these. During the early 1850s the number of purchases of small plots for houses or trade stores increased, especially in Levuka (and elsewhere on Ovalau), on several of the other outer islands, and along the lower reaches of the Rewa River. These holdings were rarely of more than a few acres, and most were purchased for immediate use as building sites. The Fijian vendors were generally willing to sell such plots as the benefit to them of a mission or trade store in their area was obvious and immediate. It is clear, however, that at this time the concept of alienation in perpetuity was rarely appreciated by the vendors, but because occupation normally followed quickly, and was maintained, the different concepts which the parties to the negotiation held did not cause many disputes -

By maintaining occupation the Europeans were maintaining their rights to use under indigenous concepts, even if the Fijians did not realize that the Europeans believed that the land had been alienated in perpetuity. In essence, continued occupation gave security of occupation in Fijian eyes.

In 1860 and 1861, the first major sales were made of land which the purchasers intended to use for plantation agriculture. The change in intended use resulted in a different type of holding being sought. Coastal or river sites were desirable as water transport was the principal means of exporting produce. Flat alluvial land was sought wherever possible and the larger the area the better. Instead of small plots for immediate use, the purchasers now sought large areas for future development and loss of productive or potentially productive land by the Fijians now became a significant consequence of land sales. From this time onwards the contrasts in concepts of land tenure of Fijians and Europeans became important.

The stimulus for buying land for agriculture lay in rumours of impending annexation of the islands by Britain, and in favourable reports on prospects for cotton growing resulting from the visit by the botanist, Berthold Seemann. This period saw the first purchases of blocks of any size on the mainland of Viti Levu, these being on the Ra and Serua coasts, and along the lower Rewa River. A number of blocks were bought in Kadavu and Taveuni while more offshore islands around Viti Levu were purchased. The direct links between the belief in impending annexation and land purchases is indicated by the fact that Consul Pritchard, the instigator of, and chief propagandist for, the move for annexation was, together with U.S. Consul Brower and W. Swanston, the chief purchaser of the Serua blocks and the main negotiator for the Ra blocks.

The most common motive for selling land was the need to obtain arms. Local warfare was rife in the 1850s and 1860s and the desire of local chiefs either to maintain or to upset the local balance of power was very strong (e.g. R.200). In both Serua and Viti Levu (Ra) the purchasers negotiated directly with chiefs then holding power by force of arms, the previous occupants of the land having recently been expelled (C3815; pp 617-8 & 642). The temporarily reduced indigenous population of such areas made them particularly attractive to the purchasers. The existence of this type of local political situation in particular areas continued to influence the location of land sales throughout the 1860s.

Between 1862 and 1866, there were few sales, except for a group on Taveuni, but in the latter year rising cotton prices and changes in the land use system stimulated the beginning of the main buying rush. The rate of white immigration increased rapidly. Would-be

cotton planters first bought land along the banks of the Rewa and by the end of 1867 blocks had been purchased at the junction of the Wainimala and Wainibuka Rivers, some 40 miles by river from the coast. In the same year much of the lower land along the west coast of Taveuni was alienated and in the following year buyers were active in south west Viti Levu (especially along the Sigatoka River), and along the Bua and Cakaudrove coasts. Buying continued in these areas in 1869 but also spread to the Yasawa Islands, Ra, and the Dreketi River area. By this time land speculators had entered the field and 'were constantly sailing about in their vessels, always on the alert to take hold of anything that might give them a chance of beginning a land transaction, such as a dispute between two chiefs, between two towns or between a chief and his territory or people...' (David Wilkinson in R.546).⁶ Wilkinson goes on to say that 'I once saw one of these men (Shute) with a sheaf under his arm containing some 12 or 15 deeds in various stages' of completion.

The speculators were most active where local warfare provided a strong incentive for the Fijians to sell. For example, large areas were sold in Dreketi in 1868 when the people were beset from both east and west and guns were urgently needed. Not only did the Turaga Levu of the Kai Dreketi sell the land of his own people, but in evidence he stated that he "sold the whole of the Naseqqa land because I was at war with them and needed guns" (R.788, in C3815; 646). Presumably he expected the guns to confirm his victory and thus give him power to put the sale into effect. 'Along the 'Upper Macuata' coast, the speculators were active in 1869 and 1870, during the later stages of a long period of internal struggles and large areas were bought with 'perfect indifference' as to whether the lands belonged... to the persons assuming to sell them' (R.1115). Similarly, all the principal sales along the Sigatoka River (15 in all) were made between February 27th and August 25th, 1868, immediately following a retaliatory war on interior peoples by Ratu Kini of the Yavuasina people. It is not clear from the printed evidence (R.706, in C3815; 640) just what rights Ratu Kini had to the lands he sold but there is no doubt that the war was the stimulus to his actions.

At times of course other motives induced the Fijians to sell, and sometimes an extraordinary area was allegedly sold in exchange for goods or services desired or rendered. For example, in the case of the Nalovo block in south west Viti Levu the Commission commented that 'it may be thought that some person could have been tempted to open a store, which Mr. Rennie never appears to have done, under some inducement slighter than a grant of 22,222 acres of land at the nominal price of 3.456 farthings per acre....' (R.1112).

The peak of land sales was reached in 1870 when buyers sought land in the Lau Group⁷; along many stretches of hitherto untouched coast; and inland, especially around the margins of the Nadi plain and along the Ba and Dreketi Rivers. Local warfare continued to encourage Fijians to sell. In the Ba area, attacks by highlanders in 1869 and 1870 made the acquisition of firearms by the coastal people 'a matter of life or death for the Ba tribes' and the Tui Ba sold large areas along the river in order to obtain arms and to create a buffer zone of European occupied land between the mountaineers and his own coastal people. (R.992, in C3815; 752).⁸

In 1869 Fijian Sea Island cotton was bringing 4s.4d. per lb. in London but by the end of 1870 the price was down to 1s.4d. and Fiji could not compete with the renewed industry of the southern states of U.S.A., especially as France had cut back her purchases as a result of the Franco-Prussian War. Land buying continued for a time into 1871 and something over 50 sales were negotiated during that year. But in 1872 the depression was becoming more serious and only about 10 sales were made, of which half were in the Ba area. In 1873, there was a brief flurry in Kadavu when land adjacent to the harbour of Galoa was bought in connection with that place becoming a port of call for trans-Pacific steamers. But in effect the rush to alienate land ended in 1871 as a direct result of the collapse of the cotton market.

By the time the boom ended the coasts of the main islands were fringed by alienated land and this included a high proportion of the most accessible, most easily cultivated, and most fertile areas. The alluvial flats in particular had been picked out by the buyers and today, whereas Freehold Land (other than Crown Freehold) accounts for less than 10 per cent of the total land area of the colony, it includes 36.5 per cent and 23.7 per cent of the Class I and Class II land respectively on the main islands of Viti Levu, Vanua Levu, and Taveuni. On the other hand, only 4.8 per cent of the Class IV land (which is unsuited to permanent agriculture) falls within the freehold area (Ward, 1965; 121).

The Use of Alienated Land

In December 1875 the Commission began hearing the claims which stemmed from the two decades of land dealings. For any claim to freehold to be upheld by the Land Claims Commission, one of two basic requirements had to be fulfilled. The first was for the original sale to have been valid, in that the vendors had the right to dispose of the land and the purchaser paid a fair price. The second was for the buyer, or his successor, to have occupied the land, either by living on it, or establishing a plantation, or both. In cases where the second condition was fulfilled but not the first, a claim might be disallowed as of right but granted ex gratia in

part or in full. The proportion granted was generally related (in a generous manner) to the amount of land which had been cultivated, and this was usually a very small proportion of that claimed.

In 1860 relatively little agriculture was practised on alienated land other than the growing of food crops for immediate requirements. Several Europeans were pit sawing timber along the south coast of Viti Levu while sheep had been released on Wakaya and a coffee plantation was also established there. Elsewhere most of the so-called planters were dependent on the extraction of coconut oil from nuts gathered from groves of palms planted by the Fijians prior to alienation. As a result of reports from Manchester on cotton samples from Fiji, and Seemann's encouragement a number of settlers (as well as Fijians encouraged by the missionaries) planted cotton in 1860 and 1861, but there was limited expansion of the area under crops until the middle of the decade. Expansion was delayed due to the absence of ginning machinery, so that cotton had to be shipped 'in-seed' to Sydney for cleaning. The first gin was imported from Samoa in 1862 (Britton, 1870; 9), but there were still only two in 1865. It was not until 1866 that steam-powered gins and presses were introduced. In 1867, 30 gins had been installed and growers could reduce their transport costs by shipping cleaned cotton. Most of the cotton grown in the early 1860s was the short-staple Egyptian and Kidney varieties and it was not until Sea Island Cotton with its long staple (and high value) was grown successfully and seed supplies were built up in the mid-1860s that cotton growing became a really attractive proposition. Whereas Kidney and Egyptian cotton fetched 1/- per lb. on the English market, Sea Island prices rose to 4/11d. In the later 1860s other technological improvements helped the expansion of the industry as improved gins were introduced and ploughs, harrows and planting machines replaced the digging stick and knife (Britton, 1870; 13). The period of most rapid cotton expansion began in 1866 and this, together with increasing coffee planting, stimulated the major land buying boom. Cotton had considerable advantages for the new settler as the first harvesting could sometimes be done within four months of planting and cultivation was relatively simple. This was particularly important as few of the new settlers who came to Fiji from Australia and New Zealand had much capital, or experience of tropical agriculture.

The evidence recorded by the Lands Claims Commission provides us with relatively detailed information on the crops and acreages planted on the majority of the estates at two periods. In eliciting information on occupation, the Commission was usually told how much land had been cultivated at the time of maximum activity and this normally coincided with the peak of the cotton boom in the

riod 1868 to 1872. It was clearly to the advantage of the claimants to state the maximum area which had been under crops and there was obviously a considerable incentive to exaggeration. However, confirmatory evidence is sometimes provided when witnesses, other than the claimant, report on a particular estate. In general, where there is evidence from two or more individuals, the discrepancies are not serious. However, in the construction of maps of land use on the estates, the more conservative estimates of area have normally been accepted. In addition to reporting the area planted at the peak of the cotton boom, most witnesses also reported the crops and areas planted at the time of the Land Commission surveying. This varied from 1875 to 1882 and it is probable that the figures given for this period are more accurate than for the earlier period. Any obvious inaccuracies would be evident to the Commission members on visiting the estate.

It has been possible to prepare a series of maps for most parts of the major islands of Fiji, showing land use on the estates at these two periods. This provides a valuable comparison between the period of maximum cotton activity and the years when the worst of the depression of the early 1870s was past and when the planters had experimented with a wide range of crops other than cotton. Maps of the earlier period portray the land use pattern which formed the factual basis for granting freeholds. The maps of the latter period show the beginning of the establishment of the basic land use patterns which have continued to the present day on the freehold land.

Land use in the period 1868 to 1872 was almost completely dominated by cotton growing. In 1869, cotton exports accounted for almost 79 per cent of exports by value (C343; 226) and in the following year the proportion rose to over 90 per cent (C428; 179). The main concentrations of cotton plantations were found along the lower reaches of the Rewa River. Elsewhere there were concentrations of cotton growing along the coast of Ra, along the lower reaches of the Ba River (in 1871-72), on the Nadi Plains and the Nadroga Coast. Scattered plantations existed elsewhere along the Viti Levu coast. On Vanua Levu the most important concentration was on the south coast in the Savu Savu area, while there were several groups of plantations in Bua and on the Dreketi River. Some of the largest plantations in the Territory were those at the southern and northern extremities of Taveuni, while many of the smaller islands of Lau and Maiviti were also given over to cotton cultivation.

In general, the proportion of the freehold land claimed which was actually planted was quite small and complete planting occurred only on a few of the smaller blocks in Rewa. Plantations with more than 100 acres under cotton at any one time were rare, although

in southern Taveuni there were probably more than any other region. The area cultivated had generally been hurriedly cleared and the cotton bushes planted amidst the stumps and debris. Holdings were unfenced and their boundaries rarely defined. Plantation buildings both houses, storage sheds and shelters for ginning machinery were usually built of local materials, except in the case of a few of the older established estates of southern Taveuni and Rewa. Quarters for labourers were usually provided, though some estates relied on casual labour from adjacent villages. In addition to the land planted in cotton, most estates had small areas in food crops such as taro or yams for consumption both by the plantation workers and the European owners or managers.

With the disastrous fall in the price of cotton at the end of 1870, new planting ceased on estates. The market in land already alienated soon came to a standstill and the speculators ceased to buy from the Fijians. The tide of immigrants became one of emigrants. Many of the smaller planters found themselves in severe financial difficulties for although a price of 1s.4d. per lb. might cover the expenses of production, it would not pay the interest on the borrowed capital on which most small planters were working (Gordon, Volume II, 1897; 500). A considerable number of estates were abandoned, especially in the more remote districts where transport costs were highest. It was 'a grievous but common sight to see acres of land covered with the cotton-bushes, and the pods allowed to fall off, because it will not pay to pick them' (Anderson, 1880; 74).

On the larger estates, and where the planters were not so dependent on borrowed capital, a desperate search began for alternative sources of income. Fortunately the technical change from production and export of coconut oil to the drying and export of copra was introduced about this time. Coconut growing thereby became a much more attractive proposition and along the south coast of Vanua Levu and on Taveuni, coconut planting went ahead rapidly. The same was true on many of the islands of Lau and Lomaiviti. The new coconuts were normally interplanted with the remnants of cotton which was rarely harvested. Those who planted coconuts had to be prepared, however, to wait for at least seven years for a return.

Attempts had already been made to establish sugar production on the island of Wakaya in 1862 and in 1872 a small mill was established at Suva. This was followed in 1874 and 1875 by others along the Rewa River. Sugar-cane had become the main crop of this region by 1875 and it was to remain so until 1959. Planters in southern Taveuni and in Cakaudrove also put considerable areas into sugar cane and imported crushing machinery, but it is interest

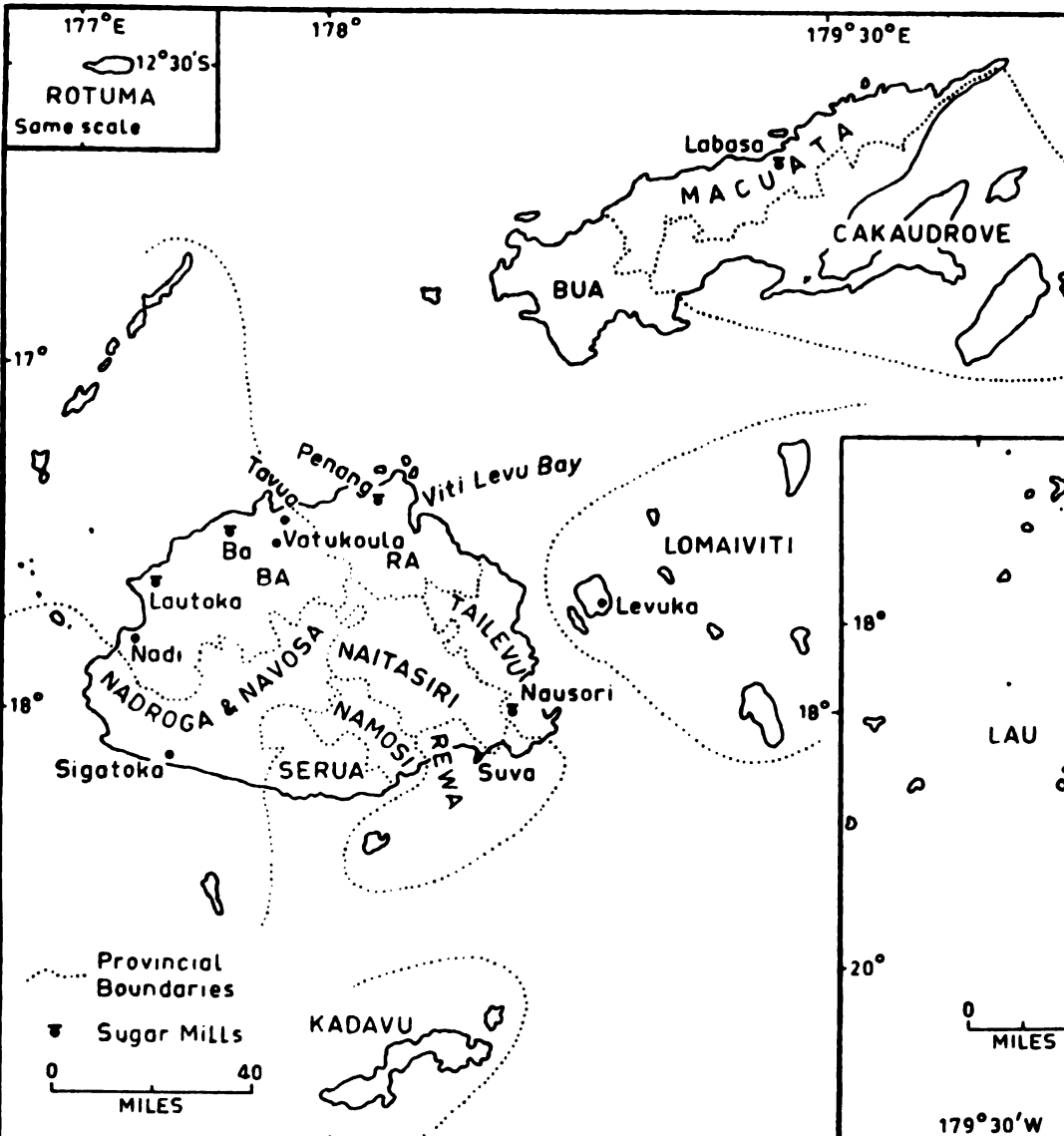
to note that prior to 1882 virtually no cane was being grown in western Viti Levu or north west Vanua Levu, the two areas which are today the major cane producers.

Coffee was planted on many estates and in Fijian villages but, before most of the trees came into bearing, leaf rust (Hemilia vastatrix) was introduced from Ceylon and the trees were devastated. In western Viti Levu maize became the main crop, especially on the estates of the Nadi area, while tobacco was also planted on the Nadroga coast. The rate of abandonment was high on this coast and was accelerated by the hurricanes of 1871 and 1874. Cattle and goats (including several flocks of Angora goats) were grazed on many of the estates in the dry zone, and at Navua this was a promising industry until 1878 when the local market became oversupplied (Horne, 1880; 31 and 194). Silkworms, tea and cocoa were tried unsuccessfully by other planters but it was not until the later 1870s when the coconut plantings of Vanua Levu and the outer islands came into bearing and sugar mills were established, that most districts experienced any real return to prosperity. For the most part, the future expansion of plantation agriculture had to take place within the bounds of the freehold land as delimited by the Land Claims Commission. Hitherto, plantation land use and land alienation (or occupation by aliens) had expanded or contracted in close relationship; both advancing in the 'good year' and both contracting in the face of depression. If the cotton boom had not collapsed in 1870-71, there is no doubt that planting and alienation would have continued to expand rapidly. The collapse of the land use system resulted in the virtual cessation of land buying and by the time a new, viable, land use system emerged, the possibility of further extension of the freehold area had been removed by administrative decree. A century later, the land tenure pattern is a fossilized representation of a former land use and economy system but this pattern has remained an important constraint on all subsequent land development in the Colony.

LAND USE AND LAND ALIENATION IN FIJI TO 1885NOTES

- 1 The Commission is referred to in official papers as the Land Claims Commission, Land Titles Commission, or Lands Commission. This paper is based on research financed in part by the Central Research Fund, University of London.
- 2 Two days after the Deed of Cession was signed, a notice in the Gazette (No. 2, 12.10.1874) stated that 'no sale, transfer or assignment of Land' would be recognized until a decision had been made on the settlement of existing titles, and the alienation of further native land was prohibited under Ordinance VI of 1875.
- 3 The Commission received 1,683 applications, and on its recommendation 517 claims were granted as claimed and a further 390 were granted ex gratia in part or in whole, though disallowed as of right. This was generally done on the grounds of undisputed occupation by claimants or previous owners (C3584, p.29).
- 4 Continued and undisputed use of a block by Europeans was generally a reasonable indication of acceptance of title by the Fijians, though there were a number of exceptions to this.
- 5 For example, the claim for the island of Laucala, at the mouth of the Rewa River where the U.S. Consul, J.B. Williams and other Europeans lived for some years.
- 6 Unless otherwise stated, a reference to a report number without additional information indicates that the quotation is from the unpublished report and evidence in Central Archives, Suva.
- 7 In fact most alienated land in Lau was leased from Ma'afu, the Tongan who was Tui Lau at the time.
- 8 In his enthusiasm he seems to have exceeded the needs of his prime aim and the Commission reported that for 55 miles along the coast and for 20 miles up both banks of the Ba River 'every scrap of available land is claimed by a white man' (R.992, in C3815; 751).

FIJI GROUP

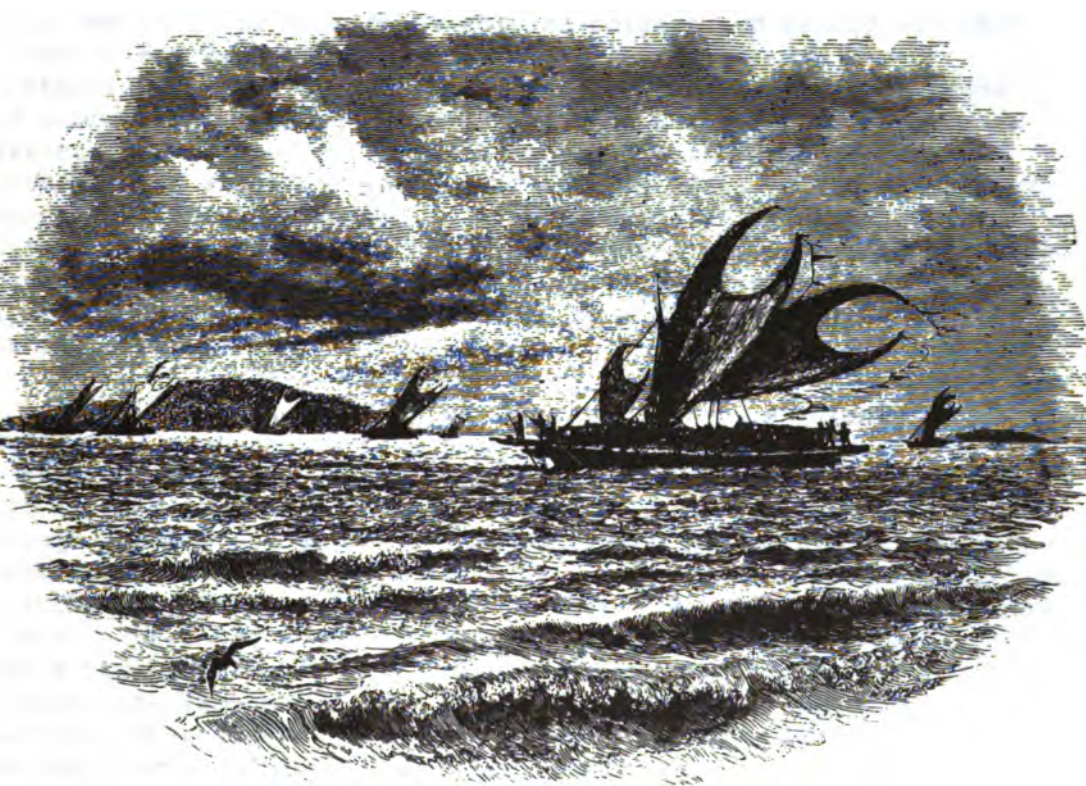


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IV CHRISTIAN MISSIONS



THE IMPACT OF CHARLES ABEL

Cecil Abel

In some ways this is a new look at one of our most original, courageous and far sighted pioneers. Very little of this material has been written before and this should serve to show that further study and research should be carried out, not only of Charles Abel, but of many others who made a significant contribution to the early development of Papua-New Guinea. Furthermore, there are many who, like myself, have access to intimate biographical material and first hand records which must be of great value to the biographer and the historian. Unfortunately, there are all too few of us alive and it is my hope to be able to collect and record all that I know of and can remember, not only of my father and his contemporaries, but of all that he told me and of the background and atmosphere of those early days. This means research and more research and we are fortunate in having a History Faculty in the University of Papua and New Guinea that is alive to the tremendous importance of this research. The wide variety and scope of the papers that are being read at this Seminar gives us some indication of the magnitude of this task. But while Seminars are of immense value the real work can only be done by a bank of research scholars working full time.

By way of illustrating the importance of this background material, I want to start with an incident in a setting with which we are all familiar. This happened in Port Moresby in 1910. We, that is my father and my mother and we four children, were passing through Moresby on our way back from Sydney in the old Burns Philp steamer, "Matunga".¹ It was after dark and, from where we were lying at anchor, my father took me ashore with him to visit an old friend of his. There was no street lights, there was no electricity, not even a pressure lamp. Only the dim light of an occasional Miller hurricane lamp shone from the wide verandahs of the few houses near the water front. We picked our way through gum trees passing the odd house here and there until we reached our destination. The man we went to see was a short, dark, nuggetty Welshman by the name of Thomas. He wore long white trousers and a white shirt, both very soiled. This, incidentally, was standard wear for Europeans at that time. Sir Hubert Murray and some of his officers wore the high-necked, white starched military coat popularly known as the ten-to-one. Shorts were unknown until about the early thirties. My father wore, as he always did, not only white trousers and shirt but a starched collar and a bow tie tucked under the collar.

We mounted the steps at the back of the house to the back verandah which was lighted by a single hurricane lamp. They were obviously glad to see each other, these two. I don't know what the purpose of their clandestine meeting was but two things give me a shrewd idea that the reason for their meeting was their common interest in cricket. Many years later, when I recalled this incident, my father told me that Thomas was the finest left-hand bowler in the country. That meeting was their last for, soon after this, he disappeared completely one night, and was never seen again. Thomas took a keen cricketing interest in me. While I drank a bottle of warm lemonade, which he opened for me by pressing in the marble stopper with his thumb, he carried on an animated conversation with my father and at the same time, whittled a cricket bat for me out of a flat piece of pine wood from the top of a kerosene case. That was my first cricket bat and I proudly took this back with me to the "Matunga". That was in 1910, and I was a boy of six or seven.

This incident is not only a revealing picture of the man we are studying, a warm hearted family man, a keen sportsman and everyman's friend, but it also shows how far we have come in the short space of one lifetime. And the things I am going to talk about are things I have both seen and heard and, in some cases, taken part in. To be able to look back 60 years in the life of a country that, in terms of written history, is not yet a hundred years old is a very great responsibility, a responsibility to recall and record all I possibly can for the benefit of our historians before it is too late. There are some who can possibly look back even further than I can, but unfortunately they are no longer in this country.

Charles Abel was not only a unique and original person but I will try and show that he was also far ahead of his time. He was not only a pioneer in a country where a hard working gold miner was also a pioneer, He was a trail-blazer, what in Suau we call 'eda-tau-sepa', the man who goes in front with a bush knife to clear the track for those who follow. He was a practical, hardheaded economist and at the same time an idealist with tremendous faith in people, ordinary people. He was a Christian statesman with an uncanny ability to look ahead and to foresee trends and developments and to plan accordingly. He was both a radical and a traditionalist. He laid the foundation for technical training and industrial development and insisted, at the same time, on the very highest standard of education, and above all, on the ability to speak English. As far back as 1906 overseas visitors to Kwato were struck by the fact that they could converse with Papuans who spoke to them in good English. It is interesting to note in this context the comments of the head of the recent United Nations Mission, Mr. J. McEwen, when the group visited

lne Bay recently. He said it was the one place where he could talk with ordinary village people because they could converse freely in English. Abel also foresaw the importance of the layman in founding a new Church. He went so far as to dispense entirely with professional clergy in the face of strong opposition from his colleagues in the L.M.S. I will go into all this at greater length presently but I mention these here because this advanced thinking also contrasted strongly with the very deep-rooted, traditional and conservative bias in him. The spiritual and moral guide lines he laid down were never compromised. He insisted on and maintained the highest standard of conduct for all who came under his influence and would not lower his sights because of their previous background. He and my mother were both devoutly religious people. He was a strong "church" man and would have deprecated any suggestion that belittled the importance and function of the Church. But the most striking characteristic was this strange combination of liberalism and traditionalist.

There was a reason for this dualism or contrast in his character. To explain this I want briefly to turn to his background to see what sort of influences moulded his thinking and set the pattern for the rest of his life. He came from a solid, middle-class non-conformist family. At the turn of the century, you must remember non-conformity, in certain circles, was not quite respectable. The clash of Church and Chapel still split village communities in England. The struggle for the right to dissent was more than just dim memory. The Abels were Congregationalists and jealous of their right to choose their own minister and run their Chapels without interference from any other body. I doubt if any religious body was as autonomous or as democratic as the Congregationalists were a hundred years ago. This outlook was also reflected in political allegiances. Abel and his whole family, especially his brother, were active Liberals. At the time of Campbell-Bannerman, Asquith and Lloyd George, being a Liberal corresponded to what we would now call a radical or even a socialist. And they took their politics seriously.

In 1909 my father was on long leave in England. He rented a small detached house for the family in Streatham. We were there when Lloyd George's famous Budget was thrown out of the House of Lords and this was followed by the General Election that brought the Liberals into power. As a boy of five or six I joined my father and his brother in campaigning for Warren, the Liberal candidate for that electorate. I remember walking round Wandsworth Common with a large placard of Warren's picture in front of me and being pelted and jeered at by the little snobs in Eton collars who were supporting Kimber, the Conservative candidate. Abel's political convictions were part of his life and for us, his children,

this meant the sort of breakfast table discussion that involved us all and impressed us all deeply.

There were two other aspects of this non-conformist or dissenting part in his character. Without being an extremist he was often a jump ahead of the liberal outlook of his time and was at odds with the conversatism or laissez-faire attitude in non-conformism. First, he and his brother were greatly influenced by the Missions that were being conducted in England, at that time, by Moody and Sankey. He was by nature as well as background a deeply religious man, and throughout the rest of his life the reality of that early experience with the American evangelists never left him. We cannot overlook the possible effect of these very deep convictions on his later ideas about the role and importance of the layman. In the second place, his experience as a young man amongst the Maoris of New Zealand laid the ground work of what was to develop later in Papua. He saw through the sham and hypocrisy of missionaries pretending to carry "the white man's burden" and, at the same time, reflecting the colonial and racial attitudes of their contemporaries. In fact he rebelled against anything that separated him from or put him above his fellow man, regardless of the colour of his skin. Evidence of this can be seen in his unwillingness to become ordained. He was determined to come out and work in Papua as an ordinary man, with the status of a layman although he had been trained as a minister, and it was only after extreme pressure from Dr. Reynolds, the principal of his Theological College, that he gave way and became ordained.

In his early years in Papua his close friendship and association with James Chalmers, another unorthodox pioneer, only served to develop these already well defined characteristics. Being not only a radical but an idealist and a realist, Abel was never satisfied. If a plan did not work he would scrap it and try something else. He changed rapidly and modified his methods to keep abreast of the times or in preparation for the future. Abel was always looking ahead, looking for answers today in the light of the problems and solutions of tomorrow. That is why he was never content with any achievement. In fact I think he combined those three essential qualities of any true revolutionary statesman - a sense of urgency, a demand for excellence and a healthy discontent with the way things are. He was always trying to find a better way, a truer answer. And this was because he had the courage and honesty to face the future. He often said to us "What we are doing now is only part of the answer, only the first steps. You will be shown in your day the steps you will have to take to open new doors for our people". In spite of this, the quality which stands out most is his ability to plan fifty years ahead of his time. In fact, the main purpose of this paper is an

tempt to show that the foundations he laid, the principles he stood for and the guide lines he gave not only for Mission work, but for the full development of a Papuan's greatest potential, are still valid today. One outstanding example of this was the great advances made in race relations at Kwato in the years following his death in 1930. Advances which were not matched elsewhere in the country for another twenty years or more.

The effect of what he was doing and of the whole Missionary enterprise on the Papuan's once vigorous and active way of life, was something that was coming home to Abel with increasing force. He was too honest to evade this and too much a statesman to compromise with it. He, the Missionary, as well as others, was guilty of destroying the hitherto stable framework of the Papuan's socio-religious and cultural way of life and he was putting nothing in its place. "What was the use", he wrote to friends in England, "of teaching men to be good, if this meant they were to be good for nothing."

By 1902 he saw the writing on the wall. He prophesied population decline, the breakdown of all respect for authority and the doom of a people whose old way of life was being obliterated and shattered by the impact of Western culture and the white man's ideas and ways. What troubled Abel was more than just the end of their old way of life, which he thought was inadequate anyway. It was the white man's failure to replace it with a better, more positive, purposeful, industrious, positive way of life that would enable the Papuan to take his place as a self-sufficient, responsible citizen. It was Australia's failure in relation to the Aboriginal that was not faced until it was too late. In Papua, he felt the Missionary was the most serious offender and must therefore be the first to make amends. He set out to train Papuans for a purpose, not only to be good Christians, but to learn to be true citizens in order to be able one day to run their own country and manage their own affairs.

In Abel's view the home was the most important influence in the lives of the young people he was training for the future. The home in which I grew up as a boy was home also for two, and possibly three generations of boys and girls. This influence they never would have found by returning to their villages with a smattering of the three Rs. It provided for them as it did for me not only the background to my own education but a far deeper cultural atmosphere and those moral and spiritual values which are denied to many Papuans and which we so often take for granted. Abel believed that these qualities were absolutely essential in the work that he was doing. Along with the home, a Christian emphasis on spiritual values and moral integrity was, he believed, fundamental,

not only as an end in itself but as a means to an end. Every boy and girl must be equipped, not only educationally, vocationally and politically but in character as well, to take his place as a responsible citizen, able to contribute to the progress and development of his country and to the welfare of his fellow countryman. Furthermore, he saw all this in the framework of an institutionalised activity and left it for those who followed to relate it to the village community.

One answer to this difficult problem of equipment for the future was to introduce industrial and vocational training. The Papuan boy and girl must take his place as a contributing artisan and craftsman. While Malays, Chinese and Indians were being imported to supply these skills in neighbouring colonies, Abel fought hard to prevent this happening here and to show that as a skilled craftsman, the trained young Papuan man or woman was second to none. In 1906, the first whaleboat, built entirely by Papuans, was launched at Kwato. In 1910 a steam saw mill entirely manned and run by Papuans was operating on Kwato Island. In 1916 a trained blacksmith, who had been taught at the Sydney Technical College, was teaching other Papuans an entirely new trade. Unfortunately, his intention to send other Papuan students to Sydney for special training was thwarted by the objections of Australian Trade Unions although Abel argued strongly against the Union attitude. In 1919 a complete printing works was set up, and Papuan lads, in the space of four months had learnt the intricate and difficult work of type-setting and printing from a printer who had come up from Australia to teach them this work. But skilled crafts alone were not enough. As a practical economist Abel was aware of the need for rural agriculture and primary industry. The first Kwato coconut plantations were laid down in 1910, and were beginning to bear during the First World War. A few months later Abel introduced rubber into Milne Bay and was one of the first to bring horses and cattle to this area.

All this was blazing new trails. There were many people who were convinced that the Papuan was simply not capable of being trained in the way that an Australian could be trained. The following incident will show how far ahead he was in his thinking and planning for the Papuan. In 1910, when the first rubber plantations were being started, strong representations were made to Sir Hubert Murray by local rubber interests to allow Malays to enter Papua to work as rubber tappers. No Papuan native, it was claimed, was capable of being taught the fine technique and sensitive touch required by a good tapper. Sir Hubert's reply was to suggest that these rubber planters should first visit the Kwato workshops. The inference was obvious. If Papuans could be taught how to build a whaleboat or good furniture they would find no difficulty in learning how to tap rubber. One significant

Aftermath of the planting of coconuts at Kwato was the effect it had on the Suau-Milne Bay people. The senior men who, with Abel, had started these coconut plantations were in constant demand to help the Milne Bay villagers in laying out and pegging new plantations. At a time when there was no Department of Agriculture, this was a service which Papuans were able to render to fellow Papuans in their own locality.

As I have already pointed out, another reason for all this activity was the deeper objective of character training, whether it be building a whaleboat or setting up a four-header planing machine or managing a coconut plantation or running a small village school with no grant, that all these could be the means for building character. This implied that Abel had a heightened sense of the individual worth and distinctive identity of every one of those around him and this applied to the weakest as well as to the strongest. People stood out and did amazing things because he believed in them and inspired them and trusted them. And for the leaders of the future his way of training them was to supply them with the ingredients, what you might call the tools to use in making their own biggest decisions at the time. He did this for me, his son. He did this for each one of his Papuan sons and daughters. This was the way he trained people for responsibility and leadership. And he constantly reminded us that the time would come when Papuans would have to step forward and assume the responsibility for running their own country. Again and again he emphasized that only the man who is dependable can fill the top positions of leadership in a nation. He prophesied, when secondary education was still years ahead, that we would one day see fully qualified doctors, engineers, nurses and educators and even foresaw that our Governor would one day be a black man.

As early as 1906 there was an attempt made to train Papuans in political responsibility. This is recorded by the Rev. Joseph King following a visit he made to Kwato at that time. Councillors were elected from among the leaders and elders on Kwato and Logea, the island opposite Kwato. These men drew up the by-laws and regulations that governed people living on these islands. They passed rules and amended them from time to time. This was not usurping the function of the government. We must not forget that there was no such thing as Local Government or Local Government councillors in those days nor for many years to come. This was practical training in rule making and learning how to run their own affairs, not at the dictation of one man, but as a result of the consensus of opinion and a decision of the majority of those present. In fact it was an attempt to explain and back up what the government itself was doing on a broader scale for the whole country and to relate this to a rapidly changing village community

whose leaders had been discredited and robbed of authority while no other local authority had been put in its place. The clan leaders, chiefs and patriarchs no longer possessed the authority they had before the white man came.

The significant thing is that what I am telling you about took place twenty years before Sir Hubert Murray appointed Village Councillors and over forty years before Local Government Councils were brought into being. At this time, on the occasion of Joseph King's visit to Kwato, he found Abel teaching the Native Regulations to his school children as part of their regular school curriculum and he did this by means of a sort of catechism which school children and adults alike learnt almost by heart. Sir George Le Hunte was so impressed by this that he intended to use it on a wider scale but was recalled to England before anything was done.

This reference to Sir George Le Hunte reminds me of a point I must not overlook. In the early days there had not developed the competition between Government and Mission in the fields of education and welfare and there was genuine appreciation and recognition of the part each was playing. Where Kwato was concerned this was undoubtedly due to the very close personal friendship that existed between Abel and Sir William McGregor and later his successor Sir George Le Hunte. This was not a one-sided thing. Abel was stimulated and challenged not only by the friendship of those two administrators but also by the constant stream of distinguished visitors to Kwato from 1892 to 1906. Lying right in the fairway of the China Straits Kwato was the only place to stay for travellers passing to and from the East. They welcomed the atmosphere and hospitality of an old English home which, incidentally, had the distinction of being the only house in Papua with an open fire-place and a marble mantel piece!

Most frequent of these visitors, as I have said, were the first two Lieutenant Governors - Sir William McGregor and Sir George Le Hunte. But the people who never missed an opportunity to call and spend a day or two at Kwato were the Commanders and Captains of Her Majesty's Men-of-War. This was understandable enough when you remember that this meant the chance to arrange a cricket match between their officers and men and the formidable Kwato XI. But there were many others, scientists like Dr. Lorría of Italy, Dr. A.C. Haddon and Professor Malinowski, Colonial Administrators and Peers of the Realm - they would stop over and spend days and sometimes weeks in the gracious and stimulating atmosphere of the home at Kwato. In these days when mails were few and far between and newspapers, when they did arrive, were often six months old, it can well be understood how important to Abel and his wife were the visits of distinguished travellers.

But there is no doubt that Abel gave as much as he received. He was respected and consulted by early administrators through whom he influenced Government policies on education and native advancement. In a broader sense also his influence was perhaps more far reaching than has been recognized hitherto. The Kwato experiment showed that the Papuan's capacity to respond to and take advantage of any educational opportunity was far beyond contemporary ideas. And ultimately, it was just this capacity, as foretold, that would determine a people's readiness for self-determination and eventual self-government.

Perhaps Abel's most controversial and most widely criticised policy and one that was resented in Missionary circles and by many of his Missionary colleagues was his plan to dispense with all trained Papuan and South Sea Island pastors. Even in Mission work we see his determination to bring to the problem of evangelism and the building of a truly indigenous Church a new and original approach. In the first place he did not think the time was ripe nor was the ordinary villager ready for a paid professional pastorate. Abel believed that to superimpose an advanced, alien structure like a denominational church organization with a full time professional ministry was premature and confusing. His aim was to plant an indigenous church which would grow from the individual church member and the layman, upward and outward. And if the organization took new forms which were different from conventional patterns overseas, that would be evidence of its genuineness and its vitality and of the fact that it was an indigenous growth and not a pale replica of a colonialist or foreign species superimposed on a subject people.

These ideas were not new even then. Dr. Thomas Cochrane, a contemporary of Charles Abel, had been experimenting in China with a similar kind of lay oriented Mission work which was called the indigenous Church Movement. This took place within the framework of the London Missionary Society. This emphasis on the individual and the layman has been emerging during the last forty or fifty years and we see it now most clearly in the Ecumenical Movement. Not only does this mean the breaking down of barriers between Christian and Christian, barriers which European missionaries have introduced everywhere, but it implies the raising of the ordinary Christian, the man in the pew, the non-professional laymen to the place of active participation that he filled in the first century of the Christian era.

It was basically, for this reason, that one of the first things that Abel saw would have to go was the professional preacher and the paid pastor. Another very profound reason for this was the authoritarian and superior attitude displayed by many South Sea

Island teachers and pastors who exerted an influence over village people far greater than that of the European missionary. In discussing this matter with Dr. Neil Gunson who is writing a history of the London Missionary Society in the South Pacific I discovered that he went even further and indicated that the South Sea Island pastors wielded an authority and an influence on the secular life of the people out of all proportion to their position in the Church. In this field the European missionary had little or no control over them. He also drew my attention to another strange paradox. Here was a movement that started out to evangelize the non-Christian world, a movement that sprang from the non-conformist, liberal awakening inspired by men like George Whitfield, George Fox and John Wesley. And yet, amongst the first generation of Christian pastors in the Pacific, this resulted in the rigid authoritarianism of a hierarchy that was the very antithesis of the liberal and democratic spirit that gave rise to this evangelism.

I am not concerned with the effect of this in Polynesia. What I do know is that the introduction of this authoritarianism to Papua was something that greatly disturbed my father. I am not for one moment detracting from the character or the work done by these South Sea Island men. They were selfless, sincere and dedicated Christians. They gave their lives to bring the gospel to Papua and many of them died from malaria and blackwater fever because of their lack of resistance to these tropical diseases. But they were also the products of a system which European missionaries had introduced and which made them the spiritual and temporal "princes" amongst the people to whom they came to minister. They were conscious of their superiority and they demanded deference and got it. The sad thing of course, is that they were imparting these same qualities to many of the new Papuan pastors who were being trained to take their place and who readily adopted not only the mannerisms and dress of the South Sea Island teachers but their air of superiority and class consciousness. You can understand why this disturbed Charles Abel and why he doubted whether this was the way to plant a genuine indigenous church in Papua. There were great risks in what he set out to do not least of which was the risk of being misunderstood and misrepresented.

Abel's aim, as it slowly emerged in the first ten years of this century, was to provide the tools so that the Papuan could build a structure that would be their own. To give them a blueprint or a scale model of something that must forever remain foreign, non-indigenous and "made-in-England" would be to remind them of their past inferiority and the white masters' superiority. But tools are universal and non-national. It is what you make with them that bears the character and identity of the builder.

By 1910, Abel was out in the open and beginning to see where he was going. He said quite flatly that the Missions were responsible for robbing the Papuans of the only active profession they had known, that of fighting, and it was the Missions' responsibility, therefore, to put something else in its place.

There was another important and compensating by-product of this industrial and vocational training in new skills and craftsmanship. To a subject people, whose old way of life had been condemned, it was natural and inevitable for them to assume an inferiority to their white masters. But the knowledge, to a trained Papuan, that he could build a whaleboat, erect a sawn timber residence, or field a cricket team as well as, or even better than most Europeans was a new source of self-respect and pride. It was not so much a matter of a black man winning the respect and approbation of a white man. Of far greater importance was it to restore to the Papuan an unshakable belief in himself and his ability to raise his head and look any man straight in the eye. Unless you have been brought up and lived in a subservient position you don't know what it means to have to fight for and win through to this kind of self-confidence and emancipation.

During the past few months I have sat and listened to old men reciting with some hesitation the achievements and prowess of their forebears. These were recollections that could have been a source of pride and self-respect but they spoke with a feeling of nostalgia and even apology. All this, they had been told, was savage and evil and represented 'darkness' and had to be swept away by the 'dim-dim'² and the Mission, who told them to turn their backs on their old way of life. Where this has happened longest there has resulted a sense of inferiority and self-depreciation as well as a dependence on the paternalism of the Europeans. Abel saw the beginning of this inferiority and was determined to convince the Papuan that he could excel at anything and to give back to him a sense of dignity and individual worth.

Another sphere in which this self-esteem was developed was in sport. Abel sought to replace their old amusements with competitive sports like cricket and football. Sport also provided an active outlet for their energies. It was just over forty years ago that Abel brought to Moresby a team of Papuan cricketers for a 'test' match with the European team here. At that time there was no Papuan team. Although Abel's team lost, they showed, through their sportsmanship, their tenacity and fighting spirit, their good humour and fair play, not only that they were masters of a game that was as English as Roast Beef and Yorkshire Pudding, but that, regardless of colour, they were equal and had nothing whatsoever to be ashamed of. I doubt whether there is a single member of that early European team in Moresby today -Abe Harris,

the Captain, 'Kicker' Hilda, Dick Paul who recently resigned from Steamships, Ted Washington, Tommy Grahamslaw, Dick Furler - these were the mainstays of the Moresby XI that met Kwato in 1929.

Abel's vision for a future Papuan Church was not only ecumenical. It was not only on the issue of lay participation but also in his refusal to stress any particular denominational affiliation that he tried to lay the broadest possible non-sectarian foundation for this infant indigenous Church. When the Kwato Association came into being (as a breakaway offshoot of the London Missionary Society) it was as an inter-denominational, or rather non-denominational work and even the word "Mission" was omitted from its title. All this was intentional and even planned so that whatever expressions or forms of worship were subsequently developed these would have indigenous characteristics. I grew up with this non-denominational background and, as a result, I have always been at a loss to know what to call myself and what to put down on the many forms one is called on to fill in when I am asked to state "what denomination". I have invariably put "just plain Christian", which of course is not answering the question.

Abel could not foresee the worldwide rejection of colonialism and white domination by Afro-Asian people, nor the danger that the white man's religion would also become suspect because it was introduced in a colonialist setting. But on a miniature scale he saw the problem inherent in his mission to bring the Good News to the people of Eastern Papua and he attempted to find an answer that future generations of Papuans would recognize and accept as one that was forged by their own people. It was the rightness of this solution that made him fight on and not fear of possible rejection in the future.

I do not mean to suggest that Abel was the only one grappling with this problem of assimilation and trying to look ahead. What I am saying, however, is that the present-day widespread fact of rejection, which is itself an indictment of Missionary methods, is a situation we may one day have to face here. It is possible that future historians will tell us that had this problem of assimilation been faced as honestly and forthrightly in other countries as Abel was attempting to deal with it here we would, today, be witnessing a vigorous young Asian or African Church making its distinctive contribution to the sum total of world Christian experience. Instead of this we see either total or partial rejection and this is especially true of those emerging peoples with a new and awakening national consciousness. In America this same rejection is taking place, inspired by and often in response to the emergence of Black Power and other smaller groups attempting to establish their identity.

It is not surprising that there is a growing desire on the part of the American negro for a positive appreciation of what is called Black Christianity. They want to see "a black expression of Christian worship". ("Newsweek" 4-3-68) We find this same urge in the breakaway Churches springing up in Africa. How long will it be before these reactions are voiced here? We dare not hide our denominational heads in the sand and say 'it can't happen here'. This is this sort of thing that Abel tried to foresee and forestall. With his liberal, farsighted outlook he sensed the folly and danger of superimposing a foreign denominational framework that denied effective participation to the layman. In its simplest terms he was striving to establish what the ecumenical movement is aiming for today. We can now see what a great leap ahead this was in time. Can we also appreciate the faith and determination of the man in his attempt to lay a foundation for us to build on? For only a man with Abel's foresight and initiative would have had the courage to do this.

It is a strange paradox that the man who challenges convention will be stoned by his own people. Owing to the strength of conservative and orthodox opposition to Abel's schemes a showdown seemed inevitable. The new methods which he was developing at Kwato were, it is true, acknowledged and praised by administrators, his supporters in England and even by members of the Commonwealth Federal Parliament. But they were bitterly criticised by most of his colleagues in the London Missionary Society here in Papua. The teaching of manual and industrial skills and the fostering of agriculture, it was claimed, was not Mission work and the Missionary should not concern himself with these commercial activities. Likewise the retention of school children in a home atmosphere instead of sending them back to their villages was condemned as a 'hot-house' system involving unnecessary expense. Since financial support for all activities came from outside sources, Abel insisted on the right to continue his experiments.

In 1918 a deputation of three men from the London Missionary Society's Board of Directors arrived from England to review their work in Papua. As a result of their visit, it was decided at the annual meeting of the Papuan District Committee that all these new activities at Kwato were to be discontinued. This came as an unexpected shock to Abel who saw his life's work and his hopes and vision for this country completely wiped out. There was only one course open to him. He was so convinced of the rightness of what he was doing that he tendered his resignation on the spot. He was prepared to go outside the London Missionary Society and begin all over again from scratch. His resignation precipitated a crisis which was only resolved when the Committee agreed to let him travel to England to put his case before the Southern Committee of the London Missionary Society. He arrived in England at the height of the

U Boat blockade in 1918. After long drawn out conferences he won the right to continue his work under a new and separate organization to be known as the Incorporated Kwato Extension Association. It was a new charter for Mission work as well as for the people of Papua.

Abel's readiness to sacrifice everything in order to stand by his convictions shows his determination and courage in the face of great opposition. By 1920 an era had commenced which gave to the Papuan layman the democratic right to participate and choose. Abel did not live to see the results of his hard struggle and of his statesmanship. Still strong and active he was killed by a car on a country lane in Surrey on his last visit to England in 1930. But there is no question that these early policies were amply justified by the spontaneous awakening of individual lay responsibility that took place in the twelve years following his death. The Kwato 'experiment' showed great promise of making a vital and original contribution to worldwide Missionary enterprise by giving to the black Christian layman the authority and position that would have enabled him to make a truly indigenous Papuan Church. That promise, I fear, will not be fulfilled for many years to come.

Abel's other great achievement, I think you will agree, no longer needs to be demonstrated or proved as it did fifty years ago. This was to show that Papuans, or New Guineans for that matter, could respond to any opportunity to learn and learn quickly. Without the background and general knowledge that most Australians enjoy they have more than justified and fulfilled Abel's pilot demonstrations and predictions in every sphere - educational, technical, cultural and, not least, in the political sphere.

I realise that I may have said a lot of things to cause raised eyebrows or things that might even be hotly resented. Many of the things I have been talking about are no longer true of conditions today. What is undeniably true, however, is that we cannot escape the historical consequences of what has been sown in previous years. How people react today is very much our business. This is an age of revolt. It may take the form of something in the nature of Black Power and the violent protest against centuries of racial oppression. Or it may be seen in the angry manifesto of what is called "the Underground Church". Drawn from every denomination they are indicting traditional Christianity for, amongst other things, its lack of commitment to the black man's struggle.³

These are just two instances of contemporary revolt against the status quo. The shock waves from these and other explosions

ill be felt right round the world. We must not delude ourselves into thinking that we are in an unreachable backwater. We will see the effect of what is taking place on the other side of the world far sooner than any of us imagine. But my purpose in bringing this up now is to show that Abel, in spite of his background and tradition, had a remarkable sense of history. He saw these same midcentury problems and issues in miniature, or rather in embryo, fifty years ago. He sought to give to the ordinary man, the Papuan, who was also a layman and a black man, the opportunity and the right to be the architect of his own destiny and to have the freedom to determine his own life and his future. It may be that Abel was too far ahead of his time because we, in some ways, have still not caught up with the trail he cleared for us. In fact, it is possible that the forces of tradition and reaction and status quo have been too strong and the fulfilment of his work has been delayed by those who could not see where Abel was going and what he was trying to say and do.

I have been talking about Charles Abel and I find I have said very little about my father. What was he like, what was he really like, this friend and companion of James Chalmers, this confidant of Sir William McGregor and Sir George Le Hunte, this warm hearted, fearless, fun-loving, dynamic pioneer whom so many Papuans in simple sincerity called 'tamagu' - my father? From the perspective of over forty years it is hard, even for me, to convey the many-sided reflection of his character and personality. He was, as we have seen, both a revolutionary and a traditionalist, he was intensely practical and was yet a visionary. He could build a house, sail a cutter to Cooktown, translate the New Testament into Hiau and make a century at cricket. He could look at a swamp and see a green cricket field. He could look at any angry savage threatening him with a spear and see a warm personal friend who could be taught how to make a whaleboat. As children we loved him and looked up to him - and were scared of him! We were brought up in the strict puritan atmosphere of a Victorian home. This undoubtedly left its mark of inferiority and repression but there was no rebellion and no ugly scars. And the reason for this I think was the compensating influence of our parents' warm hearted and affectionate caring for us all, his own children as well as his Papuan children. Many are the times he boxed my ears and many of us who remember this will recall that it was the clip of the heavy gold ring that he wore that made our ears sing.

My foremost recollections of him are centred round times of great fun. His tremendous capacity for enjoyment and appreciation made an ordinary occasion into a family celebration. These were not always hilarious. My appreciation of poetry goes back to those times when he would read to us from Wordsworth, Coleridge, Keats, Scott, Burns - in fact the only poetry I can quote now are those

passages that meant so much to him. Wordsworth's lines from *The Tale of Peter Bell*:

A primrose by a river's brim,
A yellow primrose was to him,
And it was nothing more.

Probably the reason why I remember this is because Peter Bell is so like me! Or Samuel Taylor Coleridge's rapid brush strokes painting a tropical sunset:

The sun's rim dips, the stars rush out,
At one stride comes the dark.

These are the things which sparkle when I think of my father, Charles Abel.

THE IMPACT OF CHARLES ABELNOTES

1 Only four years later the "Matunga" was sunk without a trace between Port Moresby and Samarai by the German raider "Wolf".

2 The Suau word meaning a white man and originally any stranger who came in from the sea.

3 Since this paper was read the large number of students attending the World Council of Churches' meeting at Oslo have raised an angry voice over their disillusionment with traditional Christianity.

THE HISTORY OF DELENA

Percy Chatterton

INTRODUCTORY

DELENA

Delena is the name of a small beach village on the southern side of Hall Sound in the Central District of Papua. The people of Delena speak the Roro language. Other Roro villages are at Poukama, less than a mile away on the other side of a small bluff; on Yule Island, two miles off-shore; and on and near the banks of the rivers which flow into Hall Sound. However the Delena people are of mixed Roro/Motu origin, and at the time of the first missionary contact the village consisted of two hamlets, one Motu-speaking and one Roro-speaking. Inter-marriage took place, the hamlets coalesced, and the whole population became Roro speaking.

The name Delena has also been applied by the London Missionary Society to the mission district of which the mission head-station adjoining Delena village is the headquarters. The district extends from Cape Possession in the north-west to Galley Reach in the south-east, and is occupied by people of several different language groups. Between Hall Sound and Cape Possession are the Maiva and Ivori people, speaking a language so similar to Roro that the two may be regarded as dialects of the same language. Inland from Delena live the Nara people, and further east is another inland group, the Gabadi. The Nara and Gabadi languages belong to the same group of languages as Roro/Maiva and Motu, but are distinct languages, not dialects.

The remaining villages in this mission district are Geabada and Hisiu, both outliers of Maiva, and Morabi (Manumanu), which is a Motu village. The work of the L.M.S. in the last-named was supervised from Delena until the 1950s, when it was transferred to the Port Moresby mission district, where the majority of the Motu villages are located.

APPENDIX

The early missionaries made their first contacts with the Delena district through the Motu people, and adopted the Motu names for people and places. Local usages are different. Maiva is known locally as Waima; Geabada as Navuapaka; and Hisiu as Vihiu. To the north, Nara is known as Pokau, Gabadi as Siraua, and Hisiu as Visiu. These differences make matters even more difficult, the Roman Catholic Mission and

the L.M.S. have adopted different orthographies for Roro, the former writing "b" and "ts" where the latter write "v" and "s". So the name of Hisiu may turn up either as Visiu or Bitsiu.

Amidst this confusion I have thought it best to stick to the Motu names in this paper and the accompanying map; but I have used the currently acceptable spellings. Gabadi and Geabada appear in the early records as Kabadi and Keabada. Nara appears variously as Naara and Naala, while Kivori is sometimes spelled Kivore and sometimes Kevori. Roro sometimes appears as Lolo, and the local name for Yule Island appears variously as Ravao and Lavao.

Morabi is the place name of the site on the west bank of Galley Reach to which, under mission influence, the Manumanu people moved, in 1883, from their earlier village site on the east bank. The village is now known indifferently as Morabi or Manumanu.

Delena cannot be an original Roro name as there is no "d" sound in Roro. None of my informants, Roro or Motu, can tell me where the name came from. However, the village is now universally known by this name.

FIRST CONTACTS

The first modern contact between this area and the outside world seems to have occurred in 1846, when Lieutenant Yule, R.N., in H.M.S. Bramble, visited Hall Sound after raising the British flag on Cape Possession.

In 1871, L.M.S. Missionary Samuel McFarlane sailed past Yule Island and was favourably impressed with its possibilities as a site for a mission station.

In 1873, Captain John Moresby made a brief call at Yule Island, and later contrasted the hostile reception he had met there with the more friendly one he met in the Motu villages a little further eastward.

The year 1875 was an eventful one in Roro-land. In January McFarlane landed on Yule Island and received a welcome so boisterous as to appear hostile. However, it turned out to be friendly, and McFarlane left with the intention of settling pastors from the South Seas there at an early date.

In March that colourful character Luigi Maria D'Albertis arrived, and made Yule Island his headquarters for some eight

months while he explored the neighbouring mainland, and ogled the local maidens.

In November two L.M.S. pastors, Waunaea from the Loyalty Islands and Anederea from Rarotonga, arrived to begin mission work on the Island. D'Albertis left at about the same time, perhaps unfortunately in view of the widely differing temperaments of the two parties.

Pastors Waunaea and Anederea were well received, but their stay was destined to be brief. In mid-1876, two Europeans named James and Thøngren were murdered while their ketch was at anchor in Hall Sound. The murderers were from one of the Roro villages on the mainland, not from the Island; but mission authorities became alarmed for the safety of their pioneer pastors and evacuated them in September of that year, after a stay of only ten months. Brief as their stay was, they managed to contribute a word to the Roro language, a variety of sweet potato which Pastor Waunaea brought with him from his homeland being still known as "waunaea".

It had been intended that the withdrawal from Yule Island would be only temporary. However, nothing was done about re-establishing L.M.S. work in this area till 1881. In the meantime the Roman Catholic Mission of the Sacred Heart had become interested in Yule Island as a possible headquarters for its mission, and James Chalmers, for the L.M.S., turned his attention to the mainland.

Early in 1881 Chalmers arrived in Hall Sound and visited Delena, here, with the co-operation of the villagers, he built a house. He then visited the Maiva villages, where he made arrangements for further houses to be built. In August he made a second visit to Delena, accompanied by Rev. W.G. Lawes and Mrs. Lawes. They spent a fortnight in the area, making Delena their headquarters and visiting the Maiva, Roro and Nara villages.

SETTLEMENT OF FIRST PASTORS

In a letter preserved in the L.M.S. archives, James Chalmers describes the first settlement of pastors at Delena and Maiva in 1882. The mission ship "John Williams" arrived at Port Moresby on April 14 of that year with eight Polynesian pastors and their wives on board.¹ Later in that month Chalmers sailed east and settled three of the couples at Hula, Kerepunu and Aroma respectively. On his return to Port Moresby he prepared to proceed to the west, and on the evening of May 4, with Mr. and Mrs. Lawes and the remaining five couples (all Rarotongans), set sail in a flotilla consisting of the ketch "Mayri" and two whaleboats. On the following evening they landed at Delena, where they received a warm welcome from the

villagers. After a stay of two or three days, Pastor Heneri and his wife were left at Delena, and the rest of the party proceeded to Maiva, where they stayed for ten days. The houses for the erection of which Chalmers had arranged the previous year had been completed, and, at the conclusion of their stay, the remaining four Rarotongan couples were left here, two to stay permanently and the other two to be transferred later to Motumotu, in the Kerema district.

On the return voyage a few more days were spent at Delena, after which the missionaries left for Port Moresby, arriving there on May 29. Two days later the Rarotongans left at Maira arrived by whaleboat. The youngest and strongest of the men was dead, and most of the others, both men and women, were ill with malaria. The pattern which had occurred at Manumanu ten years earlier had been repeated, as it was to be repeated again and again in the years to come.

The following year, in February 1883, Lawes reported that he had visited Delena and that all was going well there. "The village is small", he wrote, "but it is visited by all Maiva and the Roro tribe, beside being the door to several inland places. Travelling parties are always coming and going."

A couple of years later Chalmers gave a description of the Delena mission station which is as applicable today as it was when it was written. "The mission premises", he wrote, "are on a flat 75 feet above sea-level, and surrounded by extensive banana plantations; on the side of the hill there is tall bush, and on the coast dense mangrove scrub, over which the mission house looks the village nestles at the foot of the hill on the shore of Hall Sound..... Across the Sound is Yule Island, and away beyond that the Gulf of Papua". Chalmers adds that it is the most beautifully situated of all the L.M.S. stations in Papua, a verdict I heartily endorse.

In 1884, Lawes visited Maiva and baptised the pastors' first converts. He then walked on to Kivori and noted that the erection of a mission house had been completed. Then he proceeded by way of Delena to Nara, where a pastor had been settled the previous year. After returning to Port Moresby he set out again for Gabadi where he settled two pastors and promised that two more would be sent.

Little is known of Pastor Heneri's ministry at Delena. But we know that he remained there till 1893, and that his name is remembered with affection in Delena today. In 1947, when a new church was opened at Delena, the Church in Rarotonga contributed a wooden plaque carved in the shape of a Rarotongan war-shield, which Heneri's service to Delena is commemorated.

THE FIRST EUROPEAN MISSIONARY

The first European missionary to live at Delena was Rev. H.M. Dauncey, who had come out from England in 1888 and had worked hitherto at Port Moresby. He arrived at Delena in March 1894, a few weeks after Pastor Heneri's replacement.

Towards the end of the year, Mr. and Mrs. Dauncey visited the Maiva area, and found the work there at a low ebb. Only one of the four Polynesian pastors remained, and he appeared to have little influence over the people. At Kivori, on the other hand, two Papuan pastors were doing a good job. "The people come about their houses, and they seem to be on friendly terms with all", wrote Dauncey. "Some of the best services I have attended were those we had here. The results of good work were shown in both the services and the schools."²

Dauncey was already familiar with the Gabadi villages, as they had previously been under the oversight of the missionaries stationed at Port Moresby. He now finds "a decided change for the better since I last visited these villages". But in the Nara villages and at Geabada things were, as at Maiva, at a low ebb, and again this was due to lack of continuity caused by frequent sickness and death among the Polynesian pastors.

By the end of 1895 Dauncey was able to report that at Delena itself three or four acres of the mission's land had been cleared, a mission house, pastor's house, five cottages for students, a house for boarding pupils, a store and boathouse had been built, and gardens planted to help feed the community of thirty living on the station. In fact, Delena mission station had assumed pretty much the shape in which I was to know it fifty years later.

THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

At the turn of the century the situation throughout the district had become stabilised, and a *modus vivendi* established vis-a-vis the Roman Catholic Mission. The villages under Dauncey's supervision extended from Morabi (the former Manumanu on its new site on the eastern side of Galley Reach) in the east to Kivori, under the shadow of Cape Possession, in the west. At Morabi and in Gabadi the L.M.S. was the only mission at work. In Nara it continued to work in three villages, but had withdrawn from two owing to staff shortages, and these two villages had transferred their allegiance to the Roman Catholic mission which was able to provide them with catechists. In view of the establishment of the Roman Catholic mission headquarters on Yule Island, no further move was made to settle pastors there, and all the Roro villages except Delena and

Poukama were left to the Roman Catholics, as were the Mekeo village

In Maiva and Kivori there was an over-lap, with the two missions working in competition for the adherence of the people.

Dauncey's report for the first year of the new century indicated that things were going well in Morabi and in Gabadi, and were picking up again in Nara. But Maiva was still proving a tough nut to crack for both missions, as indeed it has continued to do ever since.

There were several reasons for this. One was the naturally tough and highly conservative temperament of the people. Then the state of tension between the two missions enabled those not sincerely committed to either to play off one against the other and both against the Government to their personal advantage. In addition, rivalry between the two missions could be exploited as a means of perpetuating ancient feuds which the establishment of the Pax Britannica had made more difficult to maintain. As a result, hamlets became Catholic or Protestant as the case might be, for reasons which had nothing at all to do with the rights or wrongs of the Reformation.

In the case of the L.M.S. the situation was made even more difficult by staff shortages and discontinuity of work caused by the continued high rate of death and sickness among the Polynesian pastors. There were times when Dauncey seems to have spent most of his time nursing sick pastors back to health and worrying about what was happening in the villages from which they were absent. The Roman Catholic mission, with its large European staff, was less vulnerable to this sort of hazard.

Finally, the novelty of the new religion was wearing off. Back in 1882 the clear-eyed James Chalmers had written: "I do not wish it to be thought that their anxiety for teachers arises from their desire to be taught; it rather arises from their desire for tobacco, tomahawks, knives and beads, and the importance a foreigner living in their midst gives them in the eyes of their neighbours." In 1900 missionaries were no longer the only media through which these status symbols could be obtained.

1901 - 1930

A sombre note was struck in 1901 for the Delena missionary. In mid-year the news broke of the murder of James Chalmers and Oliver Tomkins by Goaribari people at Dopima in the Papuan Delta. A few months later, the Resident Magistrate of the Yule Island District was murdered in the Delena mission house. These events have left Dauncey pretty shaken.

The erection of a new mission house in 1902 was the result of earlier forward planning, and not due, as far as I know, to ghostly ministerial hauntings of the old one. The very commodious house built in that year is still, though only just, standing in 1968.

In 1903, the people of Delena replaced their native materials church with an iron and weatherboard one. At that period there was a boom in sandalwood, and the villagers raised part of the cost of their new church by cutting and selling this commodity. The rest of the church's cost was met by some of Dauncey's friends in England and Australia, a circumstance which led to its design incorporating a rather incongruous stained-glass window bearing the inscription "to the glory of God and the memory of Morton and Lydia Sparke of Urquay, England". The Church was opened and dedicated on New Year's day 1904,³ and the event seems to have touched off a wave of church building throughout the district. While most if not all of these structures were of bush material they were at least built by the spontaneous efforts of the villagers, and not paid for by the mission as previous churches had been.

During the remaining years of this decade, Dauncey constantly had to record the poor response of the people in terms of their coming members of the church. He attributed this in part to their unshakable belief in sorcery and in part to their addiction to additional all-night dancing, which in this district often goes on night after night for months. But he found some comfort in noting that, while few became church members, many seemed to be influenced for good in their manner of living by the teaching of the Church.

In the second decade of the century set-backs and disappointment continued, but a step forward was made in persuading the people of the village churches to contribute towards the cost of the work of their church and pastor. While the amounts raised were at first small, the idea of self-support was accepted in principle and, as time went on, increasingly realised in practice.

Dauncey's long reign as district missionary came to an end when, after a serious illness, he retired in 1928. He was succeeded, after a 2 year interregnum, by Rev. R.L. Turner.

1931 - 1960

R.L. Turner came to Delena after many years as Principal of Wesley College, the mission's training college for Papuan pastors and teachers. Both his grandfather and his father had been L.M.S. missionaries in Samoa, and he himself had been born there.

Turner applied himself to the problem of the mission's lack of success in attracting and holding the people of the district as church members, and came to the conclusion that there were three contributing causes:

1. Too great dependence for too long on the services of Polynesian pastors.
2. Too great dependence on the use of Motu as a church language.
3. The church's rule that its members must not participate in traditional dancing.

The first of these causes he tackled forthrightly and successfully. In 1931 he took over a badly depleted staff of 7 Polynesian and 4 Papuan pastor-teachers. On his retirement in 1939, he left a staff of 17, of which only two were Polynesians.

In the matter of the language of the church, he encouraged the use of the local vernaculars in church services, and himself began a study of Roro, leaving behind for his successor a set of notes on Roro grammar and the first draft of a Roro translation of St. Luke's Gospel.

In the matter of dancing, he was perhaps less successful. Experience soon showed that it didn't really matter whether there was a church rule about it or not. If there was a rule, church members breaking it were expelled from church membership. If there was no rule, those who participated in dancing became so caught up in it that they had no time or energy left for anything else, and lapsed from any active participation in the work and worship of the church.

However, the effect of Turner's eight years of work in the district was an undoubted revival of interest in the church, and an increase not merely in nominal but in meaningful church membership.

On Turner's retirement in 1939, I took up duty as district missionary and remained at Delena for 18 years. The chief features of this period may be summarised as follows:-

1. The phasing out of the remaining Polynesian pastors.
2. The further development of the use of Roro in the church, culminating in the publication by the British and Foreign Bible Society of a Roro translation of the Four Gospels.

3. The increased involvement of rank-and-file church members in the affairs of the church through congregational meetings at village level, and at district level through the establishment of a district church council on which lay members as well as pastors represented the village congregations.

During the 1950s, this Church Council took over ever increasing responsibilities for the conduct of the church's affairs, and the function of the European missionary became increasingly consultative, advisory, and sometimes by request conciliatory.

These decades were also marked by the increasing tempo of education, which the traditional pastor-teacher system of the mission found it increasingly difficult to cope with. For some years during the late 1940s and early 1950s Delena was the scene of some tentative experiments in teacher training which led up to the establishment of the Ruatoka Teachers College, now located at Wikila.

EXIT THE MISSIONARY

I ceased to be resident at Delena in 1957, but retained some responsibilities towards it for the next two years during which Sister C.G. Fairhall was in resident charge there.

In 1960 Rev. J.A. McChesney Clark became district missionary and held that office till the end of 1967. At this stage the mission had to re-think its educational policy. The system of village pastor-teachers was recognised to be no longer adequate, and the training and appointment of school teachers as such was put on hand. Simultaneously, the established L.M.S. policy of withdrawal from the field of primary education where the Administration was able and willing to take over was to be pursued. McChesney Clark had the task of implementing these policies in the Delena district.

The beginning of McChesney Clark's term of service at Delena was marked by the emergence, in 1961, of the Christian community which had grown up in Papua under the guidance of the L.M.S. as an independent and self-governing church under the name Papua Ekalesia. Its end saw the union of that church with sister churches of the Methodist order as the United Church in Papua, New Guinea and the Solomon Islands.

The act of union under which the churches of the Papua Ekalesia in the Delena district became an integral part of the United Church took place in January 1968. In the same month Delena took a further step forward. For 74 years it had had the benefit of the leadership

of a succession of four European missionaries, a degree of continuity not often enjoyed by a mission station. Now a young Papuan pastor, Rev. Baru Tau, was appointed as district minister in succession to McChesney Clark.

After having dragged its feet a bit at times, the indigenisation of Delena was now complete.

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GOILALA 147°E

the Possession

KIVORI

MAIVA

MEKEO

RORO

KUNI

Yule Island

Hall Sound

Poukama

Delena

Geabada

NARA

Cape Suckling

Hisiu

Morabi

Galley Reach

Redscar Head

0 20
MILES

Port Moresby

147°E

THE HISTORY OF DELENANOTES

1 The first South Sea pastors to come to New Guinea in 1872 were in part from the Loyalty Islands and in part from Rarotonga. Later groups to arrive included men from Niue and Tahiti, and later still from Samoa. In the meantime the Loyalty Islanders had dropped out of the picture. It seems appropriate, therefore, from this point to speak of "Polynesian pastors".

2 One of these highly praised Papuans was Pastor Rarua, of Pari, near Port Moresby. He was the first graduate of the training institution established by Dr. Lawes at Hanuabada. One of his grandsons, Puka, is currently pastor at his home village of Pari, while another is the well-known trade unionist Oala Oala Rarua, M.H.A.

3 It continued to serve as a place of worship for the Delena people till 1947, when it was replaced by a new and larger one.

LOCALISATION AND THE METHODIST MISSION IN NEW GUINEA:

SOME ISSUES IN PRE-HISTORIOGRAPHY

Ian Grosart

I

It is a striking fact that no one can move around in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea for long without being impressed by the near-universal significance of the Missions and Churches, yet almost everyone who has written about the Territory has succeeded in doing so without much more than a passing recognition of their existence.

This is of course not the indictment that it might appear to be to the complete outsider. In the realm of New Guinea historical studies it scarcely makes sense to refer to gaps or lacunae. Rafts of understanding is more appropriate descriptive jargon, although personally I am happier with the raft-component of this term than the other. Such being the general situation with which we are all familiar, we might ask can a case be made for concerning ourselves and our other scarce resources with the churches in New Guinea rather than the many other unexplored areas? Churches are obviously not a matter of major concern for contemporary western historians, but some historians have such an interest and there are journals devoted to this field of interest and specialisation. Not surprisingly the articles in these journals are often by mediaevalists, for it is unthinkable that a historian concerned with mediaeval Europe would write as though the church did not exist.

Clearly, those historians with an interest in New Guinea must be allowed to follow their own informed or instinctive order of priorities in selecting fields and topics for study, to a certain degree. One limiting factor may be whose money they are using. Nevertheless this ultimate right is no argument against at least raising the question of priorities and resources. Elsewhere, I have implied that there is virtually no aspect of the past in New Guinea which it is not worth writing up.¹ I do not wish to retreat from that position and the issue I am now concerned with is what should one do first, if one has a choice. Here my feeling is that many of us could make more use of what is now known rather pretentiously as costs-benefits analysis.

This raises a crucial question, benefit for whom? It does not seem unreasonable to me to expect historians, in addition to exercising their own professional judgment or even as part of this,

to give some consideration to the claims and expectations of the inhabitants of Papua and New Guinea, and of their fellow social scientists.

As far as the people of Papua and New Guinea are concerned, I have maintained elsewhere that they have a need to know Who they are, Where they have come from, and What they can reasonably expect to become, and that this need is so great that they will get answers from somewhere.² Thus in default of assistance from historians, they may turn to even more terrible simplifiers. This does not mean that historians must be primarily do-gooders and frame their research strategies on this single premise, merely that they should find a place for this issue in their costs-benefits analysis. To put it no higher, it may help them in achieving rapport and assistance - that is, lower their costs - if they can indicate intelligibly and honestly why they want to poke about in unusual areas which no one has been bothered with before.

The need for a more ecumenical approach at the level of general problems and orientations in the social sciences is so well appreciated today that I do not wish to over-labour the point, that in assessing his resources - the things already going for him - the historian should consider developments in the field of New Guinea studies as a whole and perhaps of more consequence given the state of those studies, in the social sciences as a whole. To be more specific, New State-ology may be a happy hunting ground for enthusiastic monists and charlatans, but it has provided a focus for some stimulating interchanges between the social disciplines which may have considerable local relevance or at least suggestive power. Although committees have not always been regarded by academics as a means of getting things done, at least of all inter-disciplinary ones, there may be a case for such a committee to consider and make recommendations concerning possible priorities for historical research in New Guinea.

II

In this second section, I want to raise the question of localisation theory and modernisation theory and a possible relationship between them and the history of churches and missions in New Guinea. By churches, I mean the actual community of believers, where a distinction is drawn between church and mission.

There are many apparent similarities between current trends in New Guinea and those characterising the recent past in Africa. As in Africa, localisation - in the sense of the replacement of overseas by local personnel - has progressed farther in the

religious sector than in those of the polity, administration, or economy. President, Bishop, Chairman, and Monsignor are important positions in the various church hierarchies of New Guinea which are now occupied by New Guineans and have been for a number of years. In the realm of music, symbols and other such phenomena, although Black Christs are rare, we can find a growing interest in departures from an initial situation in which Christianity was closely associated with a western style of living and outlook. Obviously these developments are significant in themselves, but they are also significant in that similar changes are occurring and are apparently expected to continue to occur in the polity, administration and economy by an incremental process.

It is not known how incremental the process of localisation has been in the New Guinea churches and Schaffer has pointed out that on this issue of incremental change there is an inherent ambiguity in most versions of the Westminster model of political localisation and that the same problem was inherent in British thinking and practices concerning administrative localisation.³ Recent empirical work in West Africa suggests the existence of a long struggle by some local Christians against the europeanising zeal of many overseas missionaries, which in some cases resulted in the formation of secessionist churches.⁴ The exact nature of the New Guinea experience to date is therefore of some moment in the context of localisation theory and of some relevance to existing local policies.

It is inherent in most public statements of Australian policy and in the expectations of many New Guineans, that modernisation as well as localisation will occur in New Guinea and it is usually assumed that current policies, including localisation policy, are contributing to that end. While Marion Levy and other scholars have suggested that such an assumption requires careful examination with regard to the specifics of time and place,⁵ similar assumptions have recently been subjected to vitriolic attack by Africans. Localisation of the religious sector has not been immune. The substitution for overseas personnel of locals, who are in any case products of overseas-staffed seminaries, in structures which were brought from overseas and denied autochthonous modification is alleged to amount to no more than the substitution of neo-colonialism for colonialism. Similarly, it is asserted that symbolic africanisation has been symbolic only in the pejorative sense.

Rather more specifically it has been asserted that, even after political and ecclesiastical independence has been declared, the local church could more accurately be described as a branch of the Kingdom of God Industry, run in the last resort by expatriates for the benefit of expatriates; while local Christians are no more than "spiritual morons and ecclesiastical marionettes". In support of

Such arguments, illustrations have been drawn from church organisation, cultus, traditions, idiom, theology, architecture, furniture, instruments, music and vestments.⁶ The implication of these attacks is that Christianity, at least as taught by overseas missionaries, is an essentially European cult which is at best irrelevant to local needs and at worst subversive of them in its overtones of local inferiority. In either case it can be regarded as an impediment to modernisation.

In rebuttal, there have been the more familiar assertions that excessive europeanisation was inherent in the initial situation, but need only be a temporary phenomenon; and that notwithstanding, the church provided locals with a "training ground for apprenticeship in the management of their own affairs".⁷

It is worth noting the political overtones in this debate and its essentially polemical nature. Clearly the issues raised have more than ecclesiastical significance, while the polemics are due in part to the fact that so little is known of the church. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say with Webster, that "one may search and fail to find the smallest account of the life of the church that the missionary society fathered".⁸

A greater knowledge of the experiences of such churches may throw light on such aspects of localisation theory as the acceptance and exercise of authority of an alien kind. It may also have considerable relevance for modernization theory.

While clearly of interest to Papuans and New Guineans, an enhanced understanding of the processes of modernization is the current aim of many social scientists. Respectable historians have been engaged for several decades in comparative studies in the history of nineteenth and twentieth century China and Japan which have had this primary orientation. Some of this work together with that of economists, at least from W.A. Lewis through W. Rostow, has come increasingly to emphasise the significance of values and belief systems⁹ and to distinguish between incremental and discontinuous or transformational change. Thus Rostow argued that the modern stage of economic development in his model could only in part be attained by incremental increases in the amount of investment and that significant attitudinal changes were essential, if breakthrough to this stage was to be achieved and maintained.¹⁰ Similarly, recent work on the Theory of Revolutions and the Study of Total Societies has led the sociologist E. Tiryakian to the conclusion that societal change is an "essentially religious transformation".¹¹

III

The argument so far has been that there may be reasons external to the historian for studying church and mission history in New Guinea which range from those which are practical in the policy sense (i.e. such research may prove relevant to current policy problems) to those which are practical in the more professionally utilitarian sense, that comparable studies are beginning elsewhere. If these are sufficient to make such a project desirable, there remains the question of whether it is practical in the sense that it can be accomplished.

The obvious starting point is in the mission records. Here one will sooner or later have to "look at old evidence in a new way",¹² but this is not an unusual task for the historian. Taking the records of the M.O.M., with which I am most familiar, one can expect by the usual grubbing to establish a chronology with the names of at least the more important church and mission officers; some indication of the organisation at various levels and perhaps the size of the units of organisation; property holdings, receipts and expenditures at district, circuit and possibly section levels; and postings. For the Methodists postings were fairly frequent and handling them poses a problem, for one must decide whether or not it is important to know the postings of every teacher and such other biographical data as may have been fortuitously recorded. This raises the question in fact of whether one should attempt complete coverage or use some sampling technique. A point against sampling is that it may be important to know something about gross "wastage"; how many dropped out, for what stated reasons, at what stage in their careers, and during which epochs or stages in the development of the church. So far fairly simple operations have been involved, confined largely to what one may regard as the annual returns, and those with the funds could well employ research assistants for these tasks.

Looking at old evidence in a new way, however, requires a more personal touch and for the M.O.M. records this should be applied to the Synod Minutes, Journal Resolutions, Laws and Authorised Regulations, together with the Missionary Correspondence. Unfortunately the latter is far from being a complete series and so provides only occasional clues to the often cryptic data in the Minutes and Resolutions. This may be peculiar to the M.O.M., New Guinea or recent decades, since Webster reports for his study of Western Nigeria from 1888-1922 that missionary correspondence provided the "most productive source" in the C.M.S. and W.M.S. archives.¹³ With or without such assistance, it is at this stage that one needs to be alert for signs of the existence of the church as distinct from the mission. One may attempt to tabulate similar resolutions and regulations in search of enduring patterns and

erennial problems; remembering that if they posed problems for the mission, the mission undoubtedly posed problems for them. For example, the size of a particular station, together with the number and type of its buildings may indicate the existence of heavy maintenance costs. In which case it will be important to know how these are met and whether these procedures are varied in the event of new developments in the wider environment. At this stage, of course, one cannot expect to be able to do more than isolate leads for further exploration, which in some cases amount to no more than hunches. And there will be the inevitable frustrations, such as discovering anew the sins of obituary writers.

So much for the old evidence, which if it is not old in the sense of having been well worked over is evidence of a type with which most historians feel reasonably at home. The next step is into the field, which means increasing costs in terms of both time and money. Firstly, there are now a dozen or so Methodist circuits each with its own local records which have survived the ravages of time and climate in varying degrees and which may not be completely translated into English. Secondly, local Methodist publications are in the vernacular. Thirdly, at the lower levels of organisation there is far less certainty of finding systematic records and little likelihood of their being in English. Even less certain is the existence of any private collections of papers, but the possible existence of these (particularly of diaries and sermon notes) should not be ruled out.

At this level, however, only language and conceptual barriers separate the investigator from the living congregation; although direct observation and interviewing require special skills which historians do not necessarily possess. Given these skills and a mastery of the written record, he should be able firstly to discuss or at least receive opinions concerning personalities: who are well thought of and why. Secondly, while questions such as What is wrong with the church, are likely to be fruitless, a more specific question concerning dancing may lead the respondent into spontaneous generalisations along these lines. Thirdly, questions arising from direct observation may enable an assessment to be made of the relevance of current African criticisms concerning vestments, music, instruments, furniture, architecture and cultus.

Conceptual barriers may make it almost impossible to discuss church traditions, theology and idiom with the majority of respondents in New Guinea, as in Australia. Nevertheless, if one is interested in belief in relation to modernization, something must be done. One possibility is content analysis of sermons¹⁴ and missionary publications, using some such indicator of the

achievement virus as McLelland's n-Ach¹⁵ Other more synchronic measures such as Lerner's tests for empathy might also be applied.¹

While these approaches will almost certainly require the use of new techniques, this is not a new departure in the history of the discipline¹⁷ and it is always open to each historian to decide whether to master these techniques or to call in expert assistance, as a mediaeval historian may call in a paleographer.

In conclusion, it is of course ridiculous to ask can it be done of such a problem, seeking a simple yes or no answer. It seems clear however, that complete coverage is likely to involve the average historian in levels of expenditure to which he may be unaccustomed and this may enhance the appeal of some type of sampling procedure. One difficulty is that ideally the sample should be representative of the whole, which presumes a knowledge of the whole population. In any event, there would seem to be a need for some form of costs-benefits analysis at various stages after such a project has been initiated. On the one hand it will be necessary to assess the available techniques and hopefully one's own newly devised ones in order to ensure getting the biggest bang for a buck, while not forgetting on the other hand that more ancient cliché about losing the ship for a ha'p'orth of tar.

LOCALISATION AND THE METHODIST MISSION IN NEW GUINEA

SOME ISSUES IN PRE-HISTORIOGRAPHY

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THE METHODIST MISSION AND MODERNIZATION

IN THE SOLOMON ISLANDS

Sione Latukefu

Throughout the history of Christian missionary work in the Pacific, missions and missionaries of various denominations have been under severe criticism from many quarters for their apparent failure to prepare their converts for the modern world. It is the purpose of this paper to enquire closely and critically into the activities of the Methodist mission in the Solomons, in order to assess their impact directly or indirectly, on the modernization of the Solomon Islanders.

Unlike many other Methodist mission fields in the Pacific which were established on the initiative of the Missionary Committee in London, or later the Mission Board in Sydney, the initiative in this case came from the Islanders themselves. Numbers of them, mainly from Guadalcanal and Malaita, who had either been kidnapped or indentured, found themselves as labourers in the canefields in Fiji. There, some found their way into Methodist schools and joined churches and became convinced, according to one of the missionaries, that 'What the gospel of Jesus Christ had done for Fiji, it could do for the Solomon Group.¹' From 1885 on they made a number of approaches to the Methodist Mission in Fiji and to the Board in Sydney, with a large deputation, for instance, calling on Dr. Brown during his visit to Fiji in 1897 and pleading with him to send a minister and a teacher to accompany them back to the Solomons.

At first the Board was reluctant to take on work in the Solomons, largely on account of an agreement with the Melanesian Mission which was already working there, but after Dr. Brown paid a visit to the area in 1899 and saw for himself that the western islands were untouched by mission work, the General Conference in 1901 adopted a resolution, strongly recommended by the Mission board, that a mission be started in the Solomons as soon as possible in such parts where it was desirable and practicable. Brown made a further trip to the Solomons to gather more information and on his return to Sydney he reported that the prospects for the mission were encouraging and that a start should be made in April 1902. He suggested that the mission should send two missionaries, one a qualified doctor. Also that native workers from older mission fields such as Tonga, Fiji and Samoa should be enlisted, and that the mission headquarters should be established at Roviana on the south-west of the main island of New Georgia.²

The choice of this location was, according to one of the first two missionaries sent there, on account of the Roviana people being a powerful tribe who were greatly feared by natives in the adjacent islands and if they could be influenced then little difficulty should be experienced with the others. Later experience, according to the writer, justified its selection.

Dr. Brown arrived at Roviana with his team of pioneer missionaries on Friday May 23, 1902. He was accompanied by the Rev. J.F. Goldie, the Rev. S.R. Rooney, Mr. J.R. Martin, a carpenter, four Fijians, two Samoans, a New Hebridean, educated in a Methodist Mission school in Samoa and a Solomon islander, converted in Fiji.³

The Rev. J.F. Goldie, who became chairman of the newly established mission wrote of its aim to develop men physically, mentally, morally and spiritually. His forthright views on the subject are as follows:

I am convinced that mission work amongst savage people, if it is to succeed, must be on industrial lines. I hope that I shall not be misunderstood when I say that the most objectionable creature in the Pacific today, with the exception of the white beach-comber, who has sunk below the level of the natives on whom he sponges, is the religious loafer. The loafer is at all times objectionable, but the half-civilized native who loves to strut round quoting passages of the Bible, singing hymns, and shaking hands on the slightest provocation, but who has learned nothing of industry, honesty, or cleanliness, is the most objectionable of all. He is a by-product of Christian missions. He has been taught a Christian creed divorced from Christian conduct. He is to be pitied more than blamed.

To get the best from these people, we must teach them to be industrious, honest, clean, and self-reliant, and if need be, self-sacrificing.⁴

In another place, referring to the success of the medical department of the mission he wrote:

It serves to illustrate that the Gospel of Christ is not merely a way of escape from some future hell for that mysterious entity called the soul, but it is God's message declaring Salvation embracing the whole man - body, mind and spirit - here and now.⁵

The emphasis on industrial missions, which were popularly advocated at the beginning of the 1900's, had the approval of the Mission Board in Sydney, and Goldie and the other pioneer missionaries believed it was the best policy with which to achieve their aims. Goldie was emphasizing this in his report of 1910 where he stated, 'I am more than ever convinced that the future of our missions will depend on teaching the people some form of industry'.⁶

For such a policy to be effective, large tracts of lands were needed for plantations and for technical and industrial institutions which were supposed to demonstrate the value of industry and honest labour. The policy implied the developing of the mission station as the centre of such activities, which was a significant departure from the earlier policies pursued in older mission fields in the South Pacific,⁷ as Tippett has pointed out, where the emphasis was on working with the villages rather than concentrating on central mission stations. Had the new policy succeeded and realized its aims, then the Methodist mission among the Solomon Islanders might have resulted in their successful modernization.

In the initial stage the work of the mission met with success. To a large extent this was due to the efforts of the Fijian, Samoan and Tongan missionaries whose role has been understated and poorly documented in the written sources. Mission records which mostly contain details of administration and reports of progress were written by the European missionaries who were mainly concerned with their own work and wrote from a European point of view.

The success of the South Pacific Island missionaries was not hard to understand. They lived among the people and were close to them.⁸ The challenges they offered were not beyond the comprehension of the local people, but at the same time were sufficiently strong to stimulate response quite readily. These island missionaries, of course, had their weaknesses and limitations. The Tongans, for example insisted on preaching on Sunday, fully garbed in black suits, in spite of the intense heat.⁹ Some had a tendency to resort to strong arm tactics, but of course this was not peculiar only to the South Sea Island missionaries. One ex-European missionary alleged that these men had 'a fatalism which is characteristic of Pacific peoples... a tendency when they become ill,...'to throw in the sponge', to give up, and in some cases this resulted in death'.¹⁰

European colleagues noticed that the Islanders felt superior to the local people and in some cases demanded services and respect from them which they felt accorded with their status. Some European missionaries severely disapproved of such attitudes and were disgusted by them. They felt that there should have been no other line of distinction apart from that between white and coloured. Officially, the Fijians, Samoans and Tongans were not called

missionaries; they were labelled 'native teachers' and, even those who were ordained ministers, were not permitted to perform certain ministerial functions. According to the Rev. George Carter, now General Secretary of the New Zealand Methodist Overseas mission, as late as 1952 the Solomon Island District Synod was able to pass a resolution saying, that Tongan and Fijian ministers - ordained men - should not be allowed to administer the sacraments except on the instruction of, and under the guidance of the European superintendent.¹¹

The Island missionaries could not understand the logic of their European colleagues. If there was to be one line of distinction, then why not another between themselves and the locals? They also felt themselves to be real missionaries for they had undergone the same deprivations as the Europeans, leaving their homelands in order to take the gospel to the Solomons. Furthermore, the Solomon islanders (with the exception perhaps of some better educated younger ones) accepted and recognized the distinction and respected the island missionaries as much as any Europeans. In talking of them, people expressed their deep seated gratitude, affection and indebtedness to these men and women. Many simple improvements in village life, in house construction, fishing and gardening they owed to the Fijians, Samoan and Tongan missionaries. In addition, sports, recreation, improved hygiene and education had also come through their influence.

The traditional dwelling houses in the Solomons had been fairly crude, temporary structures, shelters which could easily be abandoned in war raids or head-hunting expeditions; they were without floors, and the pigs and other animals shared them. The South Seas missionaries taught people how to construct more permanent houses out of bush materials and their wives showed the village women how to weave mats for flooring and beddings¹² thereby improving the cleanliness and appearance of their houses. These types of mats are still known as 'Samoan mats', and people proudly showed some to the writer recently.

Apart from the improved dwelling houses, local people were shown how to construct sturdy, permanent churches and they raised funds with which to buy European materials for some of them.¹³ These churches became the focal point of the social and religious activities of the various communities.

The Solomon islanders were experienced fishermen, but they were able to learn several new techniques of fishing which are still practised today. They also adopted the small, light-weight Tonga out-rigger canoes which proved very popular for fishing and travelling short distances.

Informants told me that although gardening was practised before the arrival of the South Pacific missionaries, they learned better methods of cultivation from them and began to plant a greater variety of plants. They regarded the Tongans as especially good gardeners and they had learned from them planting of sweet potato, the use of new varieties of yams and bananas, and one large variety of yam, which is still called a 'Tongan yam.' As a result, more food was produced and crops were better than before.¹⁴

Sports of various kinds were introduced, football and cricket were especially popular, and teams were not limited to the normal size but took on as many players as wanted to join in the game. Games for entertainment and Polynesian dancing were introduced and brought people much enjoyment. The improved standards of housing and cleanliness, greater productivity of gardening and fishing, and more entertaining village life probably helped to improve the health of villagers.

Many of the South Seas Missionaries were able teachers. They learned the local languages and were able to teach the people to read and write in them as well as teaching arithmetic and music including the playing of band instruments. One gifted Fijian translated hymns and Bible stories into the local language where he was working.¹⁵ The Tongans were skilful in teaching music and taught their own system of notation called Tu'ungafasi. One Tongan minister, Paula Havea, who was much respected and regarded with deep affection by the people, taught school subjects of English, Geography, Arithmetic, Scripture and music at the main school in the head station of Kokengkolo. For about thirteen years before the war he was band master and one of his pupils was Belshazzar Gina, the first Solomon Islander to become bandmaster of the Solomon Islands Police band. Some of the Tongans introduced choirs to the singing of well known pieces from the Messiah and other classical works which are still sung today.

The island missionaries were strong disciplinarians, they believed in discipline and were prepared to enforce it. My informant claimed that people did not mind this since they knew that the punishment was administered for their own good. Not all resorted to corporal punishment, for instance, no one recalled ever having seen Paula Havea use it. It was said that another Tongan, Vili Hopoate, never used the cane, but took the older students to the gardens and showed them how to plant sweet potatoes and yams making them work as their punishment, and making the younger ones cut down mangroves at the beach. This area has now become a beautiful sandy beach.¹⁶

Following on the initial stage the mission continued to make significant progress, especially in the fields of health and education. The missionaries realized the importance of education

in the three R's from the very beginning, and they established schools in their head stations, reduced the local Roviana language to writing and brought out translations of sections of the Bible and religious books. Even today, the mission is still responsible for most of the educational work in its areas of influence. The largest school was at the head station at Kokengkolo, Roviana and it became a training centre for senior students who were sent out as teachers. English was taught from the very beginning and some students had little difficulty in mastering it. The following anecdote is recorded by Luxton. A newly arrived police officer decided to improve the appearance of the place with a few garden beds. He saw a Solomon Islander and called out: 'Hey, boy, come here'.

'Yes, Sir'.

'You work one fella garden close to along this fella flagpole. One round-fella garden, you savvy?'

Some time later the boy appeared in the office doorway. 'Excuse me, sir. I have finished the garden, but I have made it hexagonal instead of circular. I think it looks better.'¹⁷

The head school later became a training institution for pastor-teachers for the mission, who were given theological instruction and, in addition, it was used for teacher training. Technical training in saw-milling, carpentry, and mechanics were also provided. Some of those trained were later employed in trade stores, government offices¹⁸ and work shops. The mission established its own radio station in 1923 and this served the whole community for many years until it was superseded by the Government stations. Native radio telegraphists working for government stations had all received their early training on the same mission radio station.¹⁹

Although the mission did not have a qualified medical practitioner until 1927, medical care was given by the missionaries some of whom were qualified nursing sisters and some had attended courses of special instruction in medical care, which enabled them to treat minor injuries and illness. Tropical ulcers and yaws were prevalent. In a relatively short time yaws had been eradicated by injections, for instance, the Rev. A.H. Joyce gave fourteen hundred injections in 14 days.²⁰

The medical work of the mission attracted some of its converts. One of them was Daniel Bula, the first convert of Vella Lavella. He was found as a child, by Rev. Nicholson, in a small dark hut, suffering from a severe eye infection. Treatment cleared the infection and the little boy later grew to become one of the most

outstanding West Solomon Island Christian leaders.²¹ With the arrival of Dr. Edward Sayers in 1927, trained medical help became available and he began training local girls as nursing aids and midwives, and selected young men as medical orderlies. In 1928, Dr. Clifford James established another medical unit at Sasamunga in Choiseul and later a second at Senga. With the expansion in the medical field, in the 1930's some Solomon Islanders were sent to the Suva Medical school by the Government and distinguished themselves, one of the outstanding being John Wesley Kere, a mission educated son of a New Georgian headhunter, who graduated in 1940 and returned to practice in the Solomons.²² He is still a resident doctor at the Helena Goldie hospital, now situated at Munda. The Helena Goldie hospital was originally built at Bilua, Vella Lavella because of its more central position and its easy access to shipping.²³ This hospital has become a teaching hospital and large numbers of nurses are trained there each year while some go for further training in New Zealand and return to work among their people. There is a fully qualified Solomon Islands nurse in charge of medical work at the Bilua Station on Vella Lavella at present.

Although the medical department did much from a remedial point of view, and also in training a few to carry out medical treatment, it did very little to educate the villagers in preventive measures. Instructions on personal hygiene and sanitation were given on the stations, but the villages were left almost untouched. Yet the mission had an unlimited opportunity to use its influence to organize groups, such as women groups and youth groups in villages where instructions - not only in preventive measures - but also on diet, budgeting and so on, could be given. Because of this neglect, the villagers were left to carry on as they had done for centuries, thereby perpetuating superstition and the belief in magic and sorcery.

While mission work certainly benefitted the people of the Solomons, the fact remains that after 60 years, the mission in the Western Solomons has only brought the majority of people to the early stages of modernization. When one visits villages in the area, one cannot help noticing that these people in their outlook, standard of living, health, education, economy and political awareness, and even in religion, are far from being modernized. The noble aims proclaimed by the missionaries have not, with a few exceptions, been realized so far. Why? What went wrong?

The mission station in the Solomons, as in other parts of Melanesia tended to become an end in itself, rather than a means of achieving modernization as was originally intended. The station became the centre of all important activities, and the success of the mission was measured by the success of its station. Christmas and Easter for example were celebrated in the stations and not in

the villages.²⁴ Inevitably, mission activities became stationward rather than outward looking and met the needs of a few rather than the majority of people.

The system of education offered quite good preparation for the few who could be employed in teaching and clerical occupations and other more skilled occupations, but little attention was given to the need for improving agricultural skills and knowledge, even though farming remained the main basis of village economy.

Village people to the present day remain ignorant of the most basic ideas on soil fertility and conservation, yet such knowledge is a necessary prerequisite for the greater productivity which must occur before living standards can improve. The management of the mission plantations became an important part of mission administration, consuming much time and energy.²⁵ Their success was largely judged by the annual production, which was supposed to make the mission self-sufficient. The missionaries rationalized that local people would learn to improve their own lands by working on these plantations. What people actually did was to cut down trees, clear the bush, dig holes and plant coconuts under the supervision of a white manager. The scale of the mission plantations was far beyond the reach of ordinary villagers who, far from being stimulated to emulate them, remained apathetic and failed to become more efficient farmers themselves through this work experience. No attempt was ever made to train them in station management and, even today, there is no Solomon Islander managing a mission plantation. The Bilua station at Vella Lavella is at present managed by a Fijian trained agriculturalist. If some attempt had been made to develop small model farms in the villages these might have had more impact on villagers, especially if there had been more emphasis on elementary agriculture in the school curriculum.

Perhaps the most damaging result of the station was its effect on the mentality of the people. The policy, as it was executed, was colonial both in its conception and practice.²⁶ This was perhaps not surprising, since no one at that time, whether he was a trader, administrator or a missionary, would have dreamed that the sun could ever set on the British Empire. Although the missionaries prided themselves on their more humane approach to native people, in practice, their relations with them were so extremely paternalistic, that they unwittingly and perhaps unconsciously, perpetuated the white Master - black Servant relationship. For decades no attempt was made to train people for responsible positions, and responsibility was withheld from them.²⁷

The result was that it encouraged a dependent and subservient mentality. Even today, when it comes to important issues, people

now little self-confidence or initiative, and lean heavily on the Europeans to do their thinking and make decisions for them.

A striking illustration of the paternalistic outlook of the Mission was the long delay in developing an indigenous church. Until the late 1930's no indigenous ministry had evolved. The first to enter the ministry was Belshazzar Gina, mentioned earlier, who, as a young man, grew up in Goldie's large household. He was first educated on the station, and later sent to New Zealand for secondary schooling and theological training,²⁸ which was largely divorced from the problems and needs of his society.

On the other hand, such outstanding leaders as Daniel Bula and Stephen Gandapeta²⁹ were neither given ministerial status nor responsible positions. They were kept on the station as the right hand men of the European Superintendents. Before the war, 'Holy Communion was denied most converts, and even when it was opened to Solomon Islanders there was not always intercommunion between Island teachers and European missionaries.'³⁰

From the beginning, Goldie, the pioneering missionary of this area, won the hearts of the people and through hard work and generosity gradually built up a strong personal following among the people. Not only was he in sole command of the Mission and its resources, but he had amassed a personal fortune from mining shares and properties in Australia and other places including the Solomons, which enabled him to be lavish in his generosity to people. He was everything to them, their minister, teacher, bush lawyer and the champion of their cause. He fought on their side in land disputes with planters, and sided with them against unjust treatment by government officials. He gave the people free passage on the Mission boats throughout the islands, and he brought gifts of cloth etc. to people in the villages.³¹ In this way he built up a reputation for himself that resembled the traditional 'Melanesian big-man'. While this was quite effective and perhaps appropriate during the initial stage of development, it was certainly a serious hindrance with regard to the follow up stage.

The situation was aggravated by the Mission Board's decision to allow Goldie to remain as chairman of the mission for forty-nine years. He was 81 years old when he retired in 1951 and had by then become increasingly autocratic and unwilling to take advice from anyone or to delegate authority. He failed to prepare anyone to take over as his successor and had fostered the people's dependence on himself, so that he appeared to be quite indispensable to them. His colleagues said that he was not a good organizer or administrator and while everything appeared to run smoothly while he was in the Mission, as soon as he was away, everything went wrong. The personal cult that surrounded him and the father image which he had fostered

helped to perpetuate the people's dependency and retarded their development of the self-reliance and sense of responsibility which was so badly needed for their modernization.

After Goldie's retirement and death a breakaway movement from the mission developed, which has been called Etoism by Tippett, after its founder Silas Eto. The movement led to the mass exodus from the church at Roviana of 3000 members between the years 1959-61. The leader of this breakaway movement and most of his supporters were men who had been very close to Goldie. In fact, Tippett in his recent book Solomon Islands Christianity, relates 'Silas Eto claims that

in 1952 at the Jubilee of the Church John F. Goldie, founder of the Mission, handed him a box which contained the instructions he should follow in restoring the life of the Church in the Solomons.³²

Eto also claimed to have visited heaven in a dream and met Goldie there as well as God who 'was prepared to leave things on earth in the control of the Holy Spirit and Silas Eto, who now assumed the name Holy Mama (Holy Father).³³ Among the causes of this breakaway movement was the dissatisfaction felt by Goldie's close associates with those who took over the running of the mission after his retirement. They had grown so accustomed to Goldie's way of doing things that they resented the changes which were introduced, and some accused the new missionaries of being mean, because they discontinued free handouts.³⁴

Regrettable as Etoism may have been, there can be little doubt that its very existence shocked the missionaries into a critical re-examination of their policies and past practices. The present missionaries are well aware of the weaknesses of the past, and many positive steps have already been taken to remedy them. The present Chairman elect is a Solomon islander, and an indigenous ministry is rapidly building up.³⁵ Students are now being trained in accountancy³⁶ and other fields to equip them for taking over more responsible positions. Ministers' wives are going out into the villages to hold demonstrations in cooking and sewing for women's church groups.³⁷

While the station system with its plantations and mission stores has not altered, one can visualize ways in which it might become more effective, perhaps by running the plantations and stores on a company basis with native shareholders as Namasu has done. The mission could thereby still be self-supporting, but instead of making itself a business venture without local involvement in its running, it would now become an admirable means of giving people ownership, and training them for responsibilities and eventually successful modernization.

In conclusion, it has been shown that the Methodist Mission in the Solomons played a significant part in the modernization of the Solomon islanders, particularly in the initial stages. It brought to the Western Solomons a religion more fitted to the modern world and in many ways uplifted the people from their former primitive existence. Much of its early success was owed to the missionaries from the older mission fields such as Fiji, Samoa and Tonga, and also the local converts, under the supervision of their European colleagues.

However, in the follow up stage, except in isolated cases, the mission failed to achieve its declared aims of developing the whole man - body, mind and spirit - here and now. These aims were sound but their means of execution were at fault. The local converts and the Fijian, Tongan and Samoan missionaries were not equipped for this task because of their own lack of advanced training and experience. Had the mission station system been brought into a closer contact with the village community and been used as a means of training people to assume greater responsibilities and become more self-reliant, then the mission would have achieved a greater degree of modernization and given the people a greater sense of self-respect and dignity.

THE METHODIST MISSION AND MODERNIZATION

IN THE SOLOMON ISLANDS

NOTES

- 1 Goldie, J.F. 'The Solomon Islands', in Colwell, J. (Ed.) A Century in the Pacific, p.566.
- 2 Luxton, C.T.J. 'Isles of Solomon', pp.14-22; see also George Brown....: An Autobiography, pp.515-531.
- 3 Goldie, op. cit., p.566.
- 4 Ibid., p.583.
- 5 Luxton, op. cit., p.161.
- 6 Australian Methodist Missionary Review, March 1911.
- 7 Tippet, A.R. Solomon Islands Christianity, p.66.
- 8 Informant, Jone Veo Bitibuli, B.E.M., retired Methodist Minister, decorated by the Queen for his long service for the Mission. Jone said that while the European missionaries stayed at the stations and only visited them occasionally, the missionaries from Fiji, Tonga and Samoa lived with them and loved them.
- 9 Related to the writer by the Rev. J.F. Metcalfe, ex-chairman of the Solomon Islands Mission, now retired in Melbourne.
- 10 Told by the Rev. G. Carter, ex-chairman of the Solomon Islands Mission, now General Secretary of the New Zealand Methodist Overseas Mission, in an interview with the present writer in Buka, 4th March, 1968.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Informant, Isaac Mamu, now about 80 years of age, a student of Sioli Soakai, a Tongan missionary at the Village of Dunde, New Georgia.
- 13 Informants, Stephen Ate, Maka Pivo and Opeti Lopaevo of Vella Lavella. They told the writer about the beautiful churches built by Sione Tuifua, a Tongan missionary, wherever he went. Inspired by his work, they decided to build the beautiful church at the Bilnia mission station.

Informant, Isaac Mamu.

Metcalf, J.F. 'Our Time at Toop', 16. (unpublished).

Informant, Belshazza Gina, now Headmaster of the Kokengkolo mission school at Munda, New Georgia.

Luxton, op. cit., p.67.

Luxton, op. cit., p.209, recorded that 'The first native to be given a place on the Advisory Council of the Solomon Islands was Willie Paia. He was a Roviana native who had been educated in the Methodist Mission School and College and had served in various Government clerical positions for twenty-five years.

Ibid., pp.113-4.

Ibid., p.134.

Nicholson, R.C. The Son of a Savage - chapters 4 - 11.

Luxton, op. cit., 134-5, 144-5, 158-61.

See Luxton; op. cit.

See Tippett, op. cit., p.67.

Ibid , p.71.

Ibid., p.69.

In an interview with the writer, the Rev. J.F. Metcalfe who took over the Chairmanship of the Mission from Goldie said that the Methodists were far too slow in recognizing the abilities of their converts, and giving them proper training and responsible positions.

He said that the Seventh Day Adventists were far ahead of them in this respect.

Luxton, op. cit., 69.

A very fine tribute to Stephen Crandapeta is printed in The New Zealand Methodist Times, 1 July, 1961, p.118-9.

Tippett, op. cit., p.69.

- 31 The Rev. Daniel Palavi told the writer that the people were very upset with the Rev. Metcalfe because he did not continue to give them pieces of materials as Goldie used to do.
- 32 Tippett, op. cit., p.226.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Informant, Kitchener Wheatley, Munda.
- 35 Theological students are now being trained at the United Church Theological College in Rabaul.
- 36 Report for B.S.I.P. Information Service on 'The Methodist Church, Solomon Islands District', Official records, Mission Head Office, Munda.
- 37 The wife of the Tongan missionary at Bilua, Vella Lavella, is doing a very good job in this regard.

THE CATHOLIC MISSION IN

THE WESTERN HIGHLANDS

Rev. W.A. Ross, S.V.D.

This paper will present the historical development of the Catholic Mission in the Western Highlands.

Father Franz Kirschbaum who came to New Guinea in 1908 was a pioneer missionary on the Sepik river, and travelled extensively up and down the great waterway, and along the side streams. In 1930, he sighted what appeared to be a vast inland plain stretching far to the southeast. He wrote to Bishop Francis Wolf, the first Bishop of the Divine Word Mission who had come to New Guinea in 1923, suggesting that an expedition be formed to investigate the inland country. Father Richard Nowak and Father William Ross could accompany Father Kirschbaum.

Bishop Wolf applied for a permit from the government office at Rabaul, promised to turn over to the office maps and data. The reply from Rabaul was that such an expedition was inadvisable at this stage.

In 1932, Bishop Wolf appointed Father Alfons Schaefer and Brother Anton Baas to open mission stations at Guyebi and Bundi in the Bismarck Mountains. They were the first Catholic missionaries to cross the Ramu river and build permanent stations in the Bismarcks.

The Wahgi Valley was well known to the Bundi natives. They called it Árava. They informed Father Schaefer that Árava women married in Bundi and Bundi women went to Árava. "Come on over with us and see the big valley". But the two missionaries had their hands full building up Bundi and had to decline the invitation. "We can go over later".

Early in February, 1933, Michael J. Leahy sighted the Wahgi Valley, arranged an expedition through the N.G.G. Ltd., for whom he was working at the time; Daniel Leahy accompanied his brother, along with Ken Spinks, a surveyor and Jim Taylor, a government patrol officer. The members of this historic expedition remained at Mount Hagen till September, 1933, when they returned to the coast and went South for a well-earned holiday.

Mick Leahy and I had known each other several years. From Mount Hagen in July, 1933, Mick wrote to me at Alexishafen. "This

is a fabulous country; a vast population, a beautiful climate, in fact this is the real New Guinea. Come in here by all means". I showed this letter to Bishop Wolf. "Go to Salamaua, arrange a flight to Mount Hagen, and spend some time up there arranging for a future mission". I took ship to Salamaua, reported to the District Officer, E.J. Taylor, who informed me that he had received word from Mick and Dan that they were closing their camp at Mt. Hagen and were walking back to Wau. Mr. Taylor suggested to me that it would not be feasible to go to Mt. Hagen at this time, since I had no carriers, supplies or arms. I waited in Wau for Mick and Dan to come in.

We spent a couple of weeks together, waiting for the boat going South, by way of Madang, Alexishafen, Rabaul. At Alexishafen Mick, Dan and Jim Taylor had a happy visit with Bishop Wolf, who was most enthusiastic about an expedition to start early in the new year, 1934. He had already appointed Father William Tropper and Brother Eugene Frank to accompany me on the expedition.

In November, 1933, Father Schaefer, Father Cranssen and Brother Anton were ready to cross the Bismarcks and visit the Arava people. The headman of the Korugu area, a powerful chief named Kauwagl, came to Bundi with his Bundi wife and a large number of Chimbus related to the Bundis. They escorted the three missionaries on the first expedition to the Wahgi valley from the north. Mick Leahy's expedition came into the valley from the east. Father Schaefer and party in easy stages reached Kerowagi. Through the influence of Kauwagl and other natives, the party met a friendly reception everywhere. They returned and reported their experiences to Bishop Wolf.

Father Tropper, Brother Eugene and Father Ross were preparing to leave Alexishafen in early January, 1934. Supplies that had been ordered failed to turn up on time. It was not until February 15, that we boarded the launch "Michael", with 70 carriers and supplies to last for six months, besides essential building materials, nails, locks, hinges, bolts, household supplies and church goods. There was no airstrip either at Madang or Alexishafen at this time. Certain supplies we would have to have brought in overland by carriers; rice, coffee, salt, tea and sugar could come in by plane from Lae.

The "Michael" took us to Bogadjum about 18 miles down the coast from Madang. There was a road to the Ramu river from this port. On February 17, 1934, we started the long trek. It would take us 38 days to reach Mount Hagen. Crossing the Ramu river in two dugouts, one passenger at a time and a limited amount of cargo, took up an entire day, but we made it without mishap.

From the bank of the Ramu, the road followed a dried river-bed; there was hardly any shade and the heat was like a drawn sword; we were all badly sunburned, especially on the legs after wearing shorts. When we reached Bundi, the natives gave us a warm welcome, but as they carried us in triumph, the sunburned legs became a real torture. Fathers Schaefer and Aufenanger were away on a bush trip. There was nobody home at Bundi except a few native labourers. Bishop Wolf wished Father Schaefer and Father Aufenanger to accompany us as far as Mount Hagen, as Father Schaefer knew the roads and had many contacts, at least in the Chimbu area. I had a native Mount Hagen boy of 18 years of age; he had come with Mick and Dan Leahy to Alexishafen and remained there while the Leahys and Jim Taylor continued on to Sydney. From this Mount Hagen boy I learned many words in the native language and wrote a vocabulary which would be valuable after we left the Chimbu area.

At various hamlets along the route, we made inquiries as to who might be interested in having us work in their areas. One volunteer would be appointed as our future representative. We would return and talk with him again. Likely sites for mission stations were marked on our rough map. Along the route we marked sites and wrote the names of native friends at Denglagu, head of the Chimbu gorge, at middle Chimbu, at Mirani near the present Mendiawa, at Mingende which would be our center; at Kerowagi, Mendiagl, Banz, Kelua, Wilya.

We arrived at Wilya, Mount Hagen, on March 28, 1934, met Mick and Dan Leahy, who had completed a small airstrip, and were expecting the first plane to land at the Mogeï airstrip on Easter Sunday, 1st April, 1934. Mick asked our party to begin our work at Wilya, and look after the airstrip, as his mining camp was 1000 feet higher up the mountain and two miles distant. But we had orders from Bishop Wolf to start the work of the Catholic Mission at Mingende, as the gap between Bundi, the last resident Catholic mission station and Mount Hagen was too great. A land-contact and link-up must be maintained, for any effective missionary work.

The first plane on the Mogeï airstrip touched down about 9 a.m. Easter Sunday. Bob Gurney, the pilot of Guinea Airways, was amazed to have seven Europeans greet him. The plane brought food supplies and mail for Mick and Dan. Early Monday morning, Bob took off, and shortly afterwards we were heading back to Mingende.

Father Schaefer and Father Aufenanger continued on to Bundi. Brother Eugene started the building of the Mingende station. Rapidly the buildings took shape; living house, kitchen, laundry, workers' quarters, tool shed, and a small church. Literally thousands of natives helped with the work; for payment they asked for a few cowry shells a day. We could buy a pig for a bush knife,

or a small axe. They were still using stone. Other articles for trade included tambu shells, beads, powder-paint. For a green-snail shell a large pig could be bought.

By the end of May, the station buildings at Mingende were completed. We had the confidence of the natives; many of the headmen wished to go with us to Mount Hagen to buy new wives. So we arranged for another visit. Mick Leahy again asked us to take over Wilya. Father Tropper agreed to return to Mingende and live there, while Brother Eugene and Father Ross would remain at Wilya, and open the first Catholic Mission station in the present Western Highlands.

The official approval for the first foundation of the Catholic Mission in the Western Highlands was embodied in a letter from Bishop Wolf, dated June 15, 1934, authorizing Brother Eugene and Father Ross to reside at Mount Hagen, and be responsible for the establishment and development of the Catholic Mission in the Mount Hagen area.

Brother Eugene with 15 coastal boys, and hundreds of local volunteers, quickly built the main station at Wilya, where Mick and Dan Leahy had built their Mogeï airstrip. House, church, kitchen, workers' quarters, fowl house, piggery, were completed, built of native materials-bamboo walls and kunai-grass roofs. Brother Eugene was a tireless worker. From June till September, 1934, besides the main station, nine out-stations were built. To the west, 12 miles; south 15 miles; east 24 miles, and north 20 miles. It would seem almost unbelievable, but one out-station at Anggil in the Ulga valley was completed in one day of 13 working hours; some 2000 natives, men and women and children, like an ant-colony, kept busy bringing in kunai-grass, ropes from the bark of trees, wild sugar-cane for walls, and saplings. For each bundle brought in, a few small cowry shells was considered adequate payment by the Ulga natives. From 6 am till 7 pm, residence and kitchen, house for workers, and workers' kitchen and a number of latrines; in this one day eleven houses were completed and ready for use.

At Wilya we planted gardens. The soil was poor, light and volcanic and was crying for fertilizer. But the staple crop, sweet potatoes, flourished. The Mount Hagen natives had a higher set of values than the Chimbu. We bought pigs for the mother-of-pearl shells and for bailer shells. A large bailer shell costing in those days about 25 cents would buy a 200 lb. pig. Meantime we were busy dressing wounds, cuts and sores; giving aspirin for fever. We visited the hamlet areas to get acquainted with the natives and estimate the population. Daily we bought the food brought in by the natives, for everyone had more than enough for

his own use. We had a working team of twenty Mount Hagen men besides the 15 coastal boys, and while they needed a lot of food, food was cheap. A ton of sweet-potatoes cost no more in cowry and tamhu shells than about 25 cents. We had a small church at Wilya where, every Sunday, mass was celebrated, but very few of the local natives attended services, not knowing what it was all about. Finally the turning point came.

In December, 1934, the local paramount chief of the Mogei-ampoga clan, came to me and asked what might seem a very blunt question, but a question for which I had been waiting patiently all these months. Six months had passed since we took up residence at Wilya. Nindi, the Chief, asked me: "what do you want from us; what is the pay-off? You have been here six months now, buying our food and pigs, paying us well; you have looked after our sick, attended to our sores, wounds and bruises, now we want to know when you are going to give us the bill, for in our way of life, nothing is given for nothing, and we presume you are the same".

I replied to Nindi. "That is the question I have been waiting for and here is my answer". "We do not want your land, your women, or your pigs. We wish to open a boarding school where your boys from the ages of 10 to 16 will be taught to read and write. You have seen us looking at books, writing on paper. This art we shall teach your boys; they will live at our mission station and go to school each day." Nindi then asked, "will we have to find food for the boys?" I told him we would take care of the food. "We can take care of 50 boys". Nindi said, "I can send you 100 boys if you want them". "No", I said, "for the beginning 50 is the limit. We shall open the school right after the New Year".

Meantime, Brother Eugene felt that he needed a rest, physically and spiritually. He would go to Bundi and spend a few weeks there with Father Henry Aufenanger, and make his retreat. He decided to leave on the second of January, 1935. The site for the boarding school and boys' quarters had been cleared, and a quantity of native building material brought in. Brother Eugene's last words to me as he left with ten coastal boys were: "Father, please do not build that school till I get back. I really want to have that privilege, the first Catholic school in the Western Highlands". He did not come back and I never saw him alive again. It took Brother Eugene and his party six days to reach Mingende. Here he learned that Father Morschheusser was reported killed by the natives, and that Father Schaefer had gone to Alexishafen to report to Bishop Wolf on the tragedy. Friendly natives warned the Brother not to go through the Chimbu river area, as the clans were at war. It would be dangerous entering any area where war was raging. But the Brother thought he might still get through safely to Bundi. He started up the Chimbu gorge; at Goglme, the warring natives fully armed on the

heights overlooking the Chimbu river, swarmed down on the party, surrounded them, and began pulling the rucksacks and packs from the carriers; the boys all fled in panic. Brother Eugene, realizing he was now in serious danger, started down the trail, but arrows were flying from all sides. The Brother was struck eight times with bone-tipped arrows, some of them puncturing his lungs. Weak and exhausted, he was helped by a friendly group of natives, who carried him up the mountain side to a small hut, 8,000 feet above sea level. Inside, a fire was burning. Two faithful coastal boys had remained with the Brother. They helped him all they could. His only food was green bananas. On the morning of January 15 1935, natives on the mountain began yodelling "Yalomba, yalomba", a white man is coming. Pati, the cook who had remained with Brother, told the Brother a party of police led by a European officer was walking along the trail. "Fire in the air with a shotgun to attract attention" Brother told the boy. As soon as the officer heard the shot, he sent a police constable to go up and investigate. Pati told him about Brother Eugene, lying in the hut. Soon the entire police party was at the hut. The officer was Robert Melrose, D.O. of Salamaua. He had his cook make some hot coffee, built a stretcher, and in about an hour, they were back at the Kundiawa airstrip. There a single-engine Junker was parked. This plane had brought the D.O.'s party to Kundiawa to investigate the murder of Father Carl Morschheuser. He was only 32 when he died on December 16, 1934 after being shot through the mouth with an arrow. The Junker plane brought Brother Eugene to Salamaua hospital. He lived a week while his lungs slowly and literally rotted away. Only a man of his magnificent physique and strength could have survived so long. He died on January 23, 1935 and was buried in the Salamaua cemetery, his body being later exhumed and brought to the mission cemetery at Alexis.

Following the murders of Father Carl and Brother Eugene, the Administration was under fire from southern papers. The question was pointedly put: "why does the Administration in New Guinea permit missionaries to go into uncontrolled areas where their lives are in danger and where there is no government protection?" The Administration in Rabaul set up strict restrictions.

1. No new missionaries would be given permits to enter the Highlands.
2. Missionaries already in residence would not be permitted to leave their main stations. This restriction applied to all Europeans, and remained in force till January, 1936, when some modifications were made, viz. 1. no new missionaries would be given a permit to the Highlands before 4 years of experience with natives on the coast. 2. no missionary would be given a permit to enter uncontrolled area unless his party had 4 rifles, and members of the party were familiar with the rifles. 3. Restriction

tation residence was modified to extend to a radius of 5 miles; and the native clans that could be visited were marked on the permit of the individual missionary. This limited travel permit remained in force right up to 1947.

The station-restriction was a help to the Catholic Mission. Full time could be given to learning the native language. A prayer book and hymnal and a bible history were composed and introduced into the boarding school. Nindi kept his word and applicants to the school had to be screened. The first classes opened in March, 1935. The boys were taught reading and writing, pidgin english and English, arithmetic. We had 50 boys in two classes. The training of these boys continued through 1937 and 1938. On Christmas Day, 1938, 28 school boys were baptized. This was the first group in the Western Highlands to become members of the Catholic Mission. The group had been preparing from March, 1935, to 25th December, 1938.

At Wilya we had been living in a house built of native materials. All the station buildings were of kunai and pitpit. In 1935, we started pit-sawing and in a year, there was a sizeable stack of pit-sawn timber. About a mile north of Wilya, we discovered a level stretch of land, comprising more than 200 acres, with very few natives occupying the land. We approached the headmen, and told them our plans for the future; a real central station with a large timber church to hold 1000 natives; several timber school buildings, a clinic, missionaries' residence, native workers' quarters, catechists' house. Father Franz Fuchs and Brother Bonaventure had come in from the coast to help at our station, and we assured the natives we were now in a position to carry out a building program. Of the 200 acre plot, about 100 acres were an old battleground, and no one dared to live on this no-man's land, as it was a dividing line between the Mogeï-Kominga clan and the Mogeï-Nampoga, eternal enemies. In time of war they fought their battles on this ground.

Father Fuchs took over the pit-saw work, and had a team of 24 boys working 6 pit-saws. Brother Bonaventure had 24 planing boys, planing, edging and tongue and grooving the planks. We paid the natives for the land, and by their standard of values they were very well paid in axes, spades, knives, cloth and shells, so that to this day there have never been any complaints or repercussions, and the Catholic Mission have peacefully occupied the central station for the last 30 years.

The transfer from Wilya to Rebiāmul was carried out in slow stages throughout the year 1938. At Rebiāmul two timber residences were completed, a kitchen and a dining room, three timber school houses, and finally toward the end of the year the large timber church. This church was still standing in 1966, when with much

hard labour it was torn down, and the timber used to build 3 small out-station churches. After 30 years the timber was as solid as the day the church was built. After the baptism of the first group of 28, the Catholic Mission in the Western Highlands set up its headquarters at Rebiamul, and Wilya returned to the former native owners of the land.

When the first government official was appointed for Mount Hagen in January, 1938, the Catholic missionaries cooperated with him in every way. The present site of the Administration was shown to Murray Edwards and the airstrip site which the Catholic Mission had picked out for itself was turned over to him. Brother Bonaventura helped to build the first government residence.

In 1939 there were 66 baptized Catholics in the Western Highlands. That year Father Ross went on leave to America after spending 13 years in New Guinea. He returned in September, 1940, bringing with him two young American priests, Father George Bernard and Father Joseph Kotrba. Two years later Father Kotrba was beheaded by the Japanese as an American spy.

On his return to New Guinea, Father Ross was asked by Bishop Wolf to take over the rectorship of Alexishafen. The Mount Hagen mission had been closed. The two German missionaries there had run foul of the curfew regulations and were sent back to Alexishafen. From time to time Father Ross could visit Mount Hagen. Finally Bishop Wolf agreed to release him from the rectorship of Alexishafen to reside full time in Rebiamul. In December, 1941, Father Bernarding came for a Christmas visit to Mount Hagen. He remained in Rebiamul all of 1942 and the work of the Catholic Mission went ahead. There were 470 baptized Catholics at the beginning of 1943, when under military orders the two Catholic missionaries had to leave for Australia. There were no Catholic missionaries in the Western Highlands until September 8, 1944, when the two priests returned to Mount Hagen.

Since Father Bernarding and Father Ross were the only missionaries in the Western Highlands, Angau officials requested us not to take advantage of our position by setting up new stations where other missionary organisations had previously operated, a request we scrupulously fulfilled. In June of 1946, there were 1136 baptized Catholics in the Western Highlands.

Twenty-two American priests came to New Guinea between 1945 and 1946. Five of these are still in the Western Highlands.

The year 1947 was an eventful year. All former restrictions on uncontrolled area movements were lifted and the entire Western Highlands was thrown open to missionary activity. The Catholic

Mission opened new residential stations at Minj, Banz, Nondugl, Ulga and Pompobus in the Wabag area.

Till 1959, the present Western Highlands diocese belonged to Madang. Then Mount Hagen became a separate Vicariate and Bishop George Bernarding was named the first Vicar-Apostolic. He was consecrated in Pittsburgh, Pa. 21.4.60, installed at Mount Hagen 3.9.60.

With a resident bishop at Mount Hagen, the work of the Catholic Mission has made continual progress. On June 30, 1961, the number of Catholics was 24,069. There are now over 70,000 and the Catholic Mission of Mount Hagen in the Western Highlands is the third largest Catholic Mission in Oceania. There are 34 residential mission stations and 550 out-stations.

In the field of education the Catholic Mission in the Western Highlands is making good progress. But details are outside the scope of this paper.

We are often asked how do you explain the rapid growth of the Catholic Church in the Western Highlands. My answer is: First - We paid a high price. Brother Eugene was only 35 years of age when he was killed. Second - We advanced slowly, giving the natives a long and thorough preparation for baptism, so that they knew exactly what they were accepting. Third - Every missionary is a dedicated person and the natives have come to realize this. So the increase of baptized Catholics from 28 in 1938 to over 70,000 in 1968 need not be classed as "miraculous".

CATHOLIC MISSION PLANTATIONS IN MAINLAND NEW GUINEA:

THEIR ORIGIN AND PURPOSE

Rev. Dr. Ralph M. Wiltgen, S.V.D.

INTRODUCTION

Mr. F.C. Henderson, Assistant Administrator for Economic Affairs wrote in the SOUTH PACIFIC POST's supplement last year (20 September 1967): "One of the Territory's most valuable resources is its soil." Four years earlier the World Bank Mission in what it called a conservative estimate" stated that the Territory's "area under agriculture could be increased about fivefold to some six million acres." It may therefore be of interest to see what value the first Roman Catholic missionaries in mainland New Guinea placed on the soil of this country.

The Roman Catholic Church on 24 February 1896 formally erected the Prefecture Apostolic of Wilhelmsland and entrusted its care to the Society of the Divine Word, a mission sending society founded in Steyl, Holland, in 1875. The newly constituted ecclesiastical territory was identical in size with that part of German New Guinea known as Kaiser Wilhelmsland, today called mainland New Guinea. The German-born founder of the Divine Word Society, Father Arnold Janssen, knew full well that by accepting this Mission he was automatically obliging himself and his society to supply Kaiser Wilhelmsland indefinitely with the personnel and funds necessary to establish the Catholic Church there.

Half a century earlier an attempt to Christianize the New Guinea mainland had been made by French Marists from New Zealand who arrived at Rooke (Umboi) Island on 13 May 1848. Their explicit aim was to establish the Catholic Church on the mainland before the arrival of any other Europeans. But sickness, death, and the high cost of obtaining supplies from Sydney made them retire from the scene twelve months later.

A second attempt was made by Italian members of the newly founded Institute for Foreign Missions with headquarters in Milan. They too intended to reach the mainland after starting on Rooke Island where they arrived on 23 October 1852. But two and a half years later, like their predecessors, they were forced to leave. Once again the reasons were sickness, death, and the high cost of obtaining supplies from Sydney on ships which they themselves -- like the Marists before them -- had to charter, a luxury that they could afford no more than once a year.

Father Janssen on accepting this responsibility from Catholic Church authorities -- he already had extensive missions in China, Argentina and Togo -- pointed out that the New Guinea mission was "very far away and in a region where certainly much help will be needed." He contacted the Pious Work for the Propagation of the Faith at Lyons, France, the only fund-collecting agency for Catholic missions at the time. Kaiser Wilhelmsland, he said, had "only 100,000 or 150,000 inhabitants who speak perhaps 30 different languages." And although these inhabitants, he continued, "keep themselves rather distant and secluded from Europeans, they nevertheless are disposed to work for Europeans in exchange for wages. This being the case, we have no alternative but to establish large plantations." In this letter of 17 March 1896 he requested an annual subsidy to help defray the costs involved.

ARRIVAL AT MADANG

Five months later, on 13 August 1896, the first Divine Word missionaries set foot on the New Guinea mainland at Friedrich Wilhelmshafen, known today as Madang. The man chosen by Father Janssen to found the new mission was Father Eberhard Limbrock, S.V.D., then 37 years of age, who had been born at Ahlen in Westphalia, Germany, on an extensive farm. After completing his regular schooling, Eberhard studied the blacksmith's trade for three years, and then decided to become a missionary priest. He had exceptional talents, advanced rapidly with seminary studies, was assigned to China when still a deacon, and after 13 uninterrupted years of service there -- mostly as a seminary professor -- he was asked to found the New Guinea mission. Catholic Church authorities gave him the title of Prefect Apostolic.

Accompanying Father Limbrock were two priests and three Brothers. This was consistent with the policy of Father Janssen who always tried to send as many Brothers as priests to a difficult mission. The priests were to concern themselves primarily with the spiritual upbuilding of the mission and the Brothers primarily with building it up materially. On meeting his five German colleagues in Singapore, Father Limbrock received from them a package which according to Father Janssen contained "a rather complete set of the literature available on New Guinea".

Included in the package was a set of NACHRICHTEN UEBER KAISER WILHELMSLAND UND DEN BISMARCK-ARCHIPEL, the official monthly progress reports that had been published regularly since 1885 by the Berlin headquarters of the New Guinea Company (officially: Neu Guinea Campagnie). This Company by imperial charter signed in Berlin by Kaiser Wilhelm on 17 May 1885 had received a monopoly in the acquisition of free land and was endowed with sovereign juridical rights. Before sending his missionaries to New Guinea, therefore,

father Janssen had personally contacted Adolf von Hansemann, chairman of the Board of Directors, and was assured by him that his missionaries upon arrival could acquire 10 to 15 hectares (one hectare = 2.471 acres) of land at Friedrich Wilhelmshafen, then the capital city of German New Guinea.

Father Janssen by letter of 20 June 1896 had suggested to Father Limbrock that he found his first mission station in Friedrich Wilhelmshafen, his second in the same Astrolabe Bay area but to the north or southwest, and a third station two or three hours from the second one. At this stage, Father Janssen said, he could give up the mission station at Friedrich Wilhelmshafen and use the land for a coconut plantation. But in any event he should not yet go north.

The one with whom Father Limbrock had to deal was Kurt von Hagen -- after whom Mount Hagen is named -- since he became Commissary Administrator with full executive powers for German New Guinea just four days after the missionaries arrived. Von Hagen agreed to sell the land but insisted that Father Limbrock should not open a mission station there. He could use it to store supplies. Von Hagen said he was making this request on behalf of the Rhenish Mission Society, a Lutheran group, which had begun mission work in the vicinity nine years before. In that time seven European men and three European women connected with the mission had died. The Rhenish group feared he said, that after all these sacrifices they might now be pushed out of the Astrolabe Bay area completely by the Catholic mission.

LUDWIG KAERNBACH'S SUGGESTION

While trying to make up his mind where to begin, Father Limbrock met a genial gardener from Berlin named Ludwig Kaernbach. This man had started working for the New Guinea Company in 1887 and was acquainted better than anyone else with conditions along the coast from Friedrich Wilhelmshafen all the way to the Huon Gulf. He had succeeded in winning the confidence of the people along the coast, had learned many of their languages, and after deciding to go into business for himself, settled among them in July 1894 on Seleo Island in Berlinhafen, near Aitape, 275 nautical miles up the coast from Friedrich Wilhelmshafen.

By his own experience he had been able to confirm what Dr. Otto Finsch -- after whom Finschhafen is named -- had reported when discovering and naming Berlinhafen in May 1885. The islands there and the adjoining coast, Finsch had said, were "heavily populated" and contained "the only copra district of any significance on the whole northeast coast of New Guinea". Kaernbach by settling on Seleo Island could therefore trade with the villagers for their coconuts, making some into copra and selling the rest as seedlings to the New Guinea Company.

It had taken five costly years of experimentation for the New Guinea Company to realize that in this initial stage of the land's development the wisest thing that it could do was to establish extensive coconut plantations. It had experimented with tobacco, coffee, cotton and sisal hemp -- to mention only the principal crops -- but all without lasting success. With the opening of its Herbertshoehe Station (Kokopo) in the Bismarck Archipelago the Company decided to follow the example of Emma Forsayth who five years earlier had begun planting coconuts in cotton plantations so as to have an annual cash crop until the coconut palms began bearing about eight years later. In June 1891 the New Guinea Company planted its first coconuts in 40 hectares of cotton at Herbertshoehe and five years later the plantation already had 25,000 coconut palms.

This example in turn was followed in Kaiser Wilhelmsland at Constantinshafen (Bongu) in the Astrolabe Bay where the New Guinea Company in February 1892 planted 47 hectares of its cotton with coconuts. Three months later, in May 1892, Friedrich Wilhelmshafen received its first shipment of 1540 coconuts and they were planted in the northwest corner of the peninsula, which had been first cleared for the purpose. Father Limbrock saw this stand of coconut palms and learned why the plantation had been started. In fact, in 1896, the very year that he arrived on the scene, the New Guinea Company with the help of Ludwig Kaernbach had imported to Friedrich Wilhelmshafen and the Astrolabe Bay area 15,000 coconuts for planting that had been won by trade in Berlinshafen and the Bismarck Archipelago.

Although these pioneers could hardly have realized it, what they were doing was laying the groundwork for what was destined to become the backbone of the New Guinea economy down to our own day. (My latest figures are for 1966 when the Territory of Papua and New Guinea shipped abroad 160,534 tons of copra.)

Father Limbrock was invited by Kaernbach to go to Berlinshafen, 275 nautical miles up the coast, and found his mission on Tumleo Island, not far from Seleo Island where he himself lived. After sending one of his priests to examine the area, Father Limbrock decided to accept the invitation. He could only hope that, as Kaernbach had predicted, the mail steamer of the North German Lloyd would in that event make Berlinshafen a port of call, for there were no other white settlers on the coast between Friedrich Wilhelmshafen and the Dutch New Guinea border. Kaernbach's prediction came true. In the letter in which he told Father Janssen that they would be going north, Father Limbrock wrote: "It will be well for us at present to apply ourselves only to such things which give a good and certain harvest, and whose care will not cost us much skill and labor."

THE NEW GUINEA COMPANY'S LAND MONOPOLY

But getting established in New Guinea was much more difficult than Father Limbrock had anticipated and it would be a long time before he could see "a good and certain harvest". Besides various surveying and registration fees, the New Guinea Company charged him 10 Marks apiece for two hectares at Tumleo bordering on the sea and 10 Marks apiece for two additional hectares in the interior. In Germany a postal official with a family at this time was earning 80 Marks per month. A short time later Kurt von Hagen informed Father Limbrock that the Company had changed its mind and did not want to sell him the 15 hectares in Friedrich Wilhelmshafen after all. When Ludwig Kaernbach died within six months from fever, the New Guinea Company bought up his property, made Berlinhafen an Administrative Subdistrict, and in July 1897 placed a young ambitious man named I. Luecker in charge. One of Father Limbrock's priests had meanwhile been looking after the property, one of the Brothers designed a new house for Luecker, and one of the mission's carpenters built it. But Luecker, although a Catholic, proved as difficult to deal with as Kaernbach had proved helpful. He made one land purchase after the other all along the coast, apparently aware that Germany's legislative assembly, the Reichstag, was planning to take over the government of German New Guinea. This meant that the German government would eventually acquire the rights to allow the alienation of land, and consequently it would have to authorize future land purchases by everyone in the Protectorate, including the New Guinea Company.

Trying to acquire some 80 hectares on the mainland at Leming opposite Tumleo Island, Father Limbrock on 20 July 1897 entered with the native owners the prescribed detailed contract of purchase and sale. Ten months later, on 15 May 1898, Luecker informed Father Limbrock that the New Guinea Company would not recognize the contract or let him have the property, "but takes possession of the same for itself by making restitution to you of the cost price." Luecker added however, that the New Guinea Company had another piece of mainland property in mind and was "indeed ready at your wish to give you up to 30 hectares of this land by lease for three to five years in exchange for an annual fee of 3 Marks per hectare, conceding to you in exchange therefor the right to provide the agreed upon piece of land with buildings and gardens".

Father Limbrock received this letter in Europe, having meanwhile been called to Steyl, Holland, to attend a General Chapter of the Divine Word Society and serve as consultor to Father Janssen on mission work in China and New Guinea. Making use of the occasion he went to Berlin and personally brought the matter of the 80 hectares to the attention of Dr. Karl Herzog, a Catholic member of the Board of Directors of the New Guinea Company. He also had a newspaper

article published with the by-line "Mission Friend," in which he described the Company's land monopoly in New Guinea. The Company then changed its previous decision and allowed Father Limbrock to purchase 80 hectares on the mainland at 10 Marks per hectare. He was also allowed to increase his Tumleo Island property to 30 hectares.

One year later, on 21 April 1899, Luecker informed Father Limbrock that the New Guinea Company's property reached "from Suain to Arop and from Murik to Friedrich Wilhelmshafen, including the adjacent islands." This meant, practically speaking, that all available land not occupied or needed by New Guineans had been purchased by the Company, from west of Aitape at present-day Sissano all the way to Madang. Luecker added that the Company's attitude toward the expansion of the mission depended "completely upon the pious sentiments of von Hansemann," and Luecker also said he did not believe that Father Limbrock would anywhere else get as much land as the Company had authorized for him at Berlinhafen.

The German Government on 1 April 1899 deprived the New Guinea Company of sovereignty rights. The first Governor to be appointed, Rudolf von Bennigsen, passed through Berlinhafen on his way to Herbertshoehe in the Bismarck Archipelago where he took up office. During his visit at Tumleo, Father Limbrock explained to him his need for land. But the 40-year-old Governor said, "We are not in favor of the mission acquiring much landed property."

APPEAL TO CANON HESPERS FOR HELP

Father Limbrock now had no alternative but to seek outside help. As early as 12 February 1897, when he was in New Guinea only six months, Father Janssen had written to him as follows: "If you have to get something from the Government by fighting for it, then the best thing for you to do, is write a factual and very calm letter to Canon Hespers. If at all possible, it should be the kind of letter than he can pass on to others..... Address it to me and I shall forward it to him, giving it my support if need be."

Canon Dr Karl Hespers, a Catholic priest assigned to the Cologne Cathedral, was deeply convinced of the cultural benefits that flow into a country as a result of Christian missionary work. Since its origin he had been a member of the Board of Consultors for the Colonial Department in the Foreign Office of the German Government. When Luecker went home on leave in June 1899, Father Limbrock that same month sent Canon Hespers a most lengthy letter accompanied by numerous and thorough reports on all phases of European and native life in the Protectorate. He also enclosed copies of the correspondence that he had received from Luecker.

That the New Guinea Company does not have the capability of cultivating all these stretches of land for the benefit of the country," he said, "is sufficiently evident from its past record." and it would be "very sad," he added, "both for the development of the land and especially for the Catholic Mission, if the entire coastal stretch were to remain in the Company's possession."

Father Limbrock, however, received no reply.

INVITATION TO HANSA BAY

Early in October 1899 there was a real breakthrough. Herr Joseph Loag, a friendly Catholic official from Friedrich Wilhelmshafen, brought out Father Limbrock at Berlinhafen. Kurt von Hagen had been killed in 1897 and Loag was now Head Administrator of the New Guinea Company in Kaiser Wilhelmsland. The purpose of his visit, he said, was to request Father Limbrock to open a mission in Hansa Bay opposite Manam Island. About ten miles to the east was Potsdamhafen, where the mail steamer had been stopping now and then in the past months. Loag said the mission could put up a small warehouse there for its incoming supplies, and then transfer them to its mission station in Hansa Bay.

In describing Loag's friendly visit in a new letter to Canon Espers on 30 October 1899, Father Limbrock said: "Whereas in Potsdamhafen the natives appear to be quiet and peaceful, the numerous inhabitants of Hansa Bay have a reputation for ferocity, bloodthirstiness, and some of them also for cannibalism. But since very much copra can be made there, the New Guinea Company would be pleased if we went to Hansa Bay first to transform the savage spirits of these people -- I do not know by what kind of magical formula -- into gentle lambs. On the other hand the Company wants to keep us at a distance from Potsdamhafen so that it can retain here its monopoly on everything."

Father Limbrock explained further that Potsdamhafen could indeed well serve as the mission's port, just as Loag had suggested. But because of the large native population in the immediate vicinity, it ought to be a mission station too. Having a mere warehouse there to store supplies could not suffice. And since a sufficiently large number of workers would have to be employed to protect the mission and assist it, especially in unloading its supplies from the steamer on its periodic visits, some permanent occupation had to be provided for the workers between the steamer visits.

"I therefore insisted on getting 100 hectares of land bordering the coast for 500 meters, which certainly is not too much," he said. "Besides, it is only through our moral influence on the Hansa Bay natives, that we shall gradually be able to achieve something."

And so first they have to become acquainted with us. On our part, we have to be able to converse with them, at least with the help of interpreters who can make our views known to them. Therefore a settlement in their vicinity is indispensable. For only after they have come to hear about us, will we be able to achieve something by appearing among them and talking with them. Our settlement on Tumleo has proved the logic of this clearly enough, also to the advantage of the New Guinea Company. But if we go immediately to Hansa Bay without the natives knowing enough about us, they will then treat us like every other foreign intruder and will do their best to drive us out and kill us, without the Company or the mission profiting in any way whatsoever.

"This is why we laid down as a condition for a second station in Hansa Bay that we first be allowed to make a settlement at Potsdamhafen and get 100 hectares there, as mentioned above. We have written in the same vein to the Board of Directors of the New Guinea Company."

He also pointed out to Canon Hespers that Governor von Bennigsen and also Herr Loag had given their approval for the Potsdamhafen mission and for the 100 hectares, and that Loag had promised to support the proposal by writing himself to the headquarters of the New Guinea Company in Berlin, the lawful owner of the property. Father Limbrock hoped that Canon Hespers would also do what he could.

But once again Canon Hespers sent no reply.

APPEAL TO PRINZ VON ARENBERG FOR HELP

While in Sydney to set up a purchasing office for the mission, Father Limbrock on 5 February 1900 wrote to Franz Ludwig Prinz von Arenberg, an influential Catholic member of the Reichstag who specialized in colonial matters. While in Europe two years earlier Father Limbrock had discussed mission problems with him, found him to be most understanding, and now spelled out for him in detail the principal reasons and aims of the mission in wanting to acquire land.

"We hope that the proceeds of the plantations that we bring into being will later provide support for the mission, at least in part, and will help defray our larger expenses," he said. "In Germany there is opposition to so very much money leaving the country for mission work. Moreover, missions are steadily increasing in number, and they keep advancing both in the degree and in the extent of their development. From where, therefore, is all the money supposed to come, if we in the colonies are not able and are not allowed to look after our own support? What is supposed to

happen if a depression comes, or if a war breaks out?

"Through our example and our instructions we want to provide guidance for the natives -- and we must -- so that they themselves can start plantations and make full use of their soil. This will bring about the most diverse advantages for the country itself, for commerce, and for the whites. Through cultivation the land will become healthier and more productive, the people will learn how to work and have order in their lives, and businessmen will acquire a continually expanding field for their activity and thereby greater profits. The missionary is moreover best suited to provide this guidance for the natives, because he speaks the native language and comes into much closer contact with the people than other Europeans. We also seek out and import new plants from abroad and we recommend to the people those which thrive best.....

"The work carried out by the mission contributes in a very high degree either directly or indirectly to the advantage of the country, because we are not working for ourselves, but for the best interests of the natives.... Besides, the missionary is not in the colony only for a short stay, and so he can gather more experience, utilize it better, and also be more thorough in launching garden and plantation projects. Our entire capital remains in the land. All the profits are invested again right on the spot, and they continually bring new and increased proceeds, and so succeed in spreading in the area and among the native population the most varied benefits.....

"But if the mission is to be able to survive and carry on its work, then it is absolutely indispensable that it have the means to exist."

After citing concrete cases of other governments donating as much as 10,000 acres of land to missions in view of the above benefits that follow, Father Limbrock continued: "It would be very fitting, then, for the German Government as well to hand over to us free of charge -- or at least very cheaply -- several thousand acres of land in this South Sea Colony..... Until now, after much strife and all kinds of paperwork, we have been able to acquire about 100 hectares. And even this is of very low quality. But what is that for the support of a mission in a country as extensive as this? And when we thought that a change in government would also bring with it a change for the better in these matters, Governor von Hennigsen immediately upon his arrival said very outspokenly: 'We are not in favor of the mission acquiring much land.'

"...Still the Governor told me recently that the missions were supposed to get land for one Mark per hectare. But this does not evoke what he said earlier.....Therefore I would urgently and humbly request Your Highness to be so good as to take up this matter with

the competent office so that without further obstacles we may be able and allowed to acquire a thousand hectares at a suitable place for our mission. And if we cannot receive gratis or at a low price as much land as we need, then in spite of our poverty and even though we are working only for the country, we shall be satisfied if -- for the balance -- we have to pay no more than other Europeans."

One must realize, he added, that in the tropics it is not possible to utilize land as thoroughly as in Europe, because of lack of proper help. As a result the relative amount of profit per hectare is less. Should someone want to set a certain limit to the amount of land that the mission can buy, he said, then a total area of "about 10,000 hectares should not be considered too high a figure."

He also explained how in May of the preceding year, since the coastline had been purchased by Luecker, he had made land purchases in his own name on Deblois (Koil) Island in the Schouten Islands and on Gressien (Muschu) Island. But these contracts had not been recognized by the Governor. Any other "suitable land," however, would serve his purposes just as well, he said.

"In the other Colonies of Germany, as far as I know," he added, "the Christian Missions are freed from paying all duty, up to a certain amount. But here we have never yet received this consideration, not even for our Mass wine. Even in pagan China all the goods meant for the missionaries could be imported without duty. There should hardly be any difficulty, therefore, in acquiring the same privilege for us here."

Father Limbrock told Prinz von Arenberg that the mission would be most highly indebted to him for his gracious and efficacious mediation, because "this problem of getting the mission established on a material basis is a question of life or death."

Again there was no answer.

Then in a mischievous vein Father Limbrock wrote to Father Janssen, saying that Canon Hespers was "a good gentleman who appears to have very little time for our affairs," and that Prinz von Arenberg "certainly needs a reminder now and then." Father Janssen replied: "You can have confidence in Dr. Hespers, for he will surely do what he can. But even he cannot do everything with a mere twist of the hand! If you want to accomplish something through him, then write often, but don't make your letters too long....Wisdom joined with moderation can accomplish much. If one acts otherwise, he makes himself a nuisance and only sets up roadblocks for himself for the future." And in another letter he

ded, "You are correct in taking pains over the necessary land purchases.....But do not insist too much on a very low price. And, along with all your other efforts, strive to maintain a certain restraint. Remember: Noblesse oblige."

POOR, POOR NEW GUINEA

Discouragement began to fill even more space in the numerous letters in which Father Limbrock opened his heart to Father Janssen. Quotations from these various letters give a rather vivid picture of the situation in which he found himself.

"We are forced by necessity to write until our fingers get numb," he said. "We ask, and then we ask again. But who listens to us here in this wilderness at the farthest ends of the earth? ...At times it looks as though they want us to starve.....And who knows New Guinea? Our Colony and our mission are the youngest, furthest away, most abandoned, and most unknown in nearly the whole wide world.....Who does not gladly give to China and Africa with overflowing hands and heart?.....But New Guinea? Who even knows New Guinea?.....Even educated people mistakenly think it is in Africa..... Well, the Eskimos at the North Pole and even the surface of the moon are better known than wretched New Guinea in the forgotten South Seas. And they are also more successful in stirring up interest....."

"We need money.....Please send us more rather than less..... The New Guinea Company charges seven per cent interest on loans and then makes an additional fee for changing the German Marks into local New Guinea currency..."

"Poor, poor New Guinea! Here every foot of ground still has to be cleared, every road has to be made, every bridge built, every really worthwhile plant imported, every hen, every duck, and every other domesticated animal including the horse, has to be brought in from outside.....Every thread on our backs has to be gotten from Europe or elsewhere.....Here we have to establish the very first school in every area. More than that, we have to use exceptionally great patience and effort to make the people even somewhat understand the very notion of schools and their usefulness.....Similar great difficulties stood in the way of getting even higher gifted peoples of Europe -- our one-time forefathers -- accustomed to work, to go to school, and to further develop themselves intellectually....."

"Everywhere else you can buy everything or almost everything with money; here they don't even know what money is.....And if we want someone to work for us and help us, we have to do it ourselves first, and then press the shovel or hoe into his hands, indicating that he should do it exactly the same way. At first the novelty of

it interests him and he goes along beautifully. But if we turn our backs and return half an hour later, the bird has flown the coop and is gone.....In other places in the world all you need do is throw yourself into a waiting carriage and off you go. Here we have to cut open the way ahead of us in order to have a somewhat decent footpath.....

THOUSANDS OF OBSTACLES

"The most diversified demands are made on us.....We have to be farmers and planters; we have to import, care for, and breed cattle. For sea journeys we must understand sailing and steering. There are many wounds to bind, sicknesses to study, and sick colleagues to care for.....Then we have to study accounts and find places where we can buy things at a low price.....As soon as we leave the mail steamer, we need our own ships, our own surfboats, our own oarsmen, our own landing places, boathouses, and piers with cranes and winches.....What cost and trouble and work is caused by these boats alone and all that goes with them.....We ourselves have to unload the steamers, bring our cargo ashore, and put it where it belongs.....In addition to this there is the usual work of caring for souls.....

"These are only sidelights, but they give you a picture of our situation here.....No matter what kind of job comes up, the story is always the same: If we don't take care of it ourselves, no one else moves a finger. And meanwhile thousands of obstacles arise spontaneously on every side.....It was good starting on an island because here it was peaceful and safe. But we have to move to the mainland if we are going to have any grounds, and conduct any projects, and be able to buy more food supplies.....Building a new station, though, means putting up a house and even other buildings besides.....Then our hired help -- the cooks, the carpenters, the farm laborers -- all have to be paid. And finally the missionaries too have to be supported.....Your Reverence wrote that only a few priests, or none at all, volunteered for service in New Guinea.....Once again I appeal for reinforcements: Brothers, Priests, and Sisters.....

"Today, 9 December, the two Brothers, Canisius and Eustochius, are again sick with fever, and as a result the building program is at a standstill.....Just about every 8 to 14 days we get a slight attack of fever.....The Protestant missionary Bergmann on Siar Island near Friedrich Wilhelmshafen said that he has been brought down by fever attacks certainly between 400 and 500 times. He had blackwater fever 7 or 8 times. And still he does not return to Europe.....We intend to have one or two Chinese carpenters come from Singapore to help us.....That will cost much money, nearly 60 Marks or more per man per month, and the meals besides. But

What can we do?.....All these expenses add up quickly.....Therefore I would ask you once again, please send us at least 20,000 Marks..... We shall be as saving as we can.....And in the long run, I believe, we shall be able to look after ourselves.....

"The more generous you are towards us in the beginning, so much the sooner will we be able to stand on our own feet.....Gladly, and as soon as possible, we shall make restitution by contributing something toward the training of one or the other Doctor of Theology.....If only the good God blesses us.....For ourselves we want to spend as little as we can and to pay out only what is necessary..... But at the very beginning, and even for the first few years, you will have to hold us up by the arms. And I hope that your Reverence will not be doing this in vain."

GOVERNOR VON BENNIGSEN RELENTS

Because he could get no help from Europe, Father Limbrock took the matter into his own hands and sailed aboard the MORESBY to Herbertshöhe to pay yet another visit to Governor von Bennigsen. Once again he explained his need for land and submitted detailed reports. "The Governor at first authorized 50 hectares", Father Limbrock later told Father Janssen, "and then let himself be further persuaded to authorize 500 hectares." It was Friday, 3 August 1900, just ten days short of the mission's fourth full year in Kaiser Wilhelmsland. "The Governor permitted me to seek out 500 hectares of land for our purposes on the coast of New Guinea from Eitel Friedrichshafen to Potsdamhafen, for which we then have to pay 500 Marks. Later on he, or his successor, will give us an additional 500 hectares of land immediately adjacent to these and under the same conditions. This I have in writing. I thank God from the bottom of my heart!"

One of the conditions laid down by the Governor was that the second 500 hectares could not be obtained until the first 500 were cultivated. And in order to hinder any possible speculation in land, another proviso in all such agreements declared that "the Government retains the option to buy back such land, if left uncultivated, and indeed at the original price." Father Limbrock agreed that this proviso "certainly is not to be criticized."

Assuring Father Janssen of the soundness of land investment in New Guinea, Father Limbrock cited the case of "a Samoan woman who is often called Queen Emma." In the 1880s, he said, "she started with practically nothing. Today she demands two million Marks for a part of her property. It is certain that plantations here make good returns. It is beyond all doubt. Now, if only we get some unanimous assistance, we will surely make a success of it with time." He knew well what he was talking about when he spoke of

further "magnanimous assistance" being needed, because the cost price of the land was merely an initial cost which then led to much greater costs, if the land was to be developed. Kurt von Hagen had pointed out to him immediately on his arrival in Kaiser Wilhelmsland that it would cost 200, 300, or even 500 Marks per hectare simply to clear away the brush and virgin forest, before any planting could begin.

Eitel Friedrichhafen (Ulingan), mentioned by Governor von Bennigsen, was about 30 miles to the east of Potsdamhafen. After long searching in this 30-mile stretch Father Limbrock's choice fell upon 500 hectares of unoccupied virgin land which had a well-protected harbor. The property was immediately to the east of Potsdamhafen, was called Prinz Albrechthafen (Bogia), and had not been purchased by the New Guinea Company.

COMPLIMENTS FROM A CARDINAL

Ten months later in a letter that chiefly concerned another matter Father Limbrock told Mieczyslaw Cardinal Ledochowski, Cardinal Prefect of the Sacred Congregation for Propagating the Faith, in Rome, the good news that at last he had been able to acquire a large piece of land for a plantation. The Cardinal replied on 2 August 1901 by return mail: "I extend to you my warmest congratulations that the affair has had such an outcome. And I do so especially since I very highly approve of your plan to provide for the future needs of the mission through stable lands."

The Cardinal was merely being consistent with a policy laid down by his Sacred Congregation on 19 March 1893 in an Instruction issued to the Bishops of India. Father Limbrock was familiar with this Instruction and later quoted it when seeking funds from the same fund-collecting agency in France which Father Janssen had also approached for aid early in 1896. Pope Leo XIII, according to the Instruction, was deeply concerned about the future growth and development of the Church in India, where he recently had established the hierarchy. And since it was unlikely that reliable and sufficient funds could be expected from abroad for the expansion contemplated, it was necessary -- the Instruction said -- for the Bishops of India to provide some reliable source of income within India itself.

The pertinent part of the text read: "The Sacred Congregation requests of these Bishops, who because of current expenses in their missions have no large sums to set aside, only that they periodically set aside something, no matter how little, and strive to invest it safely. Thus they will providently be keeping something in reserve for the future growth of the missions and for unforeseen eventualities."

that in time might arise. What the best way of investing the money might be, is left up to the judgment of the individual Bishops, who have to make their decisions on the basis of circumstances within their own dioceses. However, it would appear to this Sacred Congregation that the best plan of all would be to purchase uncultivated fields and lands as occasions arise. Afterwards these could be cultivated to the advantage of the mission, or they could be leased out to native Christians for cultivation....."

THE COLONIAL DEPARTMENT TAKES ACTION

Father Limbrock had been very wrong in thinking that Canon Messpers and Prinz von Arenberg had been idle and had "very little time for our affairs." Six days after Cardinal Ledochowski wrote the above letter to Father Limbrock, Herr Oskar Stuebel, Director of the Colonial Department in the Foreign Office of the German Government, sent Prinz von Arenberg the following clear statement of the land situation as it existed in German New Guinea:

"Your Highness a long time ago placed at my disposal Prefect Apostolic Limbrock's text of 5 February of last year, now being returned, wherein complaints are made of the difficulties created for the Steyl Mission by the Government in Herbertshoehe and by the New Guinea Company. Excerpts from this text were sent to the Honorable Governor von Bennigsen and to the Board of Directors of the New Guinea Company, in order to give both the opportunity of expressing themselves regarding the correctness of the facts indicated and the supposed unfriendly attitude toward the Mission.

"In the exposition received from the Company it is stated that until now it has not failed in cooperating with the Mission. And even when juridically there existed the obligation to hinder the allotment of places for the Mission on its lands, it had nevertheless still declared itself prepared to enter into proper transactions for handing over land for Mission settlements. Hence, the needs of the Mission ought thereby to be served.

"In his turn the Honorable Governor von Bennigsen believes that he has always done his best to promote the Steyl Mission, and in the enclosed copy of his letter of 13 April of last year he expresses the most unreserved praise for it. And also, in particular, he has given unflagging support to the Reverend Prefect Limbrock both by word and deed.

"As far as the latter's wishes concerning the granting of land can be recognized as justified, there has been promised to him a maximum of 500 hectares at the price of one Mark per hectare. The Mission has also been authorized to work this land before registration of ownership is completed. The Governor has also promised smaller

pieces of property for the establishment of Mission stations.

"The latter at the same time has assured the Reverend Prefect that he would grant him more extensive areas, as soon as the area now apportioned to him should be cultivated.

"Hence, there is not everywhere a confining of the Mission's expansion through the refusal of land. But the Government does maintain the view that it should not give away extensive areas without having a guarantee that the land will be placed under cultivation, and a guarantee as to when this will take place. The Mission's fear that in time to come it might not be able to acquire the land needed for its purposes has no basis in the foreseeable future, and especially so for the reason that the involvement of European workers and European capital in Kaiser Wilhelmsland is still limited to a very small amount.

"Furthermore, the acquisition of native land is reserved exclusively to the Government, which therefore in proportionately large measure will and can be concerned for the needs of the Mission. This land monopoly of the Government earlier made it necessary to declare invalid the land purchases made in May of the previous year on the Schouten and Gressien Islands.

"Finally, as regards the granting of preferential tariffs for the Mission in New Guinea, I intend to bring into effect there directives similar to those which prevail in the other Protectorate. I hope that in this point the wishes of the Reverend Prefect can soon be realized.

"With the expression of particular respect, I am, Your Highness' devoted, Stuebel."

Without any fanfare Prinz von Arenberg on 17 August 1901 forwarded the above letter to Father Janssen, leaving it to his discretion as to whether or not he wished to inform Prefect Apostolic Limbrock of the contents.

Some future historian may be able to determine the precise time when Governor von Bennigsen at Herbertshoehe received from Director Stuebel the excerpts from Father Limbrock's letter of 5 February 1900. Ordinarily it would have taken two months for the letter to reach Prinz von Arenberg, and another two months for the excerpts to arrive back in the Colony. Provided that Prinz von Arenberg handed on the letter to Stuebel within a month, and that Director Stuebel likewise took action within a month, the excerpts could have reached Governor von Bennigsen for comment shortly before Father Limbrock approached him for more land on 3 August 1900.

LAND PURCHASES INVESTIGATED

Dr. Albert Hahl in 1902 at the age of 34 became the second Governor of German New Guinea and remained in office until May 1914. He followed the blueprint of largess set forth by Director Stuebel of the Colonial Department and even expanded on it, having early recognized the various Christian missions as valuable allies in the country's development. He was "a strong Protestant," according to one of Father Limbrock's earliest remarks about the new Governor, but this created no obstacle whatsoever as far as Catholic Mission projects in Kaiser Wilhelmsland were concerned. With time the two men became close friends because each recognized that the other deeply and sincerely was interested in the economical and cultural development of German New Guinea.

Questionable contracts of purchase and sale previously entered into by the New Guinea Company with the natives had to be investigated and many such contracts throughout German New Guinea were subsequently declared invalid by the Government. This brought down the wrath of the Company on the head of Governor Hahl and -- as far as Berlinhafen and vicinity were concerned -- also on the head of Father Limbrock. The reason for this was that Father Limbrock at the Government's request had supplied a priest interpreter who knew the local languages. As was to be expected, the majority of the land purchases made by the New Guinea Company were declared null and void as a result of the investigations conducted in the Berlinhafen area.

Father Limbrock informed Father Janssen on 13 October 1904 that Governor Hahl had come to see him at Tumleo and promised that a Police Station would be erected in Berlinhafen in 1906. For ten years the missionaries there had had no police protection, although tribal murders of revenge were repeatedly being committed in the immediate vicinity and even on the island where they were living. Governor Hahl's concern may have been prompted by the killing in a matter of a few hours on 13 August that year at St. Paul Catholic Mission in the Bismarck Archipelago of five nuns, three Brothers and two priests by a jealous Baining native and his henchmen. He had threatened to kill them if they did not help him with the killings. In fact, just two weeks previous to the Baining murders, something similar had been secretly planned on the mainland at Friedrich Wilhelmshafen. Only this time all the whites there were to be killed to a man, and not only the Protestant missionaries. But, thanks to a friendly native who forewarned the doctor at Friedrich Wilhelmshafen at the last moment, the bloodbath was prevented and the ringleaders were condemned to death.

THE NORTH GERMAN LLOYD

Father Limbrock had intended to send the above-mentioned letter

of 13 October 1904 to Father Janssen with the North German Lloyd steamer, which was shortly due to arrive. The next day he wrote another letter and said, "Bad news! The mail steamer is here for the last time. So we have been informed today. Only Herbertshoeh and Friedrich Wilhelmshafen will be ports of call in the future, since the steamer will be going to Hong Kong instead of Singapore. The New Guinea Company steamer will be coming here instead, but only once every three months. First of all that is too seldom, and further the steamer is altogether unreliable.....So we are in a horrible dilemma."

At once he rushed off a telegram to Father Janssen, asking him to hold back the sawmill that had been ordered in Germany and was to be installed at Bogia, where he had received the initial 500 hectares and where he intended to establish the headquarters of the mission. The central school, all the necessary shops for teaching the natives trades, and also his thriving but yet small herd of cattle were originally all to be transferred to Bogia.

"We ourselves number 31 Europeans and there are hardly that many Europeans in Friedrich Wilhelmshafen," he said. "How then can they simply discontinue this service without notice? Are we not even Germans any more?" He had a sailing vessel, but it was useless for getting supplies from Friedrich Wilhelmshafen, a 30-hour voyage by steamer, since the currents in the channel between Karkar Island and the mainland were much too strong for the sailing vessel to traverse. He began to suspect that some foul plan had been hatched by the New Guinea Company officials to thwart the hard-won progress he was finally making. He began to wonder, too, how he would be able to feed his 300 laborers and boarding school pupils, his 30 missionaries, and himself.

The North German Lloyd soon reported in the press, however, that economically it had become unfeasible to visit more than the two above-mentioned ports in German New Guinea. The country was receiving only a few hundred tons of freight on each voyage, the report explained, and was producing no raw materials in any significant quantity for export to Europe.

Originally the North German Lloyd's route ran between Singapore and German New Guinea, with service once every eight weeks, but this route quickly proved altogether impractical because "the Protectorate was still so empty a sack that it could neither make use of articles produced by the industries of Europe, nor provide tropical raw materials for export." The Government had then authorized the line to establish instead a route from Singapore to Sydney, which was to concentrate on passenger service. Two steamers were put on this route, the Prinz Sigismund and the Prinz Waldemar, and they were equipped with all the latest conveniences

and improvements to attract customers. It was a six-week service in both directions and various ports in German New Guinea were also on the route. As anticipated, passenger service mounted but traffic in freight left much to be desired. So the route was now being changed again, the newspaper report said. Instead of going to Singapore the ships would now visit the northern harbors of Asia. Yokohama had been chosen as the final port of call "to take advantage of the very promising traffic in freight between Australia and Japan." The steamers were to run from Sydney directly to the Bismarck Archipelago, from there to the New Guinea mainland, and from there via Hong Kong to Japan, and back the same way. Except for the subsidy being granted by the Government, the report said, it would not be possible to make even the two stops at Friedrich Wilhelmshafen and Herbertshoehe.

"This, however, would be altered," the report continued, "once the New Guinea Protectorate is colonized and settled, and once the lands now lying uncultivated begin producing raw materials which are needed in Germany. Such raw materials could be produced in German New Guinea -- through a steady influx of Chinese laborers -- just as cheaply as in other lands in the Pacific, like the Sunda Islands, the Philippines, Samoa, or the Fiji Islands. But this requires energy and capital, and these still today are not to be found in Germany....." (See: DIE DEUTSCHE KOLONIALZEITUNG, 24 November 1904).

The handwriting was written on the wall. New Guinea either had to produce or be forever ignored by the advancing world.

THE ORIGIN OF ALEXISHAFEN

Again Father Limbrock hurried off on one of his many trips to see the Governor at Herbertshoehe. En route he had to pass through Friedrich Wilhelmshafen and on his arrival there was spontaneously bold in confidence that the Protestant mission there had not been able to get a footing at nearby Rue (Rivo) Island, and that the land opposite on the mainland at Friedrich Karkhafen was available for purchase, having been taken neither by the New Guinea Company nor by the Rhenish Mission Society. Further, the chief ringleaders of the planned attack on Friedrich Wilhelmshafen had been from Siar and Graget (Ragetta) islands where the Rhenish group was working and even had its headquarters. "But even prescinding from this," Father Limbrock told Father Janssen, "the Rhenish missionaries had long ago become discouraged because of their little success at the cost of so much money and personnel. Two years ago, to all appearances, they had already begun asking themselves in earnest whether they should leave this thankless people and go elsewhere. Then, on top of this, there was the planned uprising. Lately there has been even more woe. Herr Bergmann, their oldest missionary,

died a short while ago, and his successor, Herr Hoffmann, had to return home on the last steamer because of sickness and will not return. Those remaining here are all still very young and inexperienced....."

Because it looked as though the Protestant Mission in the Friedrich Wilhelmshafen area would collapse, and because many natives in the vicinity still bristled with hostility as a result of the ringleaders of the planned uprising having been condemned to death, it was to be expected that Father Limbrock now at last would be granted entrance to the Friedrich Wilhelmshafen area.

He saw Governor Hahl and at first received only an oral promise that he could set up a mission station near Friedrich Wilhelmshafen. But before leaving Herbertshoehe he had the authorization in writing. "I have just received a letter from the Governor," he joyously informed Father Janssen on 5 November 1904, "in which he authorizes us to acquire 10 hectares on Ruo Island for our settlement. He also states that he is forwarding to the Colonial Department of the Foreign Office our request for an additional 500 or 1000 hectares. May God the Holy Spirit also add his gracious blessing.

With bananas and pieces of bread in his pocket Father Limbrock and two Brothers tramped through the extensive stretches of virgin forests and bays north of Friedrich Wilhelmshafen seeking a suitable location. The natives at Ruo Island thought they had deceived him by saying there was no water on their land at Friedrich Karlhafen. But his real reason for not choosing this land was that he had discovered a much better place at Alexishafen which he called "a jungle and primeval forest." It was 15 kilometers north of Friedrich Wilhelmshafen and the local people on Sek Island indicated that they would be interested in having a settlement of Europeans in their midst, and were willing to consider selling land. On 23 May 1905 the first Mass was celebrated there by Father Limbrock, by October he had a priest running a school on Sek Island which at the end of the year had 23 pupils and also some adults attending class, and before the end of the year -- on 5 December -- the first plank came off the Alexishafen sawmill which had been directed there instead of to Bogia. Ever since his arrival in 1896 he had been complaining in letters of the irony of having to spend so much money on importing lumber while at his doorstep he had such excellent stands of timber for milling, all of which was being burned to make room for planting coconut palms and rubber trees.

By 1 September 1906 he was able to report that at Alexishafen he now had 15 hectares planted with 1500 coconut palms and 4 additional hectares planted with 1800 rubber trees.

And what was the value of Alexishafen? As early as 1891 the New Guinea Company in its official publication on Kaiser Wilhelmsland had praised it to the skies for its excellent harbor. Actually, after the Company had made up its mind to transfer the capital of German New Guinea from Finschhafen, which was so plagued with disease, it seriously considered both Alexishafen and Friedrich Wilhelmshafen as the best places for the new site. "There is no doubt whatsoever about the excellence of the harbor," said the report in telling of Alexishafen. "The water is deep, there is anchoring area, and it is protected." Friedrich Wilhelmshafen, however, was the ultimate choice. This was not because it was a better harbor, but only because the New Guinea Company intended to develop plantations in the extensive Jomba plains to the south. It needed a coastal port to handle the produce, and -- as the company said -- "Alexishafen would be too far away."

At Aitape in Berlinhafen on 19 October 1906 a Police Station was set up, just as Governor Hahl had promised two years earlier.

GOVERNOR HAHL'S LAND POLICY

Father Limbrock was back in Herbertshoehe to see Governor Hahl in October 1905, this time about improving the steamer service to the mainland, and he found him "most accommodating in every way." The Governor assured him that after about six months a steamer would be making stops along the coast every four weeks, or at least every six weeks. "He even cheered me up," Father Limbrock told Father Janssen, "and said we should keep up our excellent work of founding stations and extending our plantations. He said that he would be happy to authorize land purchases for us anywhere, and said he would even set land aside for us. All we have to do is pick it out etc. He also promised me that he would do his best to see that we get a place in Friedrich Wilhelmshafen itself. Or if that does not succeed, he himself if necessary will give us some of the government's property there. Thanks to God a thousand times for this!"

And he added, "If your Reverence is asked in a private or official capacity for some judgment on our present Governor Dr. Hahl, then in all truthfulness I would like to state that there is nothing of any consequence that we can complain about. And as far as acquiring land and making settlements are concerned, we could hardly ever expect or hope to have any better and more understanding Governor.....As for our debts I would ask your Reverence in all humility to please have a little more patience with us....."

Father Limbrock lost no time in taking the Governor at his word. He had personally handed over to him a report dated 14 September 1905 and now prepared a second one which he dated 8

December 1905. In the previous one he indicated specific requests for land. In the latter one he spelled out his own ideas on what the Governor might do for the cultural and economical development of the New Guinea mainland.

As a result of these two reports, Father Limbrock said, the total property of his Prefecture Apostolic now rose to "over 3000 hectares of land, namely: 1000 in St. Anna, 300 in Dallmanhafen, 70 in Monumbo, 1300 in Bogia (but a rather large part of this is of little value), 500 in St. Michael, and a few hundred hectares besides scattered about. Here in St. Michael, however, we are to get at least another 500 hectares -- that is, if God wills." St. Michael was the name he gave to the Alexishafen mission, Monumbo was at Potsdamhafen, Dallmanhafen was in the vicinity of Wewak, and St. Anna was on the mainland opposite Tumbleo.

On Sunday, 26 July 1903, feast of St. Anna, Brother Eduard Irlenbusch visited the mainland where Father Limbrock had received land for a plantation. It came to be called St. Anna and the next day Brother Eduard started work there with 20 New Guineans. He had arrived exactly two months earlier and said he could not yet understand their language. The trees that had to be cut down in "this primeval forest" were so high, he said, "that no ordinary shotgun could reach the birds in the treetops." By Christmas his workers had increased to about 35 and he had a large area ready for planting. He kept expanding the plantation which today is the chief support of the Catholic Bishop of Aitape. On 11 May 1905 he died of blackwater fever at Tumbleo, aged 38.

Brother Ferdinand Nienhaus was then placed in charge and by September 1906 he could report that there were 4650 coconuts (46 hectares) and 4900 rubber trees on the plantation. Brother Ferdinand, in New Guinea since 1898, was the one who started the Monumbo plantation, then the Bogia plantation, and from 1905 to 1921 he ran the St. Anna plantation. In all that time he was gone for one and one half years on recuperation leave in Europe. He also had charge later of the Boikin Plantation west of Wewak on the coast and died in 1927 at Alexishafen.

FIRST PROGRESS REPORT

The economical horizon was clouding for Father Janssen back in Holland. As early as 19 April 1902 he wrote to Father Limbrock "If I judge correctly from the signs of the times, and from the prevailing dissatisfaction on the part of many people with our going about selling religious literature, the proceeds of our publishing house will go down as time goes on, and we shall have to keep this in mind. Further, I must admit that now as well as formerly I am quite sceptical about the expected financial returns

from the sawmill. So very many things are tied up with it that I fear the income will not cover the expenses."

And on 10 March 1903 Father Janssen wrote to him in the same vein again: "Our financial resources, by the way, are extremely hard pressed. For it really takes very much to feed 1000 seminarians the whole year through, and put up the necessary buildings to house them besides."

Father Limbrock had not started any too early with his plantations. But he kept asking for more money and for more personnel, for he was engaged not only in building up a mission but also in helping build up a country.

In his first progress report on plantations for Father Janssen, dated 8 September 1906, he said that 284 hectares were already planted with 28,650 coconut palms and 67 hectares were planted with 8,550 rubber trees. In 1903 Father Janssen had told him, "It is good that you want to get yourself a herd of cattle. If the generalate agrees, and if the cost is not too great, then I should like to donate the first pair. Please write and tell me the cost." In the 1906 progress report Father Limbrock said the herd of cattle had since increased to 100 head, and he also had 20 horses.

In a note appended to the report he pointed out that a ton of copra brought 200 to 300 Marks, "and recently even 410 Marks." Coconut oil, he said, would hardly be replaced by some cheap substitute. "Coconuts offer greater security than rubber, in so far as with time a chemically produced substitute for rubber may be found. Because of this we are devoting more space on our plantations to coconut palms than to rubber trees." When synthetic rubber finally was invented in Germany during World War I, as he had feared, he had the 45 hectares of rubber trees in Bogia cut down and replaced with coconut palms.

It was Father Limbrock with his foresight and his Westphalian farming background who had taken the lead with plantation work among the Christian missions in Kaiser Wilhelmsland. In 1906, the same year that he submitted his first progress report to Father Janssen, the Rhenish Mission Society launched its first plantation at Nagada, west of Friedrich Wilhelmshafen. The Finschhafen Lutheran mission had been in the country nearly 22 years when Father Limbrock wrote Father Janssen on 19 February 1908: "The Neuendettelsau Protestants have just purchased the entire Finschhafen plantation and all that goes with it from the New Guinea Company. It is said that they paid some 100,000 Marks for it. They are supposed to have 28,000 coconut palms, but most of these are still young and to a large extent are badly suffering from disease. Only 100 of the trees are bearing nuts."

When he asked for Brothers and did not get them, Father Limbrock had no alternative but to have priests manage plantations. His 1906 progress report said that Brother Protasius was running the Monumbo plantation, Brother Ferdinand the one at St. Anna, Father Girards the one at Bogia, and Father Loerks -- who later became a Bishop with headquarters on Kairiru -- the one at Alexishafen. Other priests, too, had to do much manual work, and all did not like the idea. Complaints found their way to Steyl, and Father Janssen questioned Father Limbrock about his policy.

"Someone might well object," he replied, "and state that we missionaries ought to withdraw ourselves more from material occupations.....Of course, we try to let the Brothers do as much of this work as possible, so as to keep ourselves free for divine services and evangelizing. But unfortunately up till now the good Brothers are just not numerous enough.....If a house is to be built then a foundation is also necessary. For better, then, or for worse we have had to accommodate ourselves to what was unavoidable and to take over the work ourselves. It pained us deeply, however, that in the meanwhile the mission work naturally had to suffer greatly.

Father Janssen's reply was simple: "This physical work is an honor for the first missionaries, and a great example for those that follow."

GEOLOGICAL RESEARCH AND MAPMAKING

Father Joseph Reiber, before being sent to New Guinea by Father Janssen, had made special studies at the University of Munich under Herr Professor Dr. Ernst Stromer, a noted specialist on the geology of the German Protectorates. Father Reiber finally arrived at Friedrich Wilhelmshafen on 7 July 1906. After studying and writing extensively for a year about the geology of Tumleo Island and all of Berlinhafen, he set out on a geological expedition to the interior on 5 August 1907, following the bed of the Eilo (also Raju) River. Father Constantijn van den Hemel, who had been sworn in by Governor Dr. Hahl at Tumleo as a Chartered Surveyor for German New Guinea, accompanied him to map out the area.

All along the route into the Torricelli Mountains the priest geologist carefully collected, catalogued, and wrapped rock and fossil samples, and made copious notes. There were many waterfalls en route, and on 29 August they came to one some 50 meters high and 5 meters wide. "You come back to camp wet through and through every day," Father Reiber said in his diary. They had been wading in the riverbed for over 10 days, he said, when on 26 August at Camp Number Five he developed a stubborn fever and could not shake it off. The fever made it impossible for him to get beyond Camp Number Six at 150 meters above sea level, which he reached on 29 August. But

ther van den Hemel succeeded in penetrating to Camp Number Eight and even discovered the source of the Eilo. The expedition had penetrated 32 kilometers into the interior.

Then on 5 September, at Camp Number Six, Father Reiber died. His corpse was carried back to the coast for burial.

He had willed all of his notes and sketches and all of the rocks and fossils that he had collected during this expedition and during his previous months in New Guinea to another Divine Word priest, a geologist like himself, Dr. Stephen Richarz on the faculty of the Divine Word major seminary at Moedling near Vienna, Austria. Dr. Richarz then incorporated this data in a systematic and scientific study whose title -- translated into English -- read: "The Geological Formation of Kaiser Wilhelmsland As Far As We Know Today." The study was published in 1910 in the NEUES JAHRBUCH FÜR MINERALOGIE, GEOLOGIE UND PALAEONTOLOGIE at Stuttgart, Germany.

Dr. Richarz explained that in this study he had gathered together all known data, published and unpublished, on the geology of Kaiser Wilhelmsland. Only one professional geologist had preceded Father Reiber to the Protectorate, he said, a certain Dr. C. Schneider, but he had been in New Guinea "for only a short time and so his observations are not very important for what they can tell us of the overall picture." He said that Father Reiber's painstaking research during 14 months in New Guinea, however, had made possible the first systematic and comprehensive study of the geological structure of Kaiser Wilhelmsland. One of the color plates accompanying his study shows 10 geological strata of German New Guinea.

The result of the study, said Dr. Richarz, was that "now for the first time we have a look into the secrets of that long hidden land.....This will give rise to new questions and will spark ideas for new research."

Father van den Hemel, the Chartered Surveyor who accompanied Father Reiber on his fatal expedition, made the first official map of the coastline and adjacent islands (except Kairiru), reaching from Tumleo Island in Berlinhafen to Makabing Bay (Nightingale Bay) at Terebu, east of Wewak, a distance of more than 150 kilometers. In many places the cliffs reached the ocean shore and surveying was exceptionally difficult. Father van den Hemel with the help of other priests and Brothers sought out the exact names of tribes, villages and rivers, and also put these on the map.

"We have spared neither time nor effort in the tasks of mapping the coast and mapping the Eilo River hinterland," said Father Limbrock in 1908, "so that the maps could be available to science and to any potential settlers." Four years earlier he had said that New Guinea,

because of its fortunate position in the midst of the three great continents of Asia, Australia and America, "will doubtlessly soon be playing a highly significant role."

GUTTA-PERCHA, RICE AND COTTON

After being in Kaiser Wilhelmsland for some months, Dr. R. Schlechter arrived in Berlinhafen on 9 April 1902 for an expedition to the interior to see if he could find stands of gutta-percha trees. "Contrary to all expectation," Father Limbrock said, he had found thick stands of gutta-percha trees, "First in the Bismarck Mountains and then also in the plains and mountains of the Astrolab Bay." While in the Bismarck Mountains he and his party had seen people there in numbers larger than anywhere else in New Guinea. He walked through extraordinarily large gardens, which were so long that it took two hours to pass through them, and there were such native gardens everywhere roundabout. Until now, Father Limbrock said, "it had always been maintained that the interior of New Guinea was almost empty of people and uninhabited."

In 1908 Governor Hahl wrote to Father Limbrock that he would be receiving an official communication on instructing the natives in gutta-percha culture. "But instead of sending them to Dr. Schlechter, as I suggested," he said, "it would be ideal if your Brothers could themselves get this knowledge from Herr Schlechter."

In his report to Governor Hahl of 8 December 1905 Father Limbrock suggested that all means be used to raise the cultural level of the mainland inhabitants, "hopefully also through the introduction of rice culture." In Europe, before coming to New Guinea, Father van den Hemel had made special studies in tropical plant culture. On his way to New Guinea late in 1903 he had stopped off at Java to make personal contact with the Director of the Botanical Garden (today: Kebun Raja) at Buitenzorg (today: Bogor) 50 Km. north of modern Djakarta. Since he himself was Dutch, he had no trouble with the language in speaking to the officials. The Director gave him "six cases full of plants and seeds." He also picked up at the port 10 cows and 3 horses which he brought along to Tumleo.

It was therefore not surprising that when Father Limbrock himself decided to go into rice culture, one of his collaborators in the project should be Father van den Hemel. The young priest was sent to Saigon and Bangkok to study the extensive irrigation systems in operation there. But it was the wrong time of the year when he arrived there, so he went right on from Saigon to Batavia (Djakarta) to study the system of rice culture used in Java. On his return from the 1909 voyage to Java, Father van den Hemel went up the Eilo River and a short distance inland set up a

plant rice plantation with lowland or swamp rice that he had brought from Java. In five months time the rice was ready for harvest. Governor Hahl gave the project the highest praise.

By this time the rice for workers being imported from Saigon was costing the mission about 30,000 Marks a year. Not only did Father Limbrock want to get rid of this bill, but he also wanted to make it possible for the natives of New Guinea to raise this food themselves. The people on the coast were so weak, deaths in many places exceeded births, and he put the blame on the starchy foods to which their diet was nearly restricted: taros, yams, bananas and mango. Since he had gotten a rich harvest of swamp rice in five months time, he sent two of his priests to the extensive rice plantations of the southern United States in 1912. They were Father Berks, the manager of the Alexishafen plantation, and Father Averberg the superintendent of all plantations along the coast. Like Father Limbrock, Father Averberg had also come from a large farm.

At Danip, part of the Alexishafen property, they prepared five hectares with rice. But the laborers had not been vaccinated against tetanus; some of them contracted it and died, and soon there were no more volunteers for this kind of work. Father Averberg was on the verge of returning to the United States to purchase the necessary machinery, so that the same labor saving machine methods used in Louisiana could be introduced at Alexishafen, when World War I broke out. The war made it impossible to get the machinery, impossible to get the proper seed from Java, and impossible to get the insecticides needed to prevent a pest from eating the kernels. As the war dragged on in Europe, it was decided to plant the vacant rice fields with coconuts. The cost of rice from Saigon was also very cheap, perhaps cheaper than one could raise himself in New Guinea, so no more attempts with rice were made. It was felt to be more profitable to produce copra and buy rice with the profits.

It was at Crowley, Louisiana, where the two priests had studied rice culture on a large scale. They also made a study of large cotton plantations in Louisiana and Texas. Cotton grows excellently in New Guinea but has to reach maturity in the dry season, since the pods burst open and the cotton falls to the ground. Wet ground, so common in New Guinea, makes it useless. This experience kept the mission from developing cotton plantations, although some was grown on a very small scale at Monumbo. It was the same bad experience that had convinced the New Guinea Company almost 20 years earlier that cotton was not the ideal crop or a safe crop for New Guinea.

CONFERENCE OF MISSION SUPERIORS

The heads of all Catholic ecclesiastical districts in German New Guinea met at Vunapope near Rabaul for a Conference from 8 to

14 December 1913. Present were the Bishop of Neu Pommern (today: New Britain), the Bishop of the Marianas and Caroline Islands, the Prefect Apostolic of mainland New Guinea (Father Limbrock), the Prefect Apostolic of the Northern Solomons, and the head of the Marshall Islands mission. Three additional priests from these missions were also present. Their tenth resolution stated that each of the ecclesiastical areas represented should do its utmost to start plantations, "so as to make the mission as financially independent as possible from Europe."

Seven months later, on 28 July 1914, World War I broke out and all financial aid for New Guinea missions from Europe was cut off until the end of the war. On 14 September the German Government and German troops at Rabaul surrendered to Australia and a "caretaker administration began which lasted until 1921. Then German planters were dispossessed, sent home, and Australian soldiers received their plantations. The Christian missions because of the "Miscellaneous Provisions" in Part XV, Article 438, of the Treaty of Versailles with Germany, were allowed to retain their property:

"The Allied and Associated Powers agree that where Christian religious missions were being maintained by German societies or persons in territory belonging to them, or of which the government is entrusted to them in accordance with the present Treaty, the property which these missions or missionary societies possessed, including that of trading societies whose profits were devoted to the support of missions, shall continue to be devoted to missionary purposes....."

About the time that the German troops were surrendering to the Australians in Rabaul, Father Limbrock was surrendering the reins as Prefect Apostolic. Half a dozen times under Father Janssen he had submitted his resignation, but it had never been accepted. Father Janssen knew what he had in Father Limbrock, and he reprimanded or encouraged him, as was required. These two men had no secrets and they worked for New Guinea as if with one heart. But Father Janssen had died on 15 January 1909 and his successor apparently did not know how to handle as well the stubborn and hard-working and devout Father Limbrock in his "wilderness at the farthest ends of the earth." He had been quietly drafted for the office, and now just as quietly left, working in New Guinea as any other priest until the eve of his death which took place in Sydney on 31 May 1931.

On 12 February 1907, after he had been in New Guinea ten and a half years, he wrote to Father Janssen that all that was missing now was a printing press and a Brother printer. "If we have this taken care of, then it seems to me the mission is ready to exist and develop by itself. And so my job is finished. I can then

leave the world's stage and disappear, never to be seen again -- which is certainly no loss -- and find for myself a quieter and more agreeable place than was allotted to me here."

He had been responsible for a vast amount of capital being dumped into New Guinea. The Divine Word Generalate, prior to 1913, had donated to him 500,000 Marks for the mission. Then he had made a loan of 200,000 Marks from a seminary in Europe called Heiligkreuz and one of 180,000 from the mission which he had left in China, since it was so well known and people were making donations to it "with overflowing hands and heart". It would take his successors many years to pay off the capital of these loans and the slight interest on them. Hostile critics would accuse him of having gone back on his principles, and sending profits out of the country, when all he was doing was paying back loans that had helped the country of New Guinea and the mission there to develop and expand.

By 1925 his herd had increased to 1374 head of cattle and there were besides in the mission 170 carabaos, 80 pigs, 116 horses, 19 donkeys (or mules), 817 sheep, 365 goats and 1117 chickens.

His first five mission stations had been in five different language areas. "We constantly direct our efforts toward having children from as many different language groups as possible in our central school," he said. Once the confidence of the laborers was won, it was not difficult to get the children from their family or village for a central school. By 1908 there were children from 11 language areas in the central school at Tumleo. And if you include also the language groups represented by our workers, Father Limbrock said, "then we have people on our stations from at least two dozen different languages." He considered them to be two dozen doors into that many linguistic areas.

And how did he settle the language problem in this central school? He studied the advisability of using a single native language, or English, or pidgin English, or the Malayan language introduced by the Dutch in the Dutch East Indies, or also Volapuek, a kind of Esperanto invented in Germany about 1879. Although Malayan would have been easy to learn, he believed it would serve as an avenue for Mohammedanism to enter German New Guinea, and so he opposed it. He finally decided that the only sensible thing to do in German New Guinea was to make German the universal language since the natives should acquire a world language, with an abundant literature, which they could use for conversing with Germans in their country. As early as 1902 he said that in the Tumleo school, "with the exception of the daily religion class, only German is spoken in all other classes."

"The children here are not at all as dull and stupid as many

might have you believe," he wrote. "They only need to be intellectually stimulated and trained....Many of our pupils here could compete very well with the average European pupils." And on 9 March 1901 he had two priests and two nuns teaching at his central school on Tumbleo. The boys were getting 27 hours of class a week and the girls -- because of an additional class in needlework -- were getting 30 hours. He tried to get 20 to 30 Fijian teachers in 1899, Filipino teachers in 1900, and teaching Brothers in 1901.

LETTER TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL WISDOM

Mr. G.J.H. Garratt, officer in charge of the native and Asiatic prisons at Rabaul, arrived in Sydney on 21 July 1922 and the next day the SYDNEY MORNING HERALD ran an interview in which he stated that "the dismissal of the German missionaries" was "necessary to the success of the territory."

Similar charges had been made endlessly, even prior to this, so on 7 June 1921 the successor to Father Limbrock -- Father Andrea Puff -- sat down and penned a letter to the first Administrator of the Mandated Territory, Brigadier-General E.A. Wisdom, at Rabaul. It was a month after the civil administration of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea had commenced. He could no longer be silent about charges being made against the mission, he said. The charges were being aimed at plantations, which have proved to be an aid both in spreading Christianity and in raising the social standard of the people, he said.

"The natural development of the mission," he said, "suggested plantations....as the best means of getting contact with the distant and diverse linguistic groups of natives, of making them acquainted with our intentions and purposes, and of facilitating the mission's task of instruction and education.

"In the beginning plantations were even necessary," because they "formed for the mission a natural, sure protection against sudden attacks by this suspicious warlike people. Seeing the missionaries surrounded by many laborers and not being without protection, they did not dare attack.

"It is true, the mission's first task is to spread the faith. But like every colonist and business firm, the mission has a natural right to regular productive work. The missions have the obligation to help the native tame his wild nature, overcome idleness, and learn order and obedience. Now the plantations, workshops, and all educational establishments of the mission are good schools for these purposes. The missionaries work for charity and for the benefit of the country, and so their work should not be less esteemed than that of businessmen.

"Funds are necessary for the support of mission work, but the natives here are very poor. And so we have to help ourselves or be a burden to Christian countries. For even though great sums are collected annually for all the missions of the world, the funds we receive do not cover our budget.....and so we must help ourselves. The war and the present sad state of the world have proved the necessity and usefulness of plantations. The proceeds are used only for the maintenance of our mission and for the continuation of mission work right here in the colony....., and so the plantations are of advantage to this country and its people. The proceeds of business firms and planters, on the other hand, go out of the country and are invested elsewhere. As Mr. Lucas, a member of the Royal Commission, has pointed out, the capital and the profit of the missions remains right here.

"It can be argued that mission plantations hurt business firms and planters, but only if you agree that every planter in the world hurts every other planter. Are there no equal rights? There is envy and jealousy.....and the rumor is spreading that the mission is prejudicial to recruiting. The mission, like the Government, is opposed to illegal recruiting.

"Some charge that mission schools are means for the mission to grow rich, and so these schools give offense.....The mission however does not demand tuition for its schools. On the contrary, it is obliged to give clothing, food, lodging, and even must pay out wages, in order to be "allowed" and "enabled" to train youth in various handicrafts.....Youth do not realize the need for study, and so we must reward them for their efforts. And so the spectre of the mission growing rich by its schools is automatically excluded.

"Let me quote the following lines which Father Limbrock wrote to the former German Governor: 'If the envy of other business firms asserts that such educational establishments are of material advantage for the mission, it would be recommended that a public request be made, that all such business enterprises everywhere should found such and similar educational establishments. The more the better! And if they so desire, we shall be ready to put at their disposal any number of Sisters, Fathers and Brothers for the supervision and direction of those schools and for teaching in them. The only condition is that free board and lodging be provided for them, and that they be granted full freedom, time and opportunity to conduct their religious exercises and conduct the work that is proper to them as missionaries..... Whatever gain and profit there may be, we shall gladly leave to the business firm that undertakes the happy enterprise.' So far, Father Limbrock."

There may be a reply from Bigadier-General Wisdom, but I have not been able to trace it.

ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF PEOPLES

Governor Dr. Albert Hahl in his 1926 study of German New Guinea states that Father Limbrock could be called one of the "apostles" of the people of New Guinea.

Father Puff, his successor, when defending him in a letter to the Apostolic Delegate Cattaneo in Australia on 11 April 1921 said "In the face of the greatest difficulties he established a solid material basis for mission work, and because of this he must forever be called the greatest benefactor of the mission."

The work that Father Limbrock tried to accomplish is suggested in this passage from the Pastoral Constitution of the Church in the Modern World, issued by the Second Vatican Council on 7 December 1965: "When man, by the work of his hands or with the aid of technology, develops the earth so that it can bear fruit and become a dwelling worthy of the whole human family....., he carries out the design of God. Manifested at the beginning of time, the divine plan is that man should subdue the earth, bring creation to perfection, and develop himself. When a man so acts he simultaneously obeys the great Christian commandment that he place himself at the service of his brother men." (Paragraph #57)

"The Church has never failed to foster the human progress of the nations to which she brings faith in Christ," said Pope Paul VI in his encyclical letter of 26 March 1967 on the Development of Peoples. "Her missionaries have built, not only churches, but also hostels and hospitals, schools and universities. Teaching the local populations the means of deriving the best advantages from their natural resources, missionaries have often protected them from the greed of foreigners. Without doubt their work inasmuch as it was human, was not perfect.....In many a region they were among the pioneers in material progress as well as in cultural advancement....." But development cannot be limited to mere economic growth, Pope Paul pointed out. "In order to be authentic, it must be complete: integral, that is, it has to promote the good of every man and of the whole man."

DEFINING A GOOD MISSIONARY

Father Limbrock once said: "Humanly speaking, one of the most foolish moments in my life was the one in which I declared myself ready to go to Kaiser Wilhelmsland as Prefect Apostolic." Father Janssen thought differently: "When the question came up of assigning someone to head the mission in New Guinea, the thought kept coming back to me: Father Limbrock would be good for the job. For he is both devout and practical minded, and both of these qualities are very necessary. And also he will interest himself with those things which will be necessary for the support of the

ission there."

Mr. Paul Hasluck, speaking in Perth on 20 October 1959 when Minister for Territories, attempted to define a good missionary. "It is hard to assess the qualities that are required in a good missionary," he said. "He has to be devout, but he has to be practical. He has to be saintly, but he has to be worldly-wise. He has to have the charity that is long-suffering and kind, but he also has to be the sort who will put up with no nonsense. He has to have an untarnished faith, but he has to be able and willing to work for what he wants.....I would venture to say that when a mission goes to a primitive people such as those in Papua and New Guinea, it is essential that the religious ministry should be accompanied by a practical ministry.....I would strongly counsel that any mission should engage in practical as well as devotional work." But the spiritual side of mission work, he stressed, teaching and the enlightenment that changes a man's life, not by what it does to his surroundings but what it does to the heart and mind of man himself, should never be submerged by the practical approach."

It is curious to note that Father Janssen, writing in 1905, said that he had chosen Father Limbrock to be founder of the New Guinea mission because he was "devout" and "practical minded". Fifty-four years later, in 1959, Mr. Hasluck's first two qualities for a good missionary are the same: He has to be "devout," he has to be "practical".

DO AS NOT TO BE A BURDEN

"How many Christians have you made up till now?" Father Janssen asked in 1902. Father Limbrock answered: "Of course, only a few " He said he was not interested "in shoving anyone into the pool of Bethesda," something that would have been easy enough through some small gifts" and a bit of moral pressure.

"When the hour of grace comes," he said, "then the good God through his gracious blessings will take care of the statistics, and the more so because we have worked, cared, and prayed for his honor and the salvation of souls."

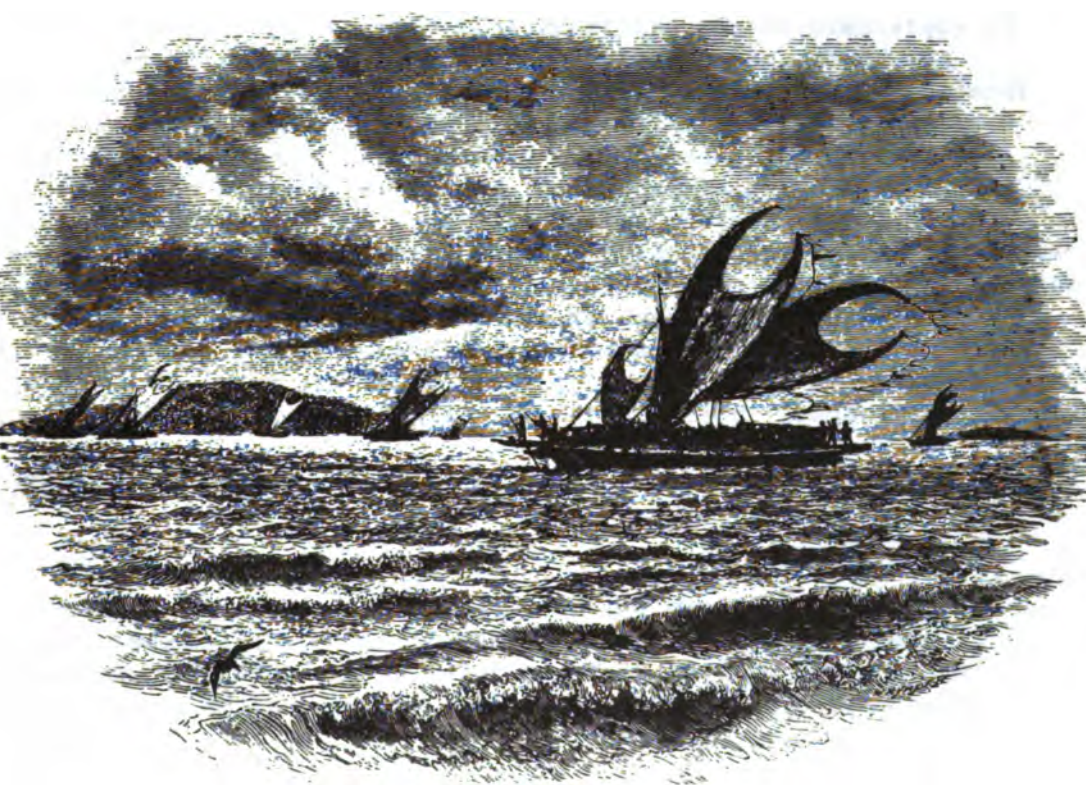
At his death there were 20,000 baptized Christians and 5000 catechumens in the mission which he had founded.

I do not know if the grave of Father Limbrock has a headstone, and I do not know if the headstone has an inscription. A rather suitable inscription for him, however, might be these words of St. Paul the Apostle:

"With our own hands...
we worked night and day
so as not to be a burden to any of you
while we preached to you
the Gospel of God."

(1 Cor. 4, 12; 1 Thes. 2, 9)

V NON-DOCUMENTARY APPROACHES



LINGUISTIC CLUES TO KOIARIAN PRE-HISTORY

T. E. Dutton

INTRODUCTION

Linguistics has long been regarded as a powerful tool for providing insight into the prehistory of populations. It is particularly valuable in this regard in New Guinea where information from other disciplines is still lacking or incomplete.

This paper shows how our present knowledge of the languages of the Central and Northern Districts of Papua (hereafter referred to as Central Papua) may be used to suggest the recent prehistory of populations in this area by focussing attention on one of the larger ones there - the Koiarians. For the purposes of this paper the term 'pre-history' will be limited to the discussion of the movements of peoples. Subsequently it is planned to attempt a reconstruction of some aspects of the parent language of the Koiarians, and from this, something of the content of their prehistoric culture.¹ Special attention is also given to Motu-Koita history and pre-history in this paper since this area has particular relevance to other papers in the Non-documentary Approaches section of this seminar. More complete evidence and discussion upon which this paper is based are to be found in my forthcoming monograph "The Peopling of Central Papua: Some Preliminary Observations".²

METHOD AND MATERIALS

Method

Briefly this consists of establishing genetic relationships between communalects,³ and thereby a common origin for those communalects found to be so related. This in turn implies the former unity, and subsequent separation and movement of present populations.⁴

Experience has shown that the quickest way of tentatively establishing these relationships is by studying the vocabulary of languages, but especially by means of the technique known as lexico-statistics.⁵ Briefly this technique consists of comparing the vernacular equivalents of 'basic' vocabulary from two or more communalects to determine percentages of shared cognates.⁶ Communalects are then classified into dialects, languages, families, stocks, phyla using percentage figures suggested by Swadesh.⁷ Normally one of two basic-vocabulary lists is employed.⁸ These were drawn up by Swadesh and are known as the Swadesh 100-word list and

the Swadesh 200-word list respectively (Swadesh, 1955). In this survey, however, Wurm's modified TRIPP list was used. This is a modification of the Swadesh lists to suit the particular features of New Guinea cultures and their geographical location.⁹ Wurm's list contains 292 vocabulary items, some of which are 'cultural' (e.g., pig, sweet potato) and not counted in determining cognate percentages.

Material

Basic vocabulary lists and other linguistic and non-linguistic data were collected in over 100 villages in Central Papua between March 1966 and March 1967.¹⁰ Most of this information was elicited in Police Motu and/or English from native informants in their own villages, and where this was not possible, from visitors, travellers and/or relatives in neighbouring villages, or on Government outstations. Other information was also obtained from Mission and Administration Officers and records, and from other research workers.¹¹

LINGUISTIC PICTURE

Overview of Central Papua

Village communalects in Central Papua may be broadly classified into two distinct genetically unrelated groups - Austronesian (hereafter symbolised AN) and non-Austronesian or Papuan.¹² The AN languages are to be found scattered around the coast and inland for some distance in the Rigo and Kairuku sub-districts of the Central District (see map 1). Some of these languages are Mekeo, Roro, Gabadi, Doura, Motu, Sinagoro and Keapara. These are all closely related genetically (Capell, 1943; 1954; 1962a) and therefore have a common ancestor, Prot-AN. The non-AN or Papuan languages can also be grouped into genetically related units of varying sizes and degrees of closeness of relationship. They occupy the remainder of Central Papua. Hitherto their separateness has been emphasised but my research suggests that most of them belong to a common stock, and possibly phylum, distantly related to the languages of the Central Highlands of New Guinea.

The Koiarian family is central to this large grouping. It stretches across Papua from the coast around Port Moresby almost to the sea on the north coast at the eastern end of the Hydrographers' Ranges. It is surrounded by other distantly related families of the common stock (and phylum?) - Goilala in the west,¹³ Binandere in the north,¹⁴ Yareba,¹⁵ Manubara, and Kwale¹⁶ to the east. An apparently unrelated language isolate - Mulaha or Iaibu - also used to exist on the south coast near the Motu village of Gaire. This language was first reported by Ray (1929) but is now extinct.

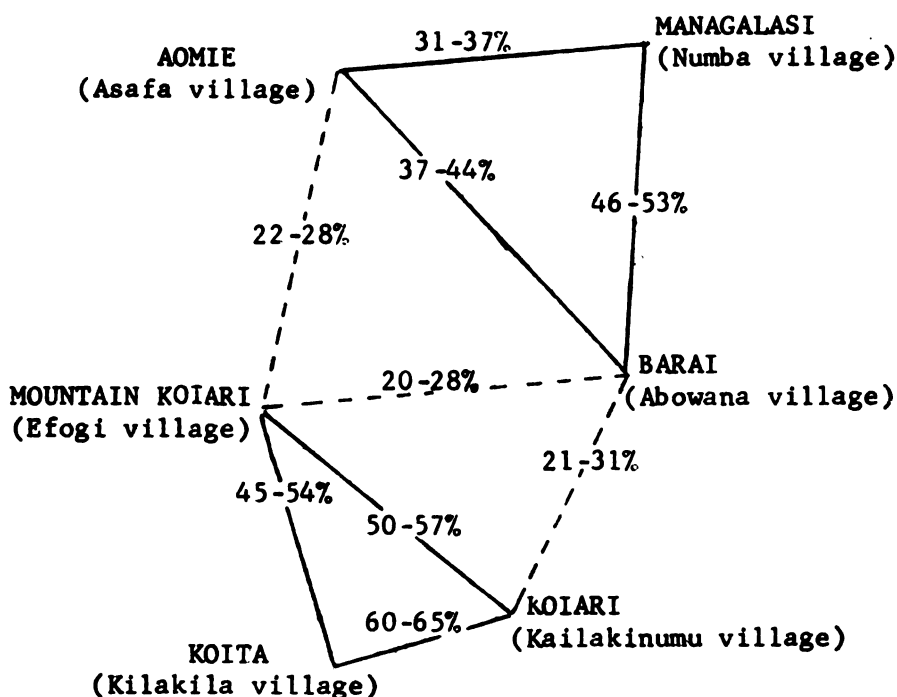
The Koiarian Family

The Koiarian language family consists of six non-AN languages KOITA, KOIARI, MOUNTAIN KOIARI, BARAI, MANAGALASI and AOMIE¹⁷ - whose speakers number over 15,000. The distribution of these languages is shown on map 2.

The lexical correspondence in basic vocabulary between these languages at geographically widely separated points is shown on the following chart:¹⁸

	Koita	Koiari	Mtn. Koiari	Aomie	Barai	Managalasi
koita		60-65%	45-54%	18-23%	15-25%	8-20%
koiari	60-65%		50-57%	15-24%	21-31%	10-20%
mtn. Koiari	45-54%	50-57%		22-28%	20-28%	13-20%
omie	18-23%	15-24%	22-28%		37-44%	31-37%
barai	15-25%	21-31%	20-28%	37-44%		46-53%
managalasi	8-20%	10-20%	13-20%	31-37%	46-53%	

Some of these correspondences may be more meaningfully displayed as follows, where villages are shown in their approximate geographic positions relative to each other:



From these charts, it is apparent that Koita, Koiari and Mountain Kciari are more closely related to one another than any one is to the remaining three - Barai, Aomie and Managalasi, and that these three latter are in turn more closely related to each other than to any of the former three. Both groups share approximately 25% (average) basic vocabulary with each other. This figure is below the 28% which is the normally accepted one for including languages in the same family (see footnote No.7). However, it must be remembered that these percentages are between geographically distant villages and that higher percentages result if geographically closer villages are considered e.g. Awoma (Mountain Koiari) and Emo River (Barai) share approximately 44% basic vocabulary. Further these languages share much higher basic vocabulary with each other than any of them does with any of the neighbouring languages, e.g.,

Koiari	- Kwale	15%	(average)
Managalasi	- Bariji	13%	(average)
Managalasi	- Baruga	18%	(average)

Thus the Koiarian language family may be said to consist of two sub-families:

- (a) Koiaric (Koita, Koiari, Mountain Koiari);
- (b) Baraic (Barai, Managalasi, Aomie),

whose languages are similar in phonology and share many grammatical features.

The linguistic relationship between the two sub-families suggests that they separated a long time ago (perhaps several thousand years). During this period many independent changes have occurred in the two branches, with lesser changes in the ensuing period. Further, the languages of each of the sub-families would seem to have diverged in a similar manner. Thus in the Baraic sub-family Aomie seems to have had a longer separate history than either Managalasi or Barai, both of which have had a common history for some time before diverging as separate languages. A similar pattern is evident among the Koiaric languages. Here Koita and Koiari are the most complex and seem to have had a long period of common history in contrast to Mountain Koiari which diverged earlier and has had an independent history.

Koiaric Sub-Family

The greater part of this sub-family is located in the Central District stretching east and west from Port Moresby along the coast and inland to the Owen Stanley Ranges along the valleys of the Laloki, Goldie, Brown and Vanapa River systems (see map 3). A

Each smaller section is located in the Northern District in a thin strip between the Yodda River (Upper Mambare) and the dividing range and in three villages in the headwaters of the Kumusi River. The area is sparsely populated by speakers of the three languages Koita (between the Laloki River and the coast), Koiari (on the Sogeri Plateau and the foothills of the Astrolabe Ranges) and Mountain Koiari (elsewhere).

Koita and Koiari are closely related in all aspects of their languages. Both are represented by two dialects each, though the Koita dialects are less divergent than the Koiari ones. The division between east and west Koita occurs roughly with the inland end of Fairfax Harbour. East Koita thus includes Baruni and Lakila while West Koita includes Roku and Gorohu.¹⁹ These dialects share approximately 87% basic vocabulary with each other.

The Koiari dialects are also eastern and western. East Koiari is spoken in a small arc around the eastern end of the Sogeri Plateau from Kailakinumu village through Ogotana, Futinumu, Agitana, Anunu to Seme and Dagota on the coastal side of this plateau. This dialect shares approximately 82% (average) basic vocabulary with the western Koiari dialect which occupies the remainder of the Sogeri Plateau (around Fakonama and Vesilogo), the southern foothills of the Astrolabe Range (around Labuka) and part of the middle Laloki Valley (around Mesime). The eastern dialect is more diverse than the western and the lexical evidence suggests a splitting of this dialect into two sub-dialects: north-eastern and south-eastern.

Mountain Koiari consists of six dialects - southern, central, eastern, northern, eastern and lesser-eastern. The southern dialect covers an elongated area down the Goldie River from Naoro across to Motumotu on the Brown River. It is a buffer dialect between other Mountain Koiari dialects and Koiari to the south, and its vocabulary shows the result of this contact. It includes the tribes of Varagadi, Uberi, Moroka, Herei and Eava. The southern dialect is markedly different from its northern counterparts and bears the least cognatic correspondence with any of them. Phonologically it is divergent within itself so that at Naoro one finds that peoples living on opposite sides of the village 'street' speak apparently quite different dialects. This is so because Herei has a glottal stop corresponding to the voiceless stops 't' and 'k' in Eave speech.

The central dialect is the largest and occupies the small river valleys of the Brown River, stretching from Madilogo north to Efogi and Kagi and west to Manumu and possibly Biniga. It is most closely related to the eastern and northern dialects and not quite as closely to the lesser-eastern and western dialects. This latter occupies the Vanapa River valley from Boine and Suku to Kerea, Fodu and Adiloho. The northern dialect occupies the southern bank of the

Yodda River valley in the foothills of the Owen Stanley range in the Northern District. It stretches from Kanga in the west through Kovelö (near Kokoda) to Alola and Isurava in the Yora River valley just north of the Gap. This dialect shares only 73-75% basic vocabulary with the Eastern dialect which is spoken in the village of Awoma and Tetebe in the headwaters of the Kumusi River. This latter dialect shares 82-85% basic vocabulary with the last and smallest of the Mountain Koiari dialects, lesser-Eastern, around Kovio further up the same river valley.

Baraic Sub-Family

The greater part of this sub-family is to be found in the Northern District south and west of the Hydrographers' Ranges to the Owen Stanley Divide. Part of the sub-family extends across this range into the Central District in the north-west of the Rigo Sub-District.

The largest of the languages is Managalasi which is a relatively densely populated basin around the headwaters of the Pongani and Bariji Rivers. This language apparently consists of a large number of lexical dialects (10?) of which only 5 were surveyed. In the east it abutts on to the Baruga language (Binandere Family) and the dialect around Ondoro shows considerable lexical borrowing from this language suggesting long contact with or dominance by the Baruga. In the south-west it has a common border with Barai between the villages of Tahama and Kwarue.

The Barai language extends southwards from the Managalasi border in a large arc through the headwaters of the Moni River (Upper Musa) across the Owen Stanley Ranges into the Mimai Valley (Upper Kemp Welch) and thence westward up the Laba (or Adai) tributary of the same stream. In the west it has a common border with Koiari and Mountain Koiari at Doe village, and in the south with the Kwale language family and to the east with the Manubara and Yareba families. It is also represented at the two villages of Emo River and Ejaro (and part of Ujilo) in the Kumusi valley. The Barai language also consists of a large number of dialects (8) and at least two more were known to have existed until the early twentieth century - Seramina and Uala. At first contact Barai speakers from south of the Barai-Managalasi border were reported to be able to understand the Managalasi language from much further east around Numba.

The Aomie inhabit the Kumusi valley at Namanadza immediately north of the Barai village of Emo River, and the Mamama valley which is an east bank tributary of the Kumusi south-west of Mt Lamington. There are at least 2 dialects - one in the Kumusi and one around Asapa. A third probably exists around Gora and

omahouji but no linguistic material was collected from this area.

The distribution of Koiarian dialects, with lines of maximum basic vocabulary correspondence between each, is shown on map 3.

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

The present existence of the Koiarian family of related languages implies the former existence of a single parent language (proto-Koiarian) which, by an accumulation of successive changes in different areas has diverged into distinct daughter languages, viz., the six members of the family.

According to Dyen (1965a:15) the centre of distribution of these languages or the homeland of the parent language, may be ascribed to "the area in which the genetically most diverse members of the family are to be found".²¹ Using this criterion the centre of distribution of the Koiarian peoples would appear to be somewhere in the Mountain Koiari - Aomie region, since these two languages appear to be the most divergent members of the family.

Other evidence seems to support this hypothesis and indeed suggests that the centre of distribution may have been located somewhere in the mountainous region of the Upper Kumusi Valley. Thus the present dialectal situation (map 3) suggests that the divergence process of the languages is related to the movement of peoples away from established points with no back-tracking or intrusion of one group upon another - except perhaps in the Kumusi valley. Here there are four dialects of three mutually unintelligible languages (Aomie, Barai, and Mountain Koiari) spread over seven villages. This situation can be explained in one of two ways - either as a series of intrusions or as historical evidence that this area was once the centre of distribution of the family. Present linguistic evidence does not allow of further interpretation. However, according to informant testimonies intrusion seems to have been unlikely. On the contrary all believe that they are descended from common mythical ancestors who came out of the ground near the present-day village of Emo River. This belief is widespread amongst the Aomie, Mountain Koiari, Barai and some Managalasi. Furthermore, the recent southward movement of Mountain Koiari, Koiari, Koita, and some Barai seems to support the claim for a northern provenance for these peoples. I have no evidence of the recent movement pattern of the Aomie and Managalasi except that they both claim to have once occupied a larger territory than they do now.

Thus in the absence of any contradictory evidence I suggest that the centre of distribution of the Koiarian peoples looks like being somewhere in the mountains around the headwaters of the Kumusi River, and that there has been a drift of populations both north and south from this area.

Accepting this then and taking into account the present distribution of languages in Central Papua and what is known of their recent history we might tentatively reconstruct the prehistory of the Koiarian and neighbouring areas as something like the following.

The ancestors of the present Koiarian peoples probably dispersed from a centre somewhere in the region of the Upper Kumusi River. From here related groups spread out in different historical times to populate the land. Thus the ancestors of the present Koiari and Koita probably moved out across the Owen Stanley Range and down the river valleys ahead of the Mountain Koiari to somewhere in the region of the eastern end of the Sogeri Plateau. From here the Koita subsequently moved out westward and coastward where they came in contact with the Mctu (more of which will be said later). By the time Europeans arrived they occupied the coastal strip along with the AN Motu between Galley Reach and Bootless Bay and inland to the Laloki River. The Koiari meanwhile spread out over the Sogeri Plateau and at the time of first contact they had completely occupied this area and spread down the southern slopes towards the coast and along the Laloki River valley.

At the same time the Mountain Koiari appear to have been pushing westward and southward (undoubtedly forcing the Koita and Koiari into the kind of movements outlined above) down the Brown and Goldie Rivers and across into the Vanapa Valley. There seem to have been two main groups involved here - those represented by the central, and those represented by the western dialects. The southern dialect it will be remembered is a cigar shaped area across the Goldie River. This peculiar shape seems to have resulted from the forced westward movement of these peoples into areas between the southward-moving Mountain Koiari and the already present Koiari and Koita nearer the coast. Other Mountain Koiari moved northward again across the Owen Stanleys into the valley of the Yodda. Here they subsequently were met by the Crokaiva who seem to have been pushing inland up the main streams (Kumusi and Mambare) across the lowland country. The Mountain Koiari were forced back into the hills and westward along the Yodda where they also came in contact with the Chirimā River dialect speakers of Fuyuge, who seem also to have come eastward down this valley from somewhere further west in the Owen Stanleys.

The ancestors of the Baraics on the other hand seem to have split into two "streams" - one moving north to populate the Aomie area around the Mamema River, and the other moving east where it came in contact with the Yareba around the headwaters of the Musa and Bariji Rivers. Subsequently one section pushed out further north and east and occupied the land south of the Hydrographers' Ranges. They are reported by one informant to have also once

occupied land on the north of the 'Hydrographers' around Embi Lakes but this northern area was supposedly taken over later by the Tokaiva who also had spread across the coastal lowlands and up the large Bariji and Musa river valleys. Here they also came in contact with the Yareba who occupied the Musa Valley and its immediate vicinity. At the time of contact with Europeans the Yareba were under attack in the headwaters of the Musa and middle Bariji by Barai and Managalasi from proximate areas. At the same time the Bariji, one of the Yareba family languages on the south side of middle Bariji River, were friendly with the Baruga around Nembadi and Kinjaki, and it seems conceivable that they would have succumbed either to Baruga (by absorption) or Managalasi (by conquest) in time, since they only number about 300 and are well separated from other Yareba speaking groups along the Musa. The limited evidence which is available suggests that the Binandere language family ancestors dispersed from somewhere near Tufi and that they migrated up the north coast westwards peopling the low-lying and easily accessible areas as they went. No information is available on the probable origin of the Yareba, though Mr. H. Weimer (oral com.) of the Summer Institute of Linguistics who is studying this language has said that the Yareba around Safia have mythological associations with Mount Suckling twenty-odd miles to the South East.

To return to the Barai. The second section of the eastward moving stream of ancestors of the present day Barai moved southward along the western boundary of the Yareba who apparently prevented them from moving directly down the Musa Valley. Instead the Barai continued southwards across the Owen Stanley Ranges into the Mimai headwaters of the Kemp Welch River, where, finding the land to the south of the Mimai and its westbank tributary the Laba (or Adai) occupied by the Manubara and Kwale respectively, they pushed westward towards the Mountain Koiari up the Laba Valley.

According to Haddon (1900b:286) the Kwale have also moved southwards. He describes the movement of one of the Kwale tribes, the Garia, in the following terms:²²

They went southward, and on striking the Musgrave and Hunter rivers they travelled down their valleys, then crossing other affluents of the Vanigele (Kemp Welch river), they stopped at the hills behind the Government station of Rigo. The Garia have thus migrated across the path of the Sinaugoro, and in many cases they occupy the sites of old Sinaugolo villages.

The movement of these latter AN peoples has been mapped (unpublished) by Sharp, who has been Resident Assistant District Officer in this area for ten years. This map shows two broad main movements with subsidiary side 'eddyings':

- (a) a general pushing south and west from a point in the Jerty Range south of the Margaret tributary of the Kemp Welch;
- (b) a westward movement from a point lower down the Kemp Welch.

From this evidence, and that already outlined, it appears that once the Rigo sub-district area was not very densely populated, particularly the drier lowland areas. Dwale and other groups now extinct (Mulaha - see Ray (1929) probably occupied the mountainous areas around the headwaters of the Kemp Welch River before Koiari and Barai peoples began moving in across the Owen Stanley Range. When this happened the Dwale were forced out of their traditional territory southwards into the lower ranges.

Then, or about the same time, came the AN migrations²³ - the ancestors of the present day Sinaugoro - Hula-Keapara - who penetrated inland along the Kemp Welch River until they encountered the Kwale and Manubara peoples about the Margaret River.²⁴ From here the Sinaugoro descendants spread out on either side of the Kemp Welch River until they completely occupied all the territory between this river and the Ormond to the east, and inland to the foothills of the dividing range. However, they do not seem to have had much success in acquiring land on the western side where the mountains come closer down to the sea. Indeed, their territory is practically limited to all land south of the rain forest line. This may simply be a reflection of time of possession, or it could be that for defence and religious reasons they were loath to attempt occupation of a territory which held unknown terrors.

According to Capell (1943:20) the Motu are later arrivals than other AN groups in Central Papua, and they came from the east in the last of three main movements from the IN archipelago. Chretien (1956) disagrees with this and suggests instead that the Central Papuan coast has been a kind of 'central exchange point in an extensive system of South coast trade between the Papuan west, extending to the Fly River and beyond, and the east'(p.108).

On the other hand N.D. Gram (oral com.) suggests that the origins of the Western Motu and Hula may be similar. Thus available evidence suggests that the Hula, who like the Motu were a fishing people, and who, until recently, held no land, are descended from an AN-speaking group already settled in the vicinity of Marshall Lagoon. Hula oral tradition speaks of a hill on which the original village was situated. The Western Motu say that they once lived on an island called Motu Hanua in Bootless Inlet and Murray (1912:153), in repeating this story, adds that part of the Motu then lived on a hill called Gwamo, which is near the present village of Gaile. Gram suggests that the Motu, like the Hula,

might therefore be descended from a group which was already settled in the area and were not necessarily part of a separate and later migration.

What is certain, however, is that when Europeans first arrived the Koita were 'for the most part to be found living at one end of the Motu villages..(and) also...in little groups of a few houses a little way inland, or on a hill overlooking the sea, all through the Motu district' (Lawes; 1878:371). Yet as Seligmann (1910:47) points out 'it by no means follows that the Motu colonies invariably settled down in the close vicinity of the Koita villages, where they are now found. Indeed in most instances it seemed that the reverse occurred, and it was the Koita who settled near or in continuity with Motu colonies. Probably both events happened in the case of Poreporena villages'. But Seligmann tends to over-state the case here. Poreporena (or Hanuabada, as it is now known),²⁵ is the only instance in which Motu appear to have settled near Koita.

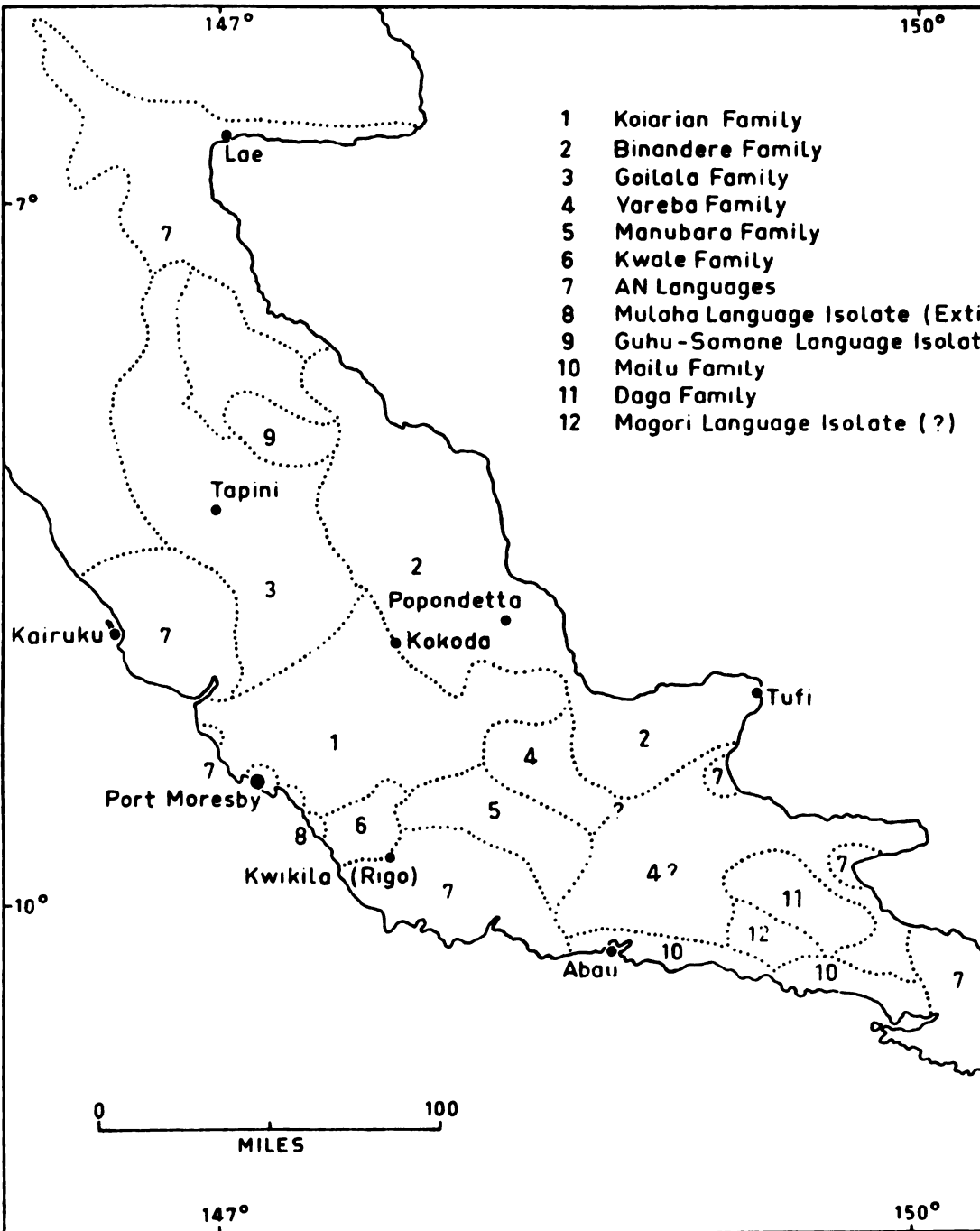
In all other instances (excluding the independent Koita 'separate maritime' and 'inland' villages)²⁶ Koita moved to established Motu villages, viz., Porebada, Tatana, Pari, Boera, Tealea, Vabukori, Tupuseleia (map 4). This suggests that the presence of the Motu may have been an important factor in the final movement of the Koita to the coast proper. The establishment of Motu-Koita settlements close to one another certainly had benefits on both sides:

- i. protection - from the Hula in the east (Chalmers (1887:3), Belshaw (1957:11), Doura and Gabadi in the west (Chalmers (1887:78 ff.); and Koiari in the north, and north-east.
- ii. trade - The Motu would have been keen to find new food sources because of the small size and poor quality of their soils, the annual mid-year drought (which often lasted much longer),²⁷ and the insecurity of their position as it depended on the safe return of the sago bearing hiri canoes.²⁸ The Motu had pottery (L:373),²⁹ and coconuts (L:376), fish (L:373), salt, shell, coral ornaments (C:249), and pani (specially woven rope for carrying firewood) to exchange for Koita fresh meat, (birds, reptiles, small marsupials, pig, kangaroo/wallaby) (L:372), feathers for headdress (C:249), breast shells (L:372), stone implements (L:373), matting (L:373), netting fibre (L:373), bark cloth (L:372, T:492), and garden produce. This relationship also probably extended into the Koiari country, where such additional things as tobacco (L:375), betelnut (L:376), ginger (L:376), lime (T:493),³⁰ and bark cloth (L:372) were available.

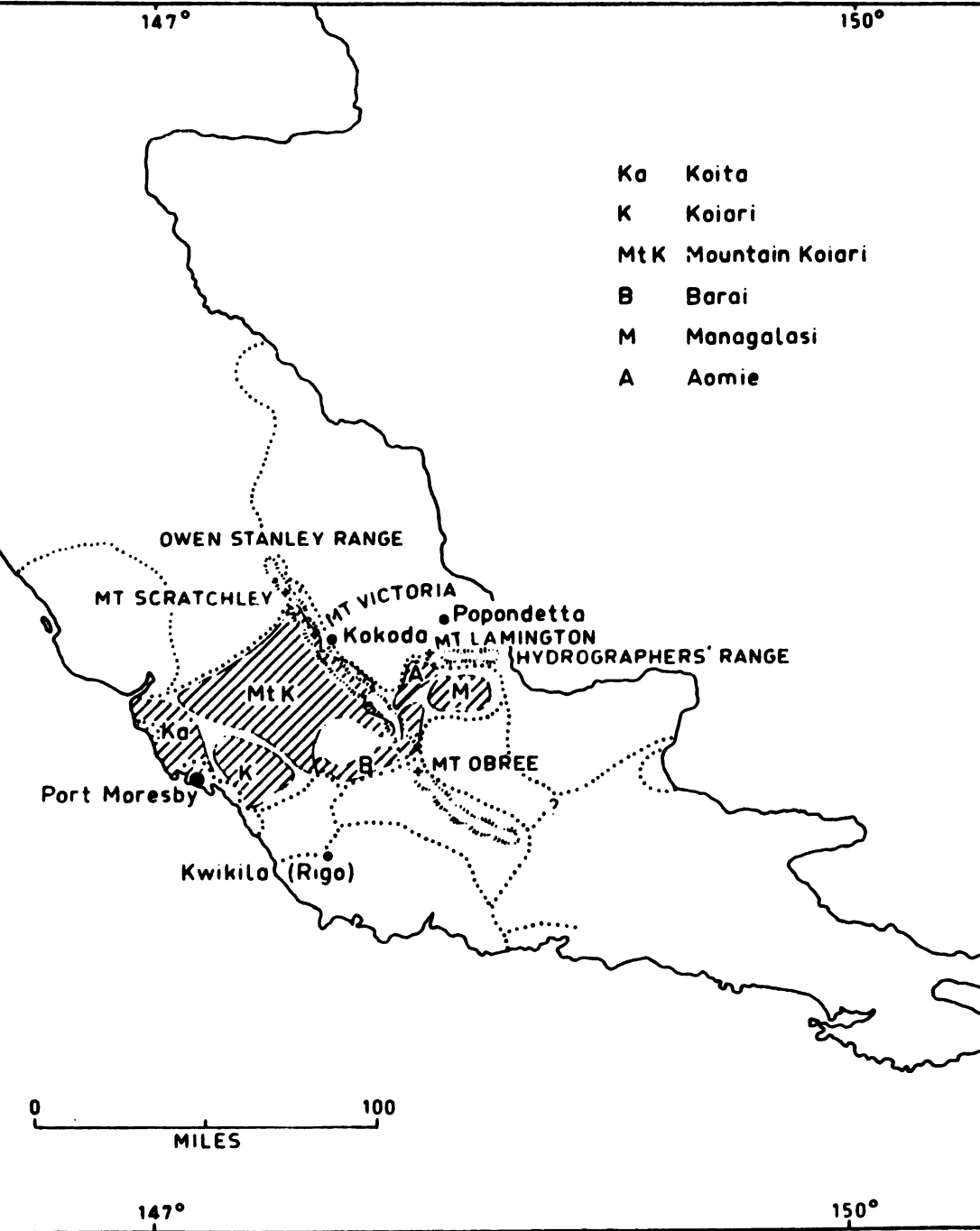
The relationship between the Koita and Motu must have been of an unusual kind, or the Motu indeed arrived late, since the Motu have nowhere penetrated inland.³¹ All except Badihagua, which was established in a valley behind the present Haruzbada site several hundred yards from the beach (Belshaw (1957:11),³² and later removed to the shore, were maritime villages built on piles in the sea between high and low water marks. Turner (1878:486) suggests that the principal reason why the Motu built their houses over the sea, and remained there, was for protection against 'the inland people', which now generally means the Koiari, though it could have been meant to include the Koita whom the Motu are known to have feared also. This could well have been the initial reason, and once the reciprocal trade arrangements and mutual defence alliances were established between the Koita and Motu (as outlined above) the Motu had little need to expand inland. Other reasons could well have been that there are no large waterways along the Motu coastline similar to those east (Kemp Welch River) and west (Angabunga or St Joseph's River, Aroa-Kibua River) which seem to have afforded the Sinaugolo in the east, and Doura, Gabadi, Pokau, Roro, Kuni and Mekeo in the west, inland penetration routes: or that being late arrivals the Motu had not yet had time to expand before Europeans arrived and froze the situation. All, and perhaps other factors may, of course, have been involved simultaneously.

Map 5 shows the probable movement patterns of the populations in Central Papua just outlined. These patterns only represent the probable recent prehistorical movement of present day populations. I have not discussed the possibility of the existence of earlier populations, as seems to be suggested by some archaeological evidence (e.g. stone implements, mortars and pestles),³³ and by Capell's (1943) study of the AN languages in South-East Papua in which he suggests the prehistoric existence of three regional languages. Nor have I attempted to rationalise the present geographical distribution of non-AN languages in terms of New Guinea as a whole. While these are interesting questions the solutions to them will have to be postponed until more detailed work has been carried out in the languages of South-East Papua and in as many other disciplines as possible.

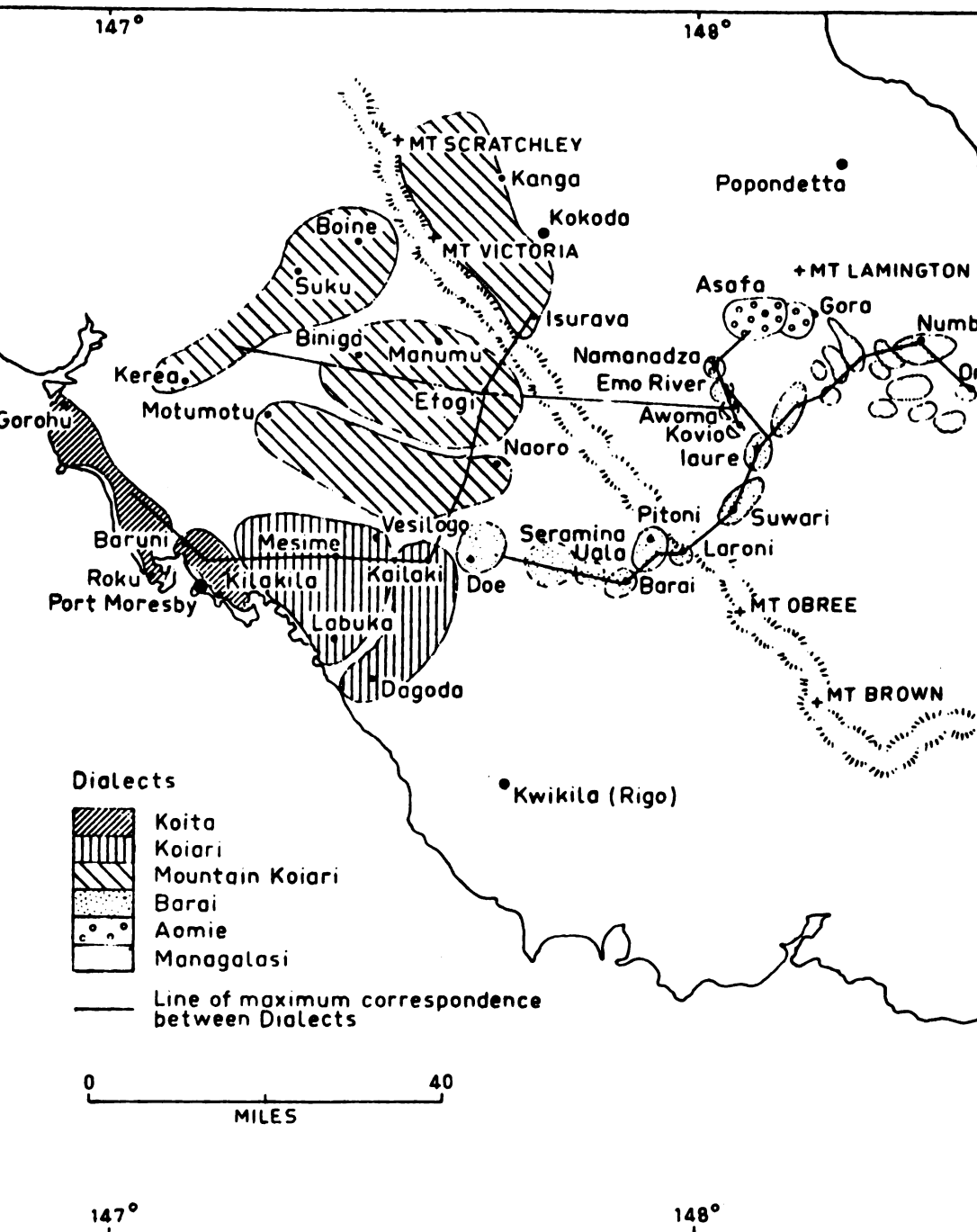
Map 1: LINGUISTIC GROUPINGS OF CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EAST PAPUA



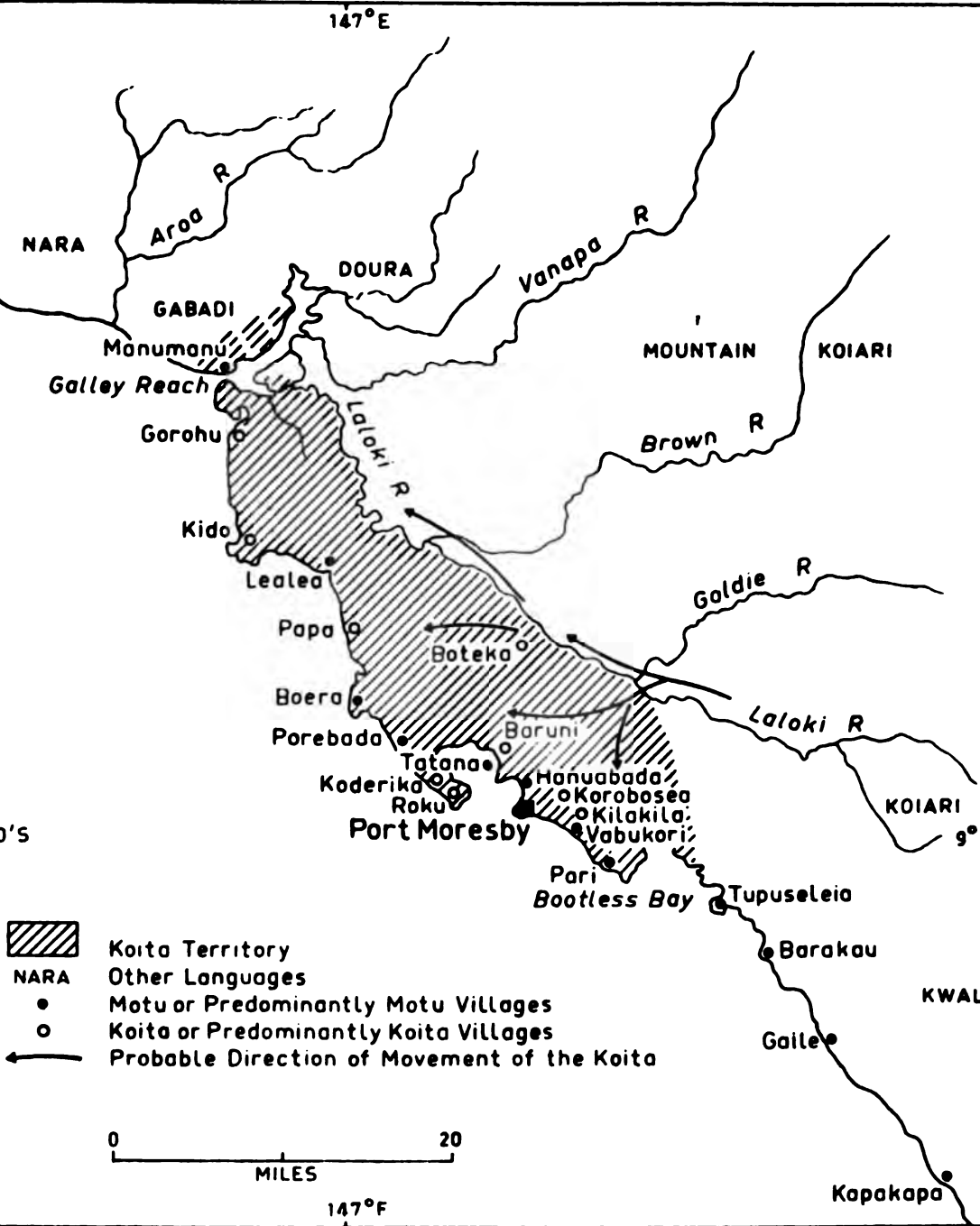
Map 2: THE KOLARIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY



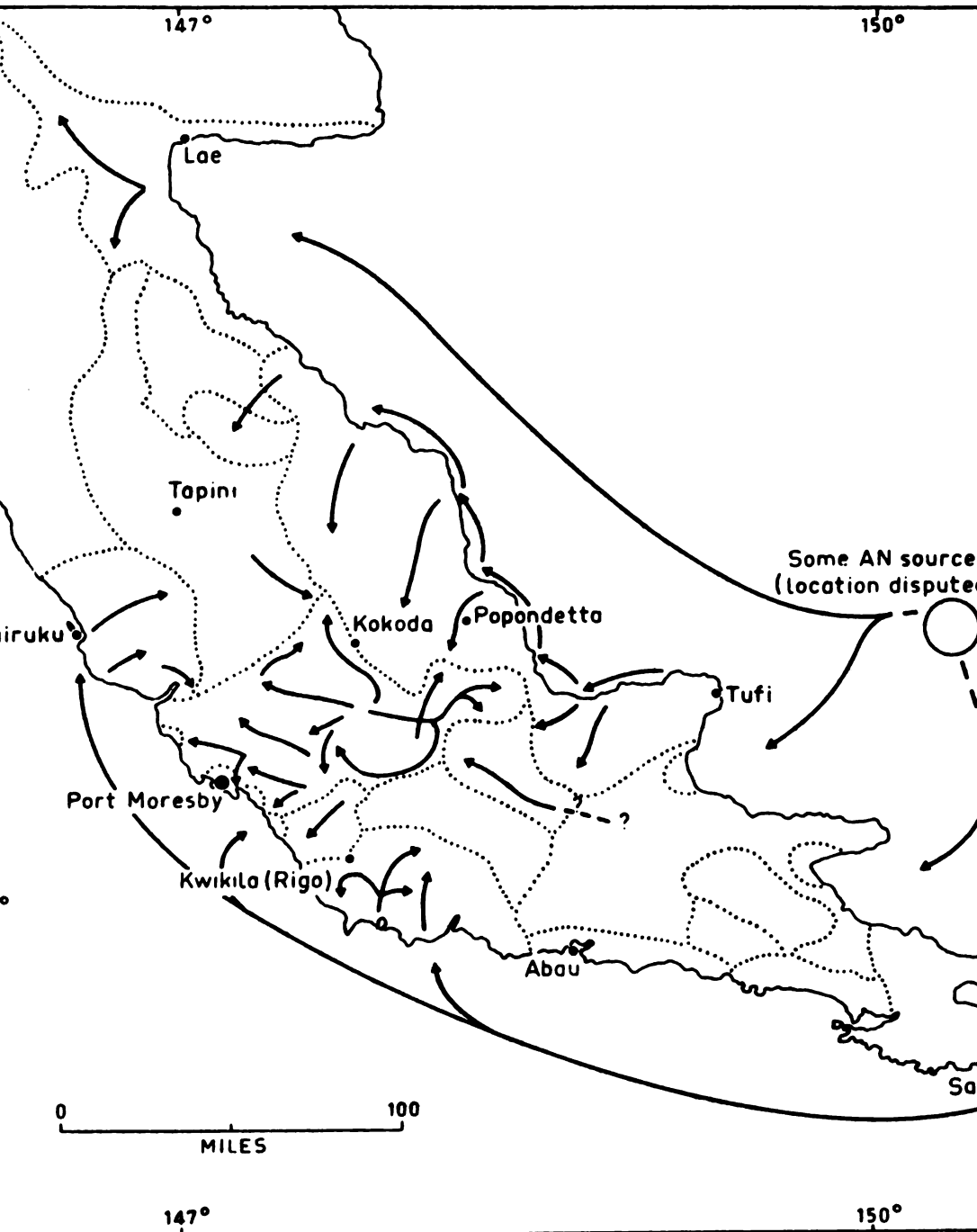
Map 3: KOIARIAN DIALECT CHAINS



Map 4: THE DISTRIBUTION OF KOITA AND MOTU VILLAGES



Map 5: PROBABLE MOVEMENT PATTERNS OF POPULATIONS IN CENTRAL PAPUA



LINGUISTIC CLUES TO KOIARIAN PRE-HISTORY

NOTES

- 1 For recent exemplary exercises on the reconstruction of American Indian proto-cultures see Law (1961) and Longacre and Millon (1961).
- 2 Accepted for publication as Monograph No. 9 in Pacific Linguistics of the Australian National University.
- 3 'Communalect' is here used to designate the speech of a particular community before that speech is classified as dialect, language etc., by methods being outlined.
- 4 It is convenient to identify the area of a language with the area occupied by its speakers, and to associate the movement of a language with that of some members of its speakers. See Dyen (1956) on linguistics and migration theory.
- 5 See for example Swadesh (1955; 1959a), Greenberg (1957: Chapter 3), Hymes 1959; 1960), Olmsted (1961), and Dyen (1965b) on the nature, use and limitations of the lexicostatistic technique. For other ways of establishing relationships between communalects using non-basic vocabulary see Gleason (1959).
- 6 Two words are said to be cognate if they are phonetically similar, or if the linguistic form of one can be predicted from the form of the other by investigator-established rules based on the observed correspondence between sounds (phonemes) in each.
- 7 Swadesh (1955) suggests that communalects may be classified into the following categories according to the degree of correspondence between their basic vocabularies:

<u>Category</u>	<u>Cognate %</u>
Phylum	0 - 12
Stock	12 - 28
Family	28 - 81
Dialect	81 - 99

- 8 These lists contain items that are presumed to be universal, non-cultural, and easily matched with simple terms in other languages e.g., certain pronouns, objects of natural phenomena, common adjectives, body parts, and simple action verbs.

For a description of this list see Wurm, 1960a:16; 1960b:125.

Funds for this research were provided by the Australian National University.

I am indebted to all those who assisted in this work. A complete listing is given in my forthcoming monograph already referred to.

'Non-Austronesian' and 'Papuan' are taken to be synonymous. Hitherto these terms have been used in a non-classificatory way, but Wurm (1968) has lately shown that they can now be used as classificatory terms for the majority of languages of New Guinea, implying genetic relationships between, and in many instances, a particular type of linguistic structure in the languages so labelled.

The Goilala language family consists of Fuyuge, Tauade, Kunimaipa, Weri (Upper Waria River), and Biangai (Wau area). See Pence (1966:66).

The Binandere language family is being described by Mr. D.B. Wilson of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Papers in New Guinea Linguistics No. 9 (Canberra: Pacific Linguistics Publications, Series A - Occasional Papers, No. 18). In press.

This is a new language family which I have tentatively established from word lists published in early Annual Reports and from other lists recently collected by H. Weimer and myself at Safia and Toma respectively. The Yareba family consists of at least four languages (from west to east): Bariji, Yareba, Bauwaki and Binahari. Mr. and Mrs. H. Weimer of the Summer Institute of Linguistics are describing the Yareba language (Weimer, H. 1968, Weimer H. and N., 1968).

The Manubara and Kwale language families have been established by myself in 'Notes on the Languages of the Rigo Sub-District' (1966), which is now being prepared for publication.

The names for these languages are chosen from names of popular usage which generally refer to areas or "tribes" (undefined). Koita are often referred to by the Motu term Koitapu.

- 18 Where two percentages are shown on this chart the higher one represents the maximal correspondence (obtained by counting all certain, and uncertain cognates) and the lower one the minimal correspondence (obtained by counting only certain cognates). This method of charting allows for variation in investigator-biased interpretations before sound correspondence between the languages has been established. Swadesh (1959b) called this the inspection method in which "we count apparent cognates despite relative ignorance of phonetic laws and the specific etymology of the elements on each side of the equation."
- 19 This division is tentative pending collection of more material from Roku.
- 20 This situation has only arisen recently (mid-fifties) when these two formerly distinct groups were encouraged to establish one composite village nearer the Government patrol track.
- 21 This is a restatement of a principle worked out earlier by Dyen (1956), though it has precedents in Sapir (1916), who used it in assigning a northern homeland to the Athapaskan family in America. This same principle also seems to be fairly well accepted in the zoological (Mayr (1963)) and botanical (see Yen (1960:369: 1961:110) on fixing the origin of the sweet potato) sciences.
- 22 Haddon obtained this information from Seligmann (who later published it (1910:18), who in turn obtained it from A.C. English, the Resident Magistrate of Rigo at the time. Similar information also appears in Seligmann (1912-3).
- 23 See Wurm (1967) and Capell (1962b) for a discussion.
- 24 This kind of movement seems to be characteristic of Austronesian occupation in the Central District. Note the positions of such groups in relation to large rivers in the Kairuku, Port Moresby, and Rigo Sub-Districts. This hypothesis was also considered by Haddon (1900b:416, fn.): 'Perhaps the Sinaugolo originally migrated up the Vanigela from the coast, and then returned towards the coast in a westerly direction.
- 25 See Belshaw (1957:11-2) for a discussion of the village cluster that Seligmann called Poreporena, and Belshaw Hanuab Rev. P. Chatterton, M.H.A. advises me (pers.com., 13.10.67) that before World War II the Motu referred to the whole village cluster as Poreporena, comprising Hohodae, Hanuabada, Tanoba

Kuliu (or Kuriu) and Elevala. Following their return from wartime evacuation to Manumanu the names were reversed: Hanuabada was used for the whole cluster, and Poreporena for that part of it which was formerly called Hanuabada.

The following chart shows the distribution of Koita villages:

<u>Separate Maritime</u>	<u>Motu-Koita Maritime</u>	<u>Inland</u>
Gorohu	Lealea	Baruni
Kido	Boera	Korobosea
Papa	Porebada	Kila Kila No. 1
Koderika	Tatana	and No. 2 (Mahuru)
Roku	Hanuabada	Boteka (mixed Koita-
	(Kuliu and Hohodae)	Koiari)
	Vabukori	
	Pari	
	Tupuseleia	

See descriptions of the severity of these droughts and the privations they caused by early Government officers Barton (1904) and Blayney (1897) and Lawes, F.E. (1890) for example.

For descriptions of the hiri trading expeditions to the Gulf of Papua see Barton (1910), Williams (1932), and Groves (1960).

Hereafter the capitals L, C and T will be used to refer to Lawes (1878), Chalmers (1885) and Turner (1878), and the figures, as usual, to pages.

This is interesting because one would naturally expect the trade to be in the reverse direction. Turner (1878:493) says, 'It (= lime) is made by the Koiari, or inland tribe, who come down from the interior to Port Moresby, gather shells on the beach, carry them twenty miles inland, burn them and make lime, then carry the lime down to the coast, and sell it to the Port Moresby people. The latter will not make it for themselves, because their forefathers did not do it, and it is done by the Koiari.'

The Motu own very little land apart from the small tracts immediately behind their villages. These tracts are usually limited to the littoral area between the beach and the tops of the hills overlooking the village.

Rev. P. Chatterton, M.H.A. advises me (pers.com., 13.10.67) that 'Badihagua' is more correctly spelled 'Badihagwa' (from hagwa 'mangrove' in Motu) and that the village site is further from the beach than Belshaw suggests.

33 See for example Etheridge (1908), Bramell (1939) and McCarthy (1949).

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HUMAN BIOLOGY AND MELANESIAN HISTORY

Eugene Giles

In a seminar on the history of Melanesia the contribution of human biology is unquestionably a very small one, and I feel it is fully proper to put the following remarks in perspective straightaway by making this disclaimer. My comments will be divided into three parts, the first outlining the problems inherent in historical reconstruction from biological data, and then a quick survey of the results of bioanthropological research which can conveniently be divided into pre- and post-World War II periods.

I

Underlying the use of human biological data for historical research is the rather precarious presumption that currently obtainable biological information - whether blood groups or head measurements - is of a sort sufficiently immutable to preserve indications of past relationships of now separated populations. Present similarity putatively signifies past identity. This principle is the basis of biological taxonomy, when due appreciation is given to the relevance of the similarities. For a long time this reasoning was applied rather naively by many workers in their interpretation of human racial origins and movements. But even physical anthropologists have been unable to entirely avoid modernizing their concepts in tandem with other biological scientists.

Two points especially bear mentioning. One of these is the submergence, at least overtly, of the type concept in classification. The unit of biological classification is taken to be a population with all its inherent variation. Hence there is no single 'type' to which individuals may be referred, but a population, usually limited by breeding and/or geography, to which individuals may or may not belong. The use of Caucasoid, Negroid, and the like to refer to idealized human types which can be used to sort out individuals wherever found is no longer acceptable practice.

An equally serious shortcoming of much early work was the quite noticeable absence of evolution as bringing about the variation in mankind over the world. Certain broad types, such as Negroid, were accepted without question. Variation was accounted for almost entirely by interbreeding, race mixture, or a similar process, and by migrations - occasionally rather implausible - of various basic stocks or composites. No doubt part of this view was a reaction to the scanty knowledge of the time depth involved in man's emergence and diversification, but at best it surely represents only a partial picture.

Organic evolution - and this of course includes man's physical development - is commonly said to have four conceptually separable mechanisms. The early anthropological scientists were rather exclusively devoted, as I have said, to one of these: population movement and subsequent genetic intermixture. In many ways in Melanesia, it would appear that the other mechanisms have played a significant role. In particular, natural selection - in the broadest possible sense the survival of the fittest (to include relative fertility) - probably played an important part in adapting the earliest Melanesians to the rigors of the region. Such a view would render unnecessary the belief that the Melanesians came with physical features as present today or that the Melanesian environment has had no biological effect over the thousands of years man has been in the islands. Another mechanism, genetic mutation, undoubtedly provided some of the somatic variation that was, as it were, selected for. The fourth and final evolutionary mechanism is usually termed random genetic drift. This awkward title reflects the chance factors operating on a small population to either exclude or include a disproportionately large percentage of a certain trait in the next generation.

All of the factors outlined above make difficult the interpretation of historical origins and movements from biological evidence. Although the data in hand are now much more copious than were available twenty years ago, modern interpretation requires more caution because of the numerous factors now recognised as possibly leading to the same result. It is no longer convincing merely to assign Melanesian populations to one or a combination of 'primary' races that moved into the area. One can no longer tacitly assume that the evolutionary forces that formed the so-called 'primary' races were suspended so that interpretation may rest entirely on postulated movements and intermixture.

II

Professor W Howells has best described the factual basis for speculation on the racial underpinnings of Melanesia: 'small handfuls of subjects collected in random areas by untrained observers using unspecified techniques'. Howells himself has made the most lucid summary of this pre-World War II material, consisting mostly of photographs, cranial measurements and the observations of visitors. Despite the patchiness of the data, especially for New Guinea, Howells recognised several types within Melanesia: an interior group of short, round-headed New Guinea people he called Central Negritos. He distinguished a second group in the northeast of the Gazelle Peninsula and in part of New Ireland and adjacent islands. For the coastal areas

f West Irian he also found a relatively short and long-headed population. Beyond this the intelligibility of the traditional physical anthropological material disappears, as Howells puts it. Regardless of such revealing remarks, Howells and others have persevered and ultimately produced theories on racial types in Melanesia and their order of arrival.

Howells postulates three migrations into Melanesia: first Australian aborigines in small numbers, then Negritos, who came into Melanesia but not in force into Australia, and lastly a series of Negro peoples (Howells is rather coy about the African connections of these). Subsequent to the populating of Polynesia and Micronesia incursions from these islands were felt in Melanesia.

Professor J. Birdsell, well known for his trihybrid theory of Australia's peoples origin, has a rather different ordering. He places Negritos in Melanesia and Australia first (but they were relatively unsuccessful in Australia), followed by two of his hypothesised Australian types, Murrayians and Carpenterians. These latter types did not upset the hegemony of the Negrito population in Melanesia; they merely added a bit to it. Last to arrive, according to Birdsell's ideas, were Mongoloids from Southeast Asia.

Both of these theories - and of course there are others - attempt to provide the earliest history of Melanesia, yet they are quite different. Both rely, however, on the apparent identification of successive migrations of racially different people who change racially only by intermarriage. Both are typological in concept, not populational. In my opinion putative history of this sort is being viewed with ever-more critical eyes. The non-evolutionary, typological conceptualisation and the great leap between the data available and the sweep of the conclusions drawn stands out in such sharper contrast today to general biological thinking than it did during its vogue some years ago. I should hasten to add that either authority I have picked on would necessarily advocate unchanged conclusions reached years ago, but it is the methodology, not the specific results, that has not stood the test of time well.

III

Since World War II physical anthropology in Melanesia has turned rather sharply to an emphasis on traits of known genetic transmission. A great difficulty in analysing traditional anthropometric measurements and observations has been that almost without exception each measurement or trait is determined by a complex of genetic and environmental factors. In tracing historical relationships the environmental component could potentially mask the inherited aspect and the move toward the study of single-gene traits, principally the range of blood groups and serum components,

was aimed at alleviating the situation. A great amount of effort and money has gone into this line of research in New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. The voluminous results can hardly be summarised in a paper of this scope. Much of this work has its intrinsic interest to the medical profession, while other aspects are the concern of human population geneticists. The central focus of blood group research is by no means historical reconstruction (assuming this to be possible).

The early optimism of workers regarding blood groups as markers which could be traced through time has waned in the realisation that blood groups are by no means selectively neutral, but are one form of man's adaptation to his environment and subject to evolutionary change. On the other hand, it would perhaps be unwise to put the blood system genes entirely out of the historical picture; evidence for the rapidity with which they alter their frequencies and under what particular stresses, is not well understood. The rather complex analysis of family units in Brazil undertaken by Professor N. Morton and his colleagues - to my mind the best evidence yet for current evolution in the blood groups - failed to show any system but ABO undergoing selective change. Hence I would argue that with caution the blood groups may still provide clues to historical relationships. Proper wariness would include weighing the results of many rather than one or two systems, and due appreciation of world-wide variation and possible selective factors in each system.

A difficulty more keenly felt in Melanesia, especially New Guinea, than in many other regions is the relatively enormous amount of gene frequency variation within the area. The extent of these differences has become firmly established in recent years as the provenance of subjects tested has been more strictly controlled during analysis. It is quite clear, for example, that very large differences in blood group gene frequencies may exist between neighboring villages. It is difficult to see how natural selection could bring about such disparities within such restricted areas, yet it seems highly unlikely that the populations in question ultimately had different origins. The more probable explanation is that these differences are the result of chance fluctuation from one generation to the next; that is to say, a greater frequency of one particular blood type in the members of one village, and similar random factors producing the opposite on occasion in its neighbours. The very small size of cultural units in New Guinea acts to promote this effect. Whatever the ultimate explanation, the vast internal differences in New Guinea blood group gene frequencies do little to heighten confidence in the utility of tracts of known genetic inheritance in tracing distant relationships.

Bearing in mind the above caveats, I would venture to draw from the evidence of single gene traits only four conclusions of a rather spectacular historical sort. The first is that Melanesians are set off as a distinct group in Oceania by gene frequencies in a number of blood group systems. This should not be construed as the equivalent of my making the Melanesians a 'race', rather merely that there is some genetic support for the quite old idea based on morphological features that Melanesians do 'hang together' on biological grounds as well as such others as cultural and perhaps linguistic.

A second clear relationship is between Melanesians and the Australian aborigines. In some blood group systems, for example the gene Ns in the MNS, the very high frequency in New Guinea and in the Australian aborigines sets off these two groups from the rest of the world. The connection between New Guinea and Australia stands to reason on the basis of the broad land bridge between the two regions during the last part of the Great Ice Age. Anthropologists have in the past, however, usually invoked the device of multiple migrations of different races through New Guinea into Australia to account for the obvious morphological differences between the populations of the two regions. It is possible that the time involved during which the two regions have been populated is sufficient to allow for a large amount of local differentiation. It seems highly likely, for instance, that skin colour is a protective device against excessive solar radiation. There appears to be a need for a certain amount of ultraviolet penetration of the cutaneous layers to provide an adequate continuous supply of vitamin D if it is not included in the diet in sufficient quantities. Too little sunlight may be no more deleterious than too much, whether through the excess vitamin D produced or through surficial trauma such as cancer presumably induced by the strong sunlight. Other features, like tightly curled and matted hair, may have served a similar protective function during a stressful period with small populations and relatively little environmental adaptation by cultural means. In any event the question should remain open whether adaptive morphological features such as skin colour necessarily need explication by postulating migration from distant places (where of course they had been brought about by environmental adaptation).

The third conclusion to be reached from the blood group evidence is that it is hard to maintain any connection between Africa and Melanesia. This is not a new finding; it was first evident on the basis mainly of the Rh blood group data. It has most recently been addressed by investigations demonstrating the complete absence in New Guinea of the blood serum gene Gm^C, common in Africa. The gamma globulin or Gm factors are a current puzzle in human genetic research because although they seem at present to have no selective

advantage, there are very clear-cut differences in the world's populations in the presence or absence of certain Gm genes (rather than differences in frequencies). These differences have proved to be so regular that the absence of the particularly African gene Gm^c in New Guinea is persuasive evidence.

It must be mentioned in this context, however, that one of the genetic variants of the iron-binding serum protein transferrin, called transferrin D₁, which is present in small percentages in American Negroes and Africans, is also present in Australian aborigines and Melanesians in small quantities. And within the past year or so it has been demonstrated that this variant D₁ is a classic single gene trait, the result of the mutation of a single amino acid in one of the polypeptide chains forming the protein, and furthermore that the American Negro and Australian aborigine D₁ variants are identical. The implication is that this identity of the D₁ variant extends to Africa and Melanesia, though this has not yet been directly demonstrated. The presence of this variant in Africa as well as Melanesia can of course be taken as evidence of a link between the two regions. However, the frequency of transferrin D₁ is low in Australia as in Melanesia, and moreover the gene has been found in some individuals in Sweden. It may be that the D₁ variant is a mutation which has been successful (in that it has gained a foothold in the population in both Oceania and Africa by providing the same, but as yet unknown environmental advantage. Whatever the true explanation, the transferrin D₁ variant is unique as a genetic trait that may imply a connection between Melanesia and Africa. But there is more genetic evidence against this early identity of populations.

The fourth conclusion I would propose from the blood group evidence is that New Guinea's connections genetically seem closest to present-day Southeast Asia, especially on the basis of the Gm factors mentioned earlier. This is hardly surprising in view of the geographical proximity, but perhaps more so in view of the clear morphological dissimilarities between the peoples of the two regions. The same Gm factor study also points tentatively to a gene frequency difference between Melanesian and Non-Austronesian speakers in the Markham Valley. This evidence should be confirmed elsewhere, but it does hint at the possibility of two migrations both from Southeast Asia, separated by a period of time sufficiently large to allow for further selection to act on the Gm factors.

In summary the single gene traits support in general a close Melanesian connection to Australian aborigines without denying a distinctiveness to Melanesia itself. For further ties the preponderance of evidence suggests Southeast Asia rather than Africa. Unfortunately there is no way as yet to utilise genetic

ata in any scheme for dating movements, for, contrary to some hypotheses concerning linguistic change, genetic change is closely bound to the evolutionary mechanisms that bring it about, and these are not in any regular sense time-dependent. The most human biology can contribute to Melanesian history at present is to provide suggestions for the origins of the people involved in one or several migrations to the islands from evidence quite independent of the cultural data which will ultimately yield the sharpest picture - that of archaeology, linguistics, myth and tradition.

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SOURCES FOR A HISTORY OF THEPORT MORESBY REGION: INTRODUCTION

Jack Golson

Together with other parts of the South Pacific New Guinea is a unique area for the study of the unwritten past. In significant measure over large areas there is no real break between that past and the ethnographic present. What break there has been is due to the arrival of European agencies and this in our area has been relatively recent.

As a result we are not as completely dependent on the evidence of archaeology for historical reconstruction as in some other parts of the world. Some of the cultures whose genesis, development and relationships we are concerned to investigate, are with us, alive and functioning. Others have been altered or affected by the European presence, but often only partly so.

The languages of the people whose history we want to study can be compared and contrasted and put into larger and smaller groups of greater and lesser genetic relationship reflecting remote historical connections and subsequently divergent histories. Their ways of life, material, organisational and religious, are susceptible of similar comparative study to define similarities and differences between peoples for which historical explanations may be suggested. Particularly important is the study of what are generally known as traditional arts and crafts, for these, in the form of technology and economy, make up the bulk of the evidence in the archaeological record and provide a standard to which archaeological evidence and interpretations can be referred.

Not only what people do is important, however, but also what they remember, of themselves and of their forefathers. Historical information from this source achieves its most sophisticated form in traditions but can be gleaned from much less deliberately and consciously remembered data. Finally information in all these spheres may be checked, supplemented, and in areas of great and rapid change even provided by the recorded observations of the earliest European visitors and residents.

With each of these types of evidence there are difficulties and limitations to their interpretation as history. Linguistic research may show the nature of relationships between different languages but is unable with precision to describe and date the movements of the people who spoke them. Traditional histories are notoriously

susceptible to distortion through the very process of oral transmission. European observers are sometimes imprecise, erroneous or just uninterested in describing indigenous life. At the same time rather different sorts of historical information are apt to emerge from the different branches of enquiry: thus historically linguistics works on a broad and general scale, while oral traditions have a local and limited emphasis.

The situation in the Port Moresby area, however, both the cultural situation itself and the fact that it has been the subject of anthropological interest and administrative scrutiny for a hundred years, encourages a look at how different lines of study can help each other in considering the history of a single region.

Here Motu speaking an Austronesian language with affiliations up and down the Papuan coast live in symbiotic relationship with Koita speaking a Papuan language with inland affiliations. Both Motu and Koita have their own traditions of the settlement of the area. Archaeological sites are known, both coastal and inland. The papers that follow explore the potential of this situation from three different points of view.

INTRODUCTION TO TAURAMA ARCHAEOLOGICAL

SITE KIRRA BEACH*

Jack Golson

the Site

Kirra Beach is near the western head of Bootless Inlet, some miles along the coast from Port Moresby and two miles beyond the Taurama Barracks, at the end of a small valley flanked by low hills. The hill at the south west end of the beach is today called Taurama Head or Pyramid Point. The bay is seasonally exposed to the south east trades. There is no permanent source of fresh water in the immediate vicinity.

Directly behind the beach is a large flat area covered with tall grass. The seaward margins of this are being eroded by high tides and a litter of archaeological materials along the beach has resulted. These consist of: -

- (a) abundant food shells, all available within the bay today;
- (b) abundant fragments of pottery. Small collections of these have been made from the beach litter and two main groups of vessels seem to be represented:
 - (i) pots with outturned rims, mainly undecorated;
 - (ii) bowls with straight or slightly inturned rims, invariably decorated on the outside. A variety of impressed and incised motifs characterises the ornamental repertoire.

These notes are based on information provided by:

C.A. Key and R.J. Lampert, Department of Anthropology
(Prehistory) A.N.U. (archaeology)

N.D. Oram, New Guinea Research Unit, A.N.U.
(oral tradition).

The pottery can be compared, in form and decoration, with that from other archeological sites in the Moresby area and to some extent with the products of modern Motu potters.

- (c) axes or adzes of ground and polished stone.
- (d) small flat hammerstones showing in addition to use marks on the edges a depression in the centre of one or both faces. These might result from constant use in cracking hard nuts between two such stones, as happens in other areas of New Guinea today.
- (e) some flakes of siliceous rock, only a few of which show either marks of use or of preparation for use.
- (f) occasional shell artifacts like adze or axe blades or fragments from arm bands.

This range and type of archaeological material suggests that we are dealing with a village site, a site of general living rather than one devoted to specialised activities, though such activities may have been carried on there. The sea bank where the sea has cut into the site, and also the walls of a small gravel quarry immediately behind it, show that no great depth of habitation deposit has built up on the old beach surface on which settlement took place: the archaeological material comes from a zone of 18" - 24" immediately beneath the present ground surface. Potsherds and shells outcrop at the surface of the flat for a distance of about 80 yards behind the beach, giving an area of 7 acres to the site as it exists at present.

How much of the site has been removed by the sea it is impossible to say. The amount of archaeological litter in the muddy intertidal zone seems too great for it all to have been brought back by the sea from higher up the beach. Perhaps some of the houses of the old village stood on piles on the beach as is often seen today.

Key reports an exposure where the hills come down to the beach at its north east end showing signs of stratification or layering in the archaeological deposit. From a thin horizon of shells at the base of this deposit comes pottery which looks different in fabric, manufacture and style from the generality of material from Taurama. Though the same two vessel forms characteristic of the site occur in the small collection made at the location under discussion, the outturned rims of the pots are less abrupt and the inturned rims of the bowls more marked. We may here have evidence for prior settlement of the Taurama site or for an early stage of the main settlement there, though the distinctiveness of the pottery from that of the village needs substantiation.

he Village

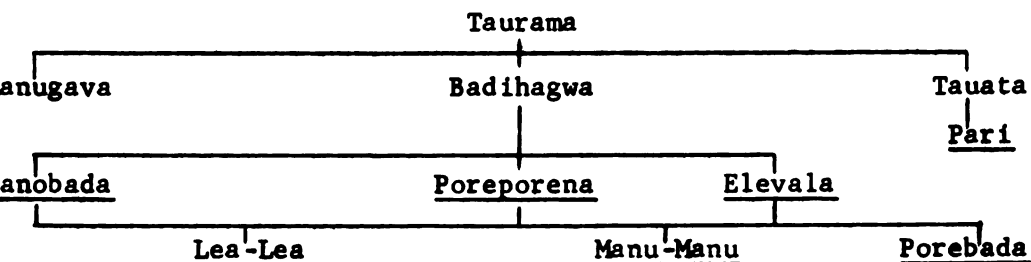
According to Motu informants the site is that of Taurama village. Taurama may with some justice be regarded as the ancestral village of the Western Motu, since informants rarely know anything of Motu history beyond Taurama.

Of three accounts the fullest attributes the foundation of Taurama to the coming together of two descent groups, one from the mainland to the south east, the other from an island in Bootless Inlet, Motu Hanua (today Motupore or Matapore), where there are extensive archaeological remains.

All accounts describe a long period of warfare between the Motu living at Taurama and the ancestors of the Eastern Motu from the area of Tubusereia down the coast from Taurama across the mouth of Bootless Inlet. During the course of these wars some of the inhabitants moved out and eventually settled at Badihagwa, half a mile north of Hanuabada.

These wars ended with the complete destruction of Taurama, an event recorded in many Motu traditions. The only survivor was a pregnant woman of Badihagwa married to a Taurama man. She fled to her family at Badihagwa where her son, Kevau Dagora, was born and brought up. He it was who avenged the destruction of Taurama by defeating the Eastern Motu, whom he compelled to help him in founding a new village at Tauata, above the present village of Pari. According to a Koita account the Koita were already established on the shore near Pari and here they were later jointed by the Motu from Tauata.

These and subsequent Western Motu village foundations can be summarised as follows:-



Villages underlined are still in existence.

Dating

The people of the present Hanuabada village complex say that the move from Badihagwa to the beach took place shortly before the arrival of the first missionaries (1874) and other evidence is consistent. A round date for this might be 1850.

For everything before we are dependent on two lines of evidence:

- (1) a relative ordering of events mentioned in the traditional accounts to show that certain things are accepted as being earlier than, contemporary with or later than other things;
- (2) use of genealogies to provide a rough absolute time scale by reckoning 25 years to a generation.

Obviously in these circumstances results are more trustworthy in proportion to the number of independent genealogies and traditional accounts drawn upon and the extent of the consistency between them.

A genealogy was recorded in 1926 which placed the informant, then about 25, in the seventh generation descending from Kevau Dagora, whose mother was the sole survivor of the destruction of Taurama and who founded the village of Tauata, the forerunner of Pari.

By genealogical reckoning Kevau Dagora would have been born, and Taurama destroyed, round about 1725. If we assume that Dagora was a young man when he won his war of revenge and founded Tauata, we derive a date of about 1750 for these events, which is not consistent with an independent Koita tradition of settlement in the Pari area. The Koita leader at that time is genealogically five generations removed from the informant from whom the tradition was collected, who is thought to have been born about 1860. The ancestor in question would have been born therefore about 1735.

In the traditions Badihagwa was founded while Taurama was still in existence, that is before 1725 on the above calculations. An independent account describes an incident where a man of Vabukori village quarreled with his brother and moved to Badihagwa. The man in question is genealogically eight generations back from the informant who was born around the turn of the century and would himself have been born about 1700. His reported move to Badihagwa thus took place at a date consistent with an independent calculation of the age of that village.

It is only fair to point out that some Koita evidence would, on the basis of calculation here employed, put the foundation of Badihagwa, and by extension the destruction of Taurama, later. A Koita ancestor, five generations back from two informants born about 1900, was living nearby when Motu from Taurama settled at Badihagwa. By this evidence these events are close to 1800.

Such discrepancies are not uncommon in the field of traditional history. They may be due to no more than faulty remembrance somewhere along the line of oral transmission. They may, however, result from deliberate distortion of the record to validate some claim: in the area we are dealing with both Motu and Koita argue they were the first people to settle there. On the other hand discrepancies may simply reflect the coarseness of the chronological technique, 25 years for a generation, which the traditional historian is employing: generations may be as short as 15 years and as long as 40+ years in the female line or 60+ years in the male line.

Perhaps the evidence set out above will allow us to say, however, that the destruction of Taurama took place in the first half of the 18th century.

There is a single piece of information only available for the date of its foundation. This event is ascribed by one informant to a man, Taurama Buasi, seven generations back from Kevau Dagora. If Dagora's birth took place about 1725, Buasi would have been born about 1550 and Taurama village would date from the latter half of the 16th century.

A rough chronology now emerges:

?	settlement of Motu Hanua (Motupore)
?c1575	foundation of Taurama
?c1700	foundation of Badihagwa
c1725	destruction of Taurama
c1750	foundation of Tauata, forerunner of Pari
c1850	shift of settlement from Badihagwa

Archaeology and Tradition

This traditional framework is one within which the archaeologist can operate with advantage.

There is little doubt that the sequence of village foundation and occupancy derived from the traditions is accurate. These then provide the archaeologist not only with sites of known settlement but their relative chronology. The absolute dates are open to criticism, but no more so than radiocarbon dates for the same sites

would be. Neither the genealogical nor the radiocarbon method can pinpoint events. In any case what we need is simply some measure of the antiquity of the material we are dealing with. This is sufficiently provided by the genealogies, despite the difficulties in their interpretation.

The greatest impediment to applying the traditional information directly to the archaeological data of various sites is the possibility that occupation continued at a site when the traditions of a particular descent group record the cessation of their association with it. This may be less the case with Taurama, whose complete destruction is emphasised, than with the previously inhabited Motu Hanua (Motupore) from which one of the founding descent groups of Taurama derived. These doubts apply to the end of settlement at a particular site, however, not to its beginnings, about which the traditions are more precise. On the other hand the archaeological evidence of the Taurama site itself reminds us that prior occupation of a later village site may have taken place, unrecorded in the traditions and indeed possibly quite unconnected with the activities of the people to whom the traditions refer.

The archaeological information to be collected from village sites like Taurama will help to build up a picture of the Port Moresby coast in the centuries before the Europeans arrived. In addition we may find that the settlement sequence suggested by the traditions is reflected in changes in the style and decoration of the associated pottery over time. This is not inevitable but well within the bounds of possibility. If so, given the wide distribution of Motu pottery by trade at European contact and later, we may well be able to trace the history of Motu relationships with other peoples inland and along the coast.

A sober note must be sounded, however, in conclusion. We know from historical sources that Motu and Koita in the Port Moresby area had by the time of European contact established a remarkable symbiotic relationship involving at times co-residence in the same village. In these circumstances cultural items once separate came to be shared: thus Koita women learned the craft of pottery from Motu potters. It is highly probable then that archaeological evidence from the excavation of such a joint village site would be unable to distinguish the presence of two distinct groups, speaking different languages and retaining separate traditional histories. If linguistic, traditional and documentary information were absent about ethnic distributions in the Port Moresby area, it is possible that inland sites to which coastal pottery was traded might be identified culturally by the archaeologist with the coastal villages where the pottery was made. Much of the richness and complexity of life as it was lived escapes

the archaeologist with his limited sources of data. In the Port Moresby area other sources are available, as we have seen, to remedy this deficiency. The same is true for New Guinea as a whole.

SOME ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES OF THE MOTU

AND KOIARI AREAS¹

R.J. Lampert

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to explore the role that archaeology might play related to other forms of evidence - traditions, genealogies and linguistics - in reconstructing the recent prehistory of people native to the Port Moresby district and its immediate hinterland. For several village sites near Port Moresby the results of preliminary, superficial investigation are presented, the links these sites seem to have with oral tradition are discussed, and suggestions are made for lines of future research in which material culture can be weighed against the other evidence. On present evidence the Sogeri area seems archaeologically less attractive than Port Moresby.

Sites near Port Moresby²

. Taurama At Kirra Beach, some 8 miles southeast along the coast from Port Moresby and about 2 miles from the present Taurama barracks, is a site said by Motuan informants³ to be that of Taurama Village. Kirra Beach is in a bay at the end of a small valley flanked by low hills. The hill rising immediately from the south-western end of the beach is today called Taurama. While the site would be protected from the weather for much of the year its aspect would mean seasonal exposure to the full force of the south-east trade winds. There is no permanent water in the immediate vicinity.

The site, a flat area, now grass covered, begins immediately behind the beach. From surface indications, namely the spread of pot sherds, it appears to extend inland for approximately 80 yards, covering an area of some 7 acres. While the seaward part of the site has been disturbed both by tidal action and sand quarrying, nearly two-thirds of it seems intact and suitable therefore for archaeological excavation. Exposed in the sand pits are vertical sections through the deposit showing that the evidence for human occupation (artefacts and food remains) in the sandy matrix is confined to the top 18-24 inches. No stratigraphic break occurs within this horizon to suggest that occupation of the site was other than continuous. Most food remains are of local marine shells of species recognised as being gastronomically desirable by students of the University of Papua and New Guinea. Bone is rare.

Best represented of the artefacts is pottery. The vertical sections show that though this is reasonably well represented throughout the occupation layer it tends to be concentrated in the upper part. Horizontally, a rich scatter of sherds appear in the surface material everywhere within the site's area. At the seaward edge, where spring tides have washed away the enveloping sand, thousands of sherds lie along the strand line. Obviously enough pottery would be available through excavation to satisfy the most rigorous numerical requirements of typological analysis.

Stone implements are mainly shapeless lumps of chert, utilized where sharp edges occur. Less well represented are actual flakes, while secondarily worked stone is rare. Other artefacts found include quite a number of polished stone adze blades, a shell adze blade, part of a shell arm band and several hammerstones. Two hammerstones examined were in plan roughly elliptical, both with dimensions of approximately 70 x 60 mm. and with maximum thicknesses of 50 and 35 mm. respectively. Their edges show typical hammerstone pitting while in the centre of each face is a pit-marked depression some 20 mm. in diameter and 3 mm. deep. McCarthy (1946:59) interprets such depressions as 'anvil-pits' with reference to the kulki a hammerstone of similar appearance from inland Australia. The Taurama stones were examined by U.P.N.G. students from the Northern and Sepik districts who told Mr. J. Golson that in those areas galip nuts were cracked between two such stones, one of which served as an anvil, the other as a hammer.

2. Motupore Island Slightly less than 3 miles east of Taurama Village across the water of Bootless Inlet lies Motupore⁴ Island. Most of the island is precipitous and barren but on the north-eastern side are a few acres of flat, low lying sandy ground, in a position protected from most seasonal influences. There is no permanent fresh water on the island.

The island is privately owned. According to its present owner⁵ several hundreds of human skeletons were disturbed during building operations. Burials were encountered at many points; wherever foundation trenches were excavated in fact. That the whole of the flat area has archaeological potential is further supported by the widespread distribution of pot sherds. In mid-1967 the site was visited by Mr. R.D. Mackay (Public Museum & Art Gallery of Papua and New Guinea) and Dr. W. Wood (Lecturer in Anatomy, Papuan Medical College) who excavated several skeletons which were closely spaced and uniformly oriented.

At the foot of the slope rising from the flat area to the higher south-western part of the island are at least three large mounds of occupation refuse which from surface evidence appear to

very rich in pottery and food remains. The largest of these is about 100 feet in length and judging by its profile could have a depth as great as 10 feet. A small cutting, made towards the foot of the central and smallest of the three mounds, showed the following stratigraphic sequence, described from the bottom upwards.

<u>Depth below surface</u>	<u>Description</u>
>32 inches	Basal sterile brown sand.
29-32 inches	Sandy matrix containing a flaked stone industry comprising small cores, flakes and two small secondarily worked implements in some ways reminiscent of the 'adze slugs' found in Australia though they could be drill points; some pottery and shell were also present.
26-29 inches	Sterile brown sand.
21-26 inches	Shell midden rich in pottery; dog bone also present.
16-21 inches	Sterile light-grey mud.
0-16 inches	Shell midden rich in pottery.

The richness of this site in terms of several types of potentially diagnostic cultural remains and, at least at the investigated spot, the clear separation of its strata, suggest it is a site of considerable archaeological importance which might offer success in the following lines of research.

- (a) The stone industry with its secondarily worked implements should be a suitable one for comparison with industries in surrounding stone using areas in New Guinea and outside.
- (b) The presence of pottery in each of the sharply defined levels is an ideal situation for analysing pottery with view to establishing a sequence of stylistic change.
- (c) Detailed analysis of the skeletal remains to see if change in physical type accompanies any changes in the artefacts. Through careful observation of grave stratigraphy it should be possible to link at least some of the burials to their contemporaneous midden layers. The apparently large number of

burials should provide samples suitable for making statistical inferences. Even if no obvious change in physical type is detectable within the site, a reliable sample of osteological data from the site will be valuable for comparing it with other sites where burials might be later found, both locally and further afield.

3. Badihagwa Half a mile north of Hanuabada Village is a village site said to be that of Badihagwa.⁶ It lies in the fork between the coast road and a road leading to the Shell Company Depot. A small seasonally filled creek bed along the northern edge of the site separates it from the grounds of Hagara Primary School. A smaller, tributary creek bed, running through the site and cutting into the deposit, allowed the examination of subsurface material. This shows pottery and chert flakes only sparsely distributed through the upper 2 feet of soil. Dense vegetation made examination of surface features impossible except in patches of bare soil along tracks, where the scatter of pot sherds is sparse compared with either the Taurama or Motupore Island sites. Clearance and excavation of selected areas will be necessary if this site is to be fully evaluated.

4. Daugo Island Five miles south-west of Port Moresby is Daugo or Fisherman's Island, part of an offshore reef along much of the southern coast of Papua. Apart from coastal sand dunes the island is a raised coral limestone platform, almost bare, upon the surface of which pottery lies scattered in remote, sparse groups. Some of this is of a distinctive type recorded previously for Daugo by Seligmann and Joyce (1907), but so far not found elsewhere.

5. Eriama The site is some 10 miles north-east of Port Moresby on a ridge between Eriama Creek and Laloki River. Pottery and shells are sparsely scattered around and below outcropping rocks on which paintings have been recorded (Strong 1923). This is another surface site with limited potential.

6. Nebire Nebire is a hill some 8 miles north-east of Port Moresby and about half a mile from the southern bank of the Laloki River. The site, towards the bottom of the slope on the northern side of the hill was found by local quarry workers while digging a latrine pit and reported to Mr. R.D. Mackay. It was investigated by Mr. C.A. Key who, in a test pit, found pottery from surface level to a depth of at least 6 feet. For most of this depth the distribution of material is sparse, but around 4.5 feet there is a 1 foot thick layer fairly rich in pot sherds and shells and with a few chert flakes.

Sites near Sogeri

Paintings and engravings in a number of rock shelters near Sogeri have been recorded by Strong (1924), Williams (1931), Leask (1943), White & White (1964) and White (1967). Trial excavation pits were made in the floors of several of these shelters both by Williams (1931:137) and the Whites (White, 1967: vi-xi) but though pottery and other occupation evidence was unearthed it was in each case too sparse to warrant larger scale excavation.

Use of the archaeological evidence

So far, sites in the Port Moresby area have been considered mainly for their physical suitability to the application of standard archaeological techniques of investigation regardless of specific problems of prehistory such research might illuminate. In terms of the problem we are considering, what material evidence might we reasonably expect these sites to provide to measure against the traditional material?

The criteria to be satisfied here are:-

- (a) The site must be identifiable both geographically and temporally in the oral history.
- (b) It should preferably be that of a village with a number of independent traditions that can be interrelated with reasonable consistency.
- (c) It must be physically suitable for excavation and, in particular, rich enough in sensitively diagnostic artefacts to provide accurately dated and culturally distinctive evidence for comparison with other local sites which might have been occupied within a short time range.

In terms of the above criteria the suitability of these sites for archaeological investigation will be considered. The traditions referred to below are those cited by Oram (1968).

Taurama and Motupore immediately present themselves as suitable for the following reasons. There seem to be no problems of location. A group of interlocking oral evidences place the end of Taurama in the first half of the 18th century, though a date in the second half of the 16th century for its beginning is not so well supported. The traditional link between Taurama and Motupore (Motu Hanua) suggests their history was continuous and possibly overlapping.

While Taurama is richer in traditional sources, the wealth and variety of archaeological evidence at Motupore make it a more promising site for excavation. The earlier date suggested by tradition for the establishment of Motupore, as compared with Taurama, is tentatively supported by the presence of a basal stone industry of a type not so far apparent at Taurama. Both sites however appear to be very suitable for excavation; in particular they are rich in pottery the analysis of which could provide the basis for comparison.

The Badihagwa site, though archaeologically less attractive, is of known location and occupies an important and chronologically known place in traditions. Occupation of the barren Daugo Island according to the traditions seems to have been mostly temporary and sporadic. This view is supported by the isolated, sparse groups of pot sherds on the island's surface. The archaeological potential of the island appears to be limited to surface collecting.

Eriama, an archaeologically unpromising surface site, is not in the traditions referred to by Oram. Nebire is mentioned only once (Oram, 1968:20) but it is a site suitable for excavation. Its main cultural horizon is some depth below present ground surface, which suggests it has some antiquity.

Traditional sites such as Manugeva, not yet examined but apparently located with reasonable accuracy, are worthy of future field survey.

The Sogeri area was archaeologically surveyed by J.P. & C. White in 1964. This survey, directed towards finding "sites of a pre-pottery, pre-horticultural stone using type" (White, 1967:5), concentrated on such situations as caves and rock shelters to maximize the chances of finding the early occupation sequences sought. These places would not however be the best for finding the main occupation sites of recent peoples who lived in villages. The paucity of occupation evidence in rock shelters suggests a situation similar to that in a part of lowland southern New Britain where a series of test pits showed that the sort of occupation material found in open village sites was also, but much less abundantly, found in caves, perhaps reflecting the present pattern of activity in which caves are only sporadically occupied during hunting and foraging or when they happen to be near gardens some distance from villages (Lampert, 1966:3). For the Sogeri area Williams (1931:123) notes that the "rock shelters are still put to practical use as temporary resorts for hunters or for gardeners during the heat of the day". Mr. T.E. Dutton (pers. comm.) says that in the area there are many old village sites. Examination of these might provide

information against which the traditional and linguistic evidence could be measured.

Pottery

As the samples of pottery so far collected from the various sites are too small for detailed study the following description is very general. The rim sherds collected fall into two main groups

- (a) out-turned rims, nearly all of which are undecorated although some have a band of either impressed or incised decoration, usually on the inside near the lip;
- (b) straight or slightly in-turned rims which are invariably decorated, on the outside, with a variety of motifs either incised or impressed, shell impressions being common.

Interestingly, some of the design elements of these sherds are paralleled on Motu pottery being made today. Most convincing of these is a distinctive incised chevron infilled with rows of small slashes, a motif found archaeologically at Eriama, Motupore and Taurama; and ethnographically on open bowls being made at Porebada. Inspection of the straight and in-turned rim sherds suggests they all belong to wide-mouthed bowls or dishes. Although the plain, out-turned rims are less easy to compare they may have ethnographic parallels in the uro (cooking pot) and hodu (water vessel). The wide ranging trade along the Papuan coast in Motu pots, particularly the uro, is well known (Groves, 1960), while permanent settlement on such a site as Motupore would not be possible without water containers of some kind.

Clearly, any study of the archaeological pottery will be more meaningfully made in conjunction with a study of recent and contemporary Motu pottery. Not only would the latter study provide a useful datum in the sequence of stylistic changes which the analysis would attempt to set up; it would also provide knowledge of techniques hard to obtain by study of the archaeological pottery alone but helpful in its interpretation. In establishing a sequence no doubt the decorated pottery with its greater range of characteristics will be more useful than the plain. There were several Motu pottery making centres while pottery was made also by the Koita⁷ and, elsewhere along the coast, by the Roro, the Aroma, the Mailu and others (Groves, 1960:3). In the excavated pottery we may thus find several series of types from the various Motu centres, with perhaps the occasional import from elsewhere.

In the most comprehensive paper on Motu pottery to date Groves shows that "The Motu pottery industry has always overshadowed the

others... the Motu exported many thousands of pots over very long distances. Motu pottery traditionally found its way, and still finds its way, into almost every village along the shores of the Papuan Gulf and in the immediate hinterland." (Groves, 1960:3). The reason for this, as Groves claims, is because the Motu live on a narrow, relatively infertile coastal strip, inadequate for the provision of the usual basically agrarian subsistence, motivating the development of a trading system in which manufactured goods, particularly pottery, are exchanged for primary products such as sago. Trade with the west took place during the large annual trading expedition or hiri in which a fleet of lagatoi left the Motu coast with a quantity of pots estimated by Barton, for an average fleet of 20 lagatoi, to be in excess of 25,000 (in Seligmann, 1910:114). The villages which made pots for the hiri were Porebada, Boera, Rea Rea, Manu Manu, Tatana, Pari, and the Port Moresby villages of Hanuabada, Elevara and Tanabada (Chalmers, 1887:11, Haddon, 1894:149, Barton in Seligmann 1910:114).

The few pieces of pottery found in rock shelters near Sogeri are most likely Motuan in origin for Williams tells us "the modern inhabitants do not actually make pottery, but constantly use pots from the Motuans". (Williams, 1931:137). The pots used by these Koiari were possibly made in the eastern Motu villages of Tobusereia, Gairi and Gaba Gaba since Barton claims pottery making for these villages "yet they equip no lakatoi and their pots are chiefly bartered with the bush tribes for food." (in Seligmann, 1910:114).

The dominance of Motu pottery and its widespread distribution through trade makes its ethnographic and archaeological study a vital one, not only for the history of the Port Moresby district but for that of a large part of Papua. Using sequences established for the Port Moresby sites, Motu pottery found further afield could be located according to manufacturing centre and approximate date of manufacture, thus showing datable trade links and providing useful data for the interpretation of sites in which Motu pottery is found. At present however a more urgent task than work on archaeological sites is an ethnographic study at all Motu pottery manufacturing centres, of technique and style before these are forgotten.

Conclusions

Largely on the basis of pottery analysis we can reasonably expect archaeological sites in the Port Moresby district to provide a sequence of material culture reflecting both the movements and identity of people and hence testing those given in oral history. Additionally the sites will no doubt reveal

long forgotten and unrecorded facets of the everyday lives of people. The prehistory that finally emerges may be compared to that of surrounding areas, and by this process wider scale trade and movement and cultural links sought.

SOME ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES OF THE MOTU
AND KOIARI AREAS

NOTES

- 1 The presentation of this topic was prompted by discussion with Messrs. J. Golson, T.E. Dutton and N.D. Oram (all of the Research School of Pacific Studies, ANU) whose helpful suggestions are appreciated. An initial draft of this paper was read by Mr. Golson.
- 2 For information about the Nebire and Erima sites I thank Mr. C.A. Key (R.S.Pac.S., ANU) and Mr. J. Golson for access to their field notes. Information about the other sites results from my own fieldwork (1966, 1967) except where otherwise stated.
- 3 Messrs. G. Viri and T.O. Ginaiko who in their capacity as D.D.A. land surveyors mapped the site. On their map they describe it as the "original village site of the Motuan people". The help given by D.D.A. is gratefully acknowledged.
- 4 Sometimes spelt Matapore.
- 5 I thank Mr. P. Thorpe for allowing examination of the site.
- 6 The help given by Mr. Percy Chatterton (Port Moresby) in locating and identifying the site is gratefully acknowledged.
- 7 Apparently only a minor and probably a recently introduced craft. Lawes (1879) says the Koita "borrowed from the Motu the custom of boiling in earthenware pots ... they do not know the art of making pottery" (in Haddon, 1894:156) whereas Seligmann (1910:45) notes that "although pot-making is essentially a Motu craft, many Koita women make excellent pots".

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TAURAMA: ORAL SOURCES FOR A STUDY OF RECENT

MOTUAN PRE-HISTORY *

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Taurama Head, or Pyramid Point, is the outstanding natural feature along a wide stretch of coast. Since the days of their annual trading expeditions to the Western Motu (Oram 1968 A) the Kula people of Hood Peninsula have called it Olo Nama, which means the 'good hill' because it guided them after they had passed Round Head on their way to the Port Moresby area. It was from Taurama Head that Captain Moresby (Moresby 1876:150) in 1873 discovered the deep passage, which he named Basilisk passage, which allows large ships to enter Port Moresby harbour. Taurama Head and the surrounding area figure largely in legend and history. To this day, people passing in canoes through the dangerous passage below the Head lower their voices because they believe it is occupied by a large serpent (lagava). Taurama plays an important part in the oral traditions concerning the settlement of the present landholding groups in the Port Moresby area.

Two main groups of people hold rights to land. One group share a common language and are known as the Motu, who in turn are divided into two separate sections. There are the Western Motu, whom Groves (1963:15) has described as a tribe; their villages in the Port Moresby area are Poreporena, Tanobada and Elevela at Hanuabada, and Pari.¹ There are also the people of the villages of Bukori and Tatana who differ from the Western Motu in dialect,² in canoe and other names, and in occupation as they were specialists in making red beads called ageva.³ The second group are the Koita who speak an entirely different language. The Koita villages in the neighbourhood of Port Moresby are Kila Kila, Mahuru (Kila Kila p.2), Korobosea and Barune.⁴ Groups of Koita also joined the Motu in their villages. The Koita sections in Hanuabada, Hohodae and Pariu, are sometimes treated as separate villages. In this paper we discuss the part played by Taurama in local history, and present evidence for regarding the former Taurama village as the ancestral village of the western Motu.

Sources

Until recently, little research has been done into the origins and movements of these peoples. The most important early account is included in an ethnographic study of the Koita by Seligman (1910). There has been discussion of origins by Haddon (1920) and Eisenfeld (1950) which have thrown little light on the history of

Motu and Koita. The important presentation of the linguistic evidence by Capell (1943) must be mentioned. Recently Dutton (1967), as part of his study of the Koiarian language family and their relation to other linguistic groups in the area, has assembled in broad outline the evidence relating to ethnic origins and settlement in the central area of Papua. The task now seems to be to build on the foundation which he has provided by carrying out detailed studies from the point of view of different disciplines. This paper is based on research, which does not pretend to be exhaustive, carried out while I was studying urban development in Port Moresby between 1962 and 1965. It is hoped that it may serve as the basis for further research into origins of people settled in the Port Moresby area, and also that it may indicate the kind of material available. I used three kinds of sources: oral tradition recorded by other European enquirers; oral tradition written down by members of local residential groups themselves; and oral tradition recorded by myself.

Important among material collected by others are the recollections of Kori Taboro of Pari Village who died, aged probably nearer ninety than eighty, on 18th March 1950. Her recollections were recorded by Sinaka Goava at the instance of G.A.V. Stanley in 1949.⁵ There is (or was) an important collection of material in the office of the Lands Commission, and in the possession of present or former Land Commissioners I. Champion, J.C. Bramell and W. Giles. There are also a number of references in the works of early missionaries and administrators; some of these are cited in the list of references at the end of the paper.

For a number of years, Papuans have been recording historical and genealogical material relating to the history of their villages and descent groups. I have had access to material recorded by Athanasius Aoaé who went to Port Moresby from Yule Island in 1914. He was still living near Bomana in 1965. His skills and knowledge were recorded by Sir Hubert Murray (Papua Annual Report 1926-7:11) and his English is nearly faultless. He is married to Taukana Daure of Pari village and recorded her pedigree in 1926. Lohia Daure, the senior descendent of Kevau Dagora whose story is discussed below, wrote a number of stories about his village in a notebook held by his brother's son Kwalau. There is likely to be other material of this kind. There are also some published accounts. I mention a story written by Ahuia Ova in the Papuan Villager (1929-39) which was edited by F.E. Williams the government anthropologist, and which contains a number of interesting stories written by Papuans. Ahuia's life story has been recorded by Williams (1939) and Belshaw (1951).

There appear to be one or two men in each village who have become the repositories of tradition concerning their village

groups. In Vabukori, Phillip Airi of Lagi Iduhu appears to hold his position, although others, including Boio Kwara of Kwabira Iduhu may have important contributions to make. While I was not primarily concerned with Koita villages, Jack Babani at Kila Kila provided useful information. At Hanuabada, I recorded information involving Taurama provided by, among others, Toua Madai and Taumaku Madai of Poreporena and by Leke Boio and Kabua of Hohodae: they were all very old men. The Fula informant mentioned below was Ravu Apari, of Siligo kwalu (descent group) who died in 1966. Others among these informants have since died.

There are two main sets of stories connected with Taurama: one set consists of legends which describe connections between Taurama and the Gulf of Papua; and the other set consists of more precise accounts of the settlement of Motu and Koita in the area of what is now Port Moresby.

Taurama and the west

The first story is concerned with the origins of the trading expedition of the Motu people to the Gulf of Papua (Seligman 1910: 16-120; Groves 1960). Port Moresby lies in a rain shadow and food harvested locally was insufficient to meet the needs of the population until the succeeding harvest. Famines occurred frequently until the nineteen thirties. The coastal peoples became involved in a complex network of trading activities. Annual expeditions, known as hiri, were made by the Western Motu in huge sailing-canoes called lagatoi, to the Gulf. They carried pots and valuables and returned with large quantities of sago and with additional canoe-hulls in which the sago was carried. According to the legend, (Riesenfeld 1950:339; Ahuia Ova 1929:8; Margaret Doyle⁶ 1963) two brothers, Taurama and Keaura, quarrelled. Keaura went to the west and became Aird Hill. He carried with him coconuts, sago, betel nut, betel pepper, taitu (sweet yam), and yam; leaving for Taurama armshells, beads, wild yams, and bananas (Riesenfeld 1950:339). As a result, the Motu had to travel to the west to obtain the food which they needed. According to one version (Doyle 1963) Keaura lived at Kogura Bay near Kila R.P.C. depot and, before he left, threw earth into Bootless Inlet and made the islands there. He then told Taurama that the islands were Taurama's land.

In another version, the brothers were living in the Gulf area when they quarrelled and Taurama moved to Port Moresby. This appears to be the basis of a theory, mentioned by Groves (1958:222) that the Motu originally came from the west. This is fully discussed by Riesenfeld (1950:337-40; 481-3). There is another account, not connected with Taurama, which describes the beginning of the hiri. This is the story of Edai Siabo (Seligman 1910:97-8;

Papua Annual Report 1921-2; Riesenfeld 1950:339N) which is still well-known among the Motu. He was taken by supernatural creatures under the sea and given instructions. He then made the first lagatoi and carried out the first hiri. According to P. Livingstone (1963) the Boera people have a stone on the beach which they claim is Edai Siabo's anchor stone brought by the Elema from the west. The late G.A.V. Stanley, a geologist, said however, that stones of this kind are to be found in the area inland of Port Moresby. Edai Siabo is said in these accounts to have come from the west and to have been a Malay. This appears to be the whole of the known evidence suggesting that the Motu came from the west.

The second legend is concerned with the origins of the Koiari people and is in many ways similar to the second version of the Taurama story. According to Chalmers and Gill (1885:151) two men, Kerimaikuku and Kerimaikape, sprang from the earth and had offspring as the result of their unions with a female dog. Of their fourteen descendants, some went to the mountains and founded the Kiari people, some went to the foothills and founded the Koita people and the remainder went to Elema in the region of the Gulf of Papua. After several generations had lived there, two brothers quarrelled and one brother went east and settled at Taurama. He became the ancestor of the Motu.

The Destruction of Taurama Village and the Expansion of the Western Motu

Western Motu informants rarely know anything of their origins beyond the village of Taurama. I have three accounts⁷ of movements of ancestors of descent groups (iduhu) who later lived at Taurama. According to Kori Taboro, who gives the fullest account which I follow here, there were two descent groups who came together at Taurama village. The ancestors of Mavara iduhu whose sections (Groves 1963:16) are now to be found in Pari and Poreporena, were living inland from Gaba Gaba (Kapa Kapa) and Gaire at a place called Gavera Maka. They moved towards the coast and settled on two hills, Kiriu and Gwamo.⁸ The story does not recount when or why they went to Taurama. The second group were living on the island in Bootless inlet called Motu Hanua. They then left to join Taurama village and settled at Koukoubadina. These were the ancestors of the Tubumaga iduhu.

All accounts describe a long period of warfare between Motu living at Taurama and the ancestors of the Eastern Motu called Lakwaharu.⁹ There are accounts of what appear to be two distinct attacks on Taurama village.

According to the first story (Murray 1913:152; Oram 1962-5) a Taurama man beat his Lakwaharu wife. The Lakwaharu people were

then living at Loloata Island in Bootless Inlet and they attacked Taurama village and burned it. Some of the inhabitants fled to Mago Island where they met Koita people fishing and then first settled behind Tatana Bay. They later moved to Gabi which is a few hundred yards to the north of the present site of Elevala.¹⁰ They later settled at Badihagwa. According to Kora Leke (Bramell 1956) the ancestors of the Koita descent group called Geakone were already settled at Eabata¹¹ when the Motu arrived.

There are a number of accounts of Taurama people, which all agree were members of Tubumaga iduhu, leaving Taurama and going to the Badihagwa area as a result of war with Lakwaharu. Kori Taboro says that Tubumaga people left for 'Poreporena' village which was formerly sited at Badihagwa where Hanuabada cemetery is now situated.¹² According to an account by Pari people recorded by Miles (N.D.), the Tubumaga first settled at Manugava (on top of a hill to the north of the Taurama road) and then went to Badihagwa. Mohia Daure, however, says that some Tubumaga people founded Badihagwa village while others, led by Boge Sere, founded a settlement at Manugava (Oram 1962-5).

The second story involves the complete destruction of Taurama villages and is very well-known to people living in the villages in the urban area.¹³ A party of Barune youths¹⁴ visited Taurama and insulted an old woman who incited the people of the village to attack the youths. When the youths returned to Barune village they were determined on revenge. They allied themselves with the Lakwanaru people, and surrounding the village destroyed it with the help of Koita sorcery¹⁵, destroyed it and killed all the people in it with one exception. The exception was Konio Daroa who was a member by birth of Tubumaga iduhu at Badihagwa. She had married a Taurama man. She escaped with her dog called Manugai.¹⁶ When she reached Iriu Laguta, she found two Vabukori men working in their gardens.¹⁷ They asked her why she was leaving her village and where she was going. She said that she was going to her brothers because she had quarrelled with her husband, because she was afraid that they might kill her if they knew the truth.¹⁸ She was pregnant when she fled from Taurama and gave birth to a son. He was called Kevau Dagora, according to some accounts after his father and to others after his mother's brother. He grew up in Badihagwa village in ignorance of the fate of his father and of Taurama village and the children mocked him, asking him who would arrange for his marriage payments as he had no father. After his mother had told him the story of the destruction of the village, he went to the site of Taurama and asked his ancestors to help him to obtain revenge on the Lakwaharu. He then returned and persuaded his mother's kinsmen to launch an expedition against them.

According to Geua Boge, fifty canoes belonging to Mavara,

Kwaradubuna and Tubumage iduhu set out. Mavara war-canoes were called Ouali Bada, Kwaradubuna war-canoes were called Riku Bada and Tubumaga war-canoes were called Manugai Bada. Lohia Daure adds Koregai Bada and Mareva Bada.¹⁹ The various accounts of the battle differ considerably. According to Boio Kwara, Kevau Dagora and his supporters met the Lakwaharu in a sea battle and sank the canoes by shooting arrows²⁰ into them. They then hit the enemy struggling in the water with clubs. The Lakwaharu 'chief'²¹ begged Kevau Dagora to spare ten men to refound the village but he refused because all but one of the Taurama people had been killed.²² In Geua Boge's account, Kevau Dagora attacked Lakwaharu village. He ignored pleas for mercy until eventually he took the survivors to the site of Taurama village and made them agree to an everlasting peace. Lohia Daure says that Kevau Dagora made three separate attacks until the Lakwaharu 'chief', Magani Baru, asked for peace. In this account, Kevau Dagora said that as Magani Baru had begged for peace, he would desist from attacking them.

To provide gifts for making peace, Kevau Dagora went on a hiri expedition to the Gulf of Papua (Lohia Daure).²³ He then arranged for the Vabukori 'chief' Mase Gaudi,²⁴ to take his wife, Idau Vagi and other women to Lakwaharu and Magani Baru sent a party of women, including his wife, in return. Peace was thus made. The Lakwaharu helped Kevau Dagora to build a village at Tauata above the present village of Pari. According to Kori Taboro, members of the Gorobe section of the Koita were already established near the shore at Pari.²⁵ They had come from inland and had settled at Komu on the Laloki River. They then lived at Naurehara, and from there a man called Daure Bemu went towards the coast and for the first time saw and tasted the sea. He moved his village to a place called Gorobe at the top of the hill near the place, still called Gorobe, above the Hubert Murray Highway at Badili. They were driven from Gorobe by the depredations of the Hohodae section of the Koita and, led by Daure Bemu, established a village at Masetoi and later at Pari. There they were joined by the Motu.²⁶

Dating of events discussed above

The only evidence which relates to the dating of the events discussed above is derived from genealogies. The majority of Motu and Koita genealogies can only be traced for four or five generations. The pedigrees of outstanding individuals are sometimes remembered. They take the form of a list of male ancestors but additional details are sometimes remembered in connection with particular events. The descent of Athanasius Aoae's wife from Kevau Dagora is traced through both males and females. This evidence is set out chronologically in Figure I.

Figure I: Tentative chronology based on genealogical evidence

1500	Kure Vara born. He lived at Tabama (Vabukori)
1575	Taurama village founded by Taurama Buasi
1700	Vagi Kure (Vabukori) born. Quarrelled with his brother and went to Badihagwa
1725	Kevau Dagora (Taurama) born
1735	Daure Bemu (Koita) born. He led his people of the Gorobe section to Pari
1750	Tauata village founded by Kevau Dagora
1750	Iramo Hada born. Lived at Ranuguri (Eabata)
1850	Village moved from Badihagwa to the shore

There are two pieces of genealogical evidence which relate directly to the Kevau Dagora story. According to notes made in 1926, Athanasius' wife, then aged about 25, was the seventh generation descending from Kevau Dagora. This means that he was born about 1725.²⁷ According to Lohia Daure, Taurama village was founded by Taurama Buasi, who was seven generations ascending from Kevau Dagora. This suggests that Taurama Buasi was born about 1550 and that Taurama village was founded in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Kevau Dagora can be assumed to have been at least twenty years old when he attacked Lakwaharu and this suggests that his village at Tauata was founded about 1750. According to Kori Taboro, Daure Bemu, who led the Gorobe people to Pari, was five generations ascending from herself. Assuming she was born in 1860 or shortly after, Daure Bemu would have been born about 1735. This date is not inconsistent with the founding of Tauata about 1750.

There is no direct evidence relating to the founding of Badihagwa with one uncertain exception. According to Vabukori accounts, (Oram 1962-5) a man named Kure Vara, sixteen generations ascending from a man aged about 65, lived at Tabama (Vabukori). This suggests the village was at Tabama in about 1500. His descendant, eight generations ascending from a man aged 65, called Vagi Kure, quarrelled with his brother and went to live with the Motu at Badihagwa. His descendants still form a lineage of Gunina Idibana iduhu of Poreporena known as Gunina Vabukori. This suggests that Badihagwa village was already in existence by 1700. Koita evidence, however, suggests that Badihagwa was founded later. A man called Iramo Hada of Geakone iduhu left Buria²⁸ village and went by stages to Kini Kini (Burns Peak) (Oram 1962-5). According to Kora Leke (Bramell 1956) Iramo Hada went down from Kini Kini to live at Eabata (Ranuguri). Iramo Hada was the ancestor of Igo Ganiga (aet.c.65?: Giles N.D.) and of Leke Boio (aet.c.70: Oram 1962-5) five generations ago. Kora Leke says that the Motu came from Taurama and settled at Badihagwa in the time of Iramo Hada.

Koita evidence on this point must, however, be treated with caution. Both Motu and Koita argue that they were the first people to settle in the area. The stories of both Kori Taboro and Leke Boio suggest that the descent from Kini Kini was made much later but their statements are not clear on this point.

The people of Hanuabada say that the move from Badihagwa to the shore was made shortly before the first European missionaries arrived in 1874. The movement was led by Mavara Douna, whose son was alive when Commodore Erskine declared a British Protectorate over southeast Papua in 1884 (Belshaw 1957:22). The move from Badihagwa may have occurred in about 1850. Poreporena appears to have been established a few years later when the Hohodae Koita joined the Motu there. The Koita, according to a number of sources (Bramell 1956; Oram 1962-5) had been living on Tau Erema, ²⁹ a hill to the west of Koke, and had gone to live at Koke. There they died in large numbers as a result of disease. This may have been the epidemic, probably small-pox, which caused deaths along a wide coastal area of Papua shortly before contact (Oram 1968A). They temporarily left Koke and later returned and built villages at Koke and on the beach at Era. At a time which I estimate to be about ten years before European contact (Oram 1962-5), a group of raiders from Hula village destroyed Kila Kila village. The Koita at Koke and Era were frightened by this raid and some of them joined the Motu on the shore at Poreporena.

Clearly limited genealogical evidence of this kind cannot be accepted without supporting evidence. It is possible, however, to come to some tentative conclusions.

(a) There are grounds for accepting the oft-stated Motu belief that the long-established villages in the Port Moresby area were Taurama-Pari, Vabukcri, and Badihagwa-Hanuabada. Some informants say that Poera, formerly called Apau, was also one of the first villages to be established in the area (Livingston 1955; Oram 1962-5).

(b) There is sufficient correspondence between different sources to accept in general outline the account of the destruction of Taurama village and its refounding at Pari described above.

(c) The refounding of Taurama village at Tauata occurred not later than 1760 and may have occurred earlier.

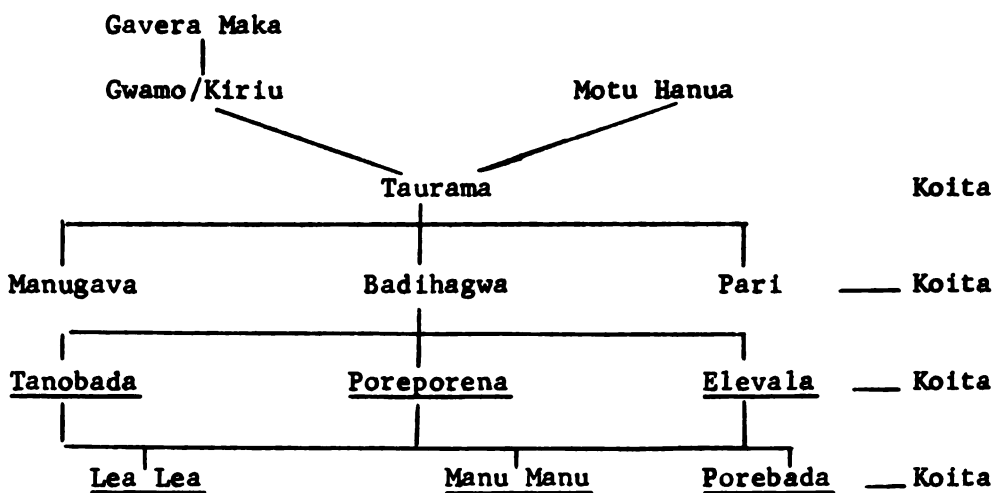
The origins of the Western Motu

Among both Koita and Motu, no village has a single origin but each is an amalgam of several distinct groups. While primary membership of Motu descent groups is inherited basically through

ales, as Groves (1963) has shown, affines and clients are incorporated as primary members of descent groups when they become householders. The same process takes place among the Koita. Several examples occur in the stories discussed above. Descendants of such members may form separate recognizable lineages within iduhu, such as Gunina Vabukori, or if they become strong enough, form new iduhu. The extent to which villages were not political units is also illustrated by these stories. The whole village was not necessarily involved in war between villages and this fact may explain the contradiction between statements that a whole village population was destroyed and its subsequent re-appearance. Examples occur in Lohia Daure's account of people leaving Taurama or Badihagwa and Manugava and in Kori Taboro's account of Hula attacks on the Koita at Koke: both accounts are careful to point out that only one section of the inhabitants were involved in the warfare.

The movement of members of certain descent groups, however, can be traced through a series of village settlements. These accounts seem to establish that the people of Taurama village were the ancestors of the Motu-speaking people now living in the Hamuabada village cluster, where they have moved after living at Badihagwa, and of Pari village. There also appears to be, as Groves (Groves et al 1958) has shown, ample evidence that the other eastern Motu villages to the westward were founded by members of different descent groups established at Badihagwa and at Hamuabada. Thus the original village did not segment: it reproduced itself' (Groves 1963:16) (Figure 2). The details of this movement have not yet been published. It is interesting to note that in 1964 old men of Kahanamona, Kwaradubuna and Tubumaga iduhu of Poreporena village spoke the same dialect³⁰ as the people of Pari and Manu Manu villages (Oram 1962-5). This suggests that there is a close link between these groups.

Capell (1943:20,276) has suggested that the Austronesian-speaking peoples of the central coastal area arrived in their present location no later than the thirteenth century and that the Motu were later arrivals. Dutton (1966) suggests that, on the basis of Lexico-statistical dating, Motu and Vulaa could have separated as early as some time between the seventh and the tenth century A.D. Available linguistic and other evidence relating to the origin of the Motu has already been fully set out by Dutton (1967:33-36) and need not be repeated here. I can only make the suggestion (already quoted by Dutton 1967:32) that the fact that the Motu are a 'sea people' with rights to a very small coastal area and an economy largely based on fishing and trading as well as agriculture, does not necessarily indicate that they are descendants of migrants who arrived later than land-based Austronesian-speaking people. Their story, as recounted above,

Figure 2: Origin of Western Motu VillagesKey:

Villages no longer existing - Manugava
 Existing villages - Pari

is very similar to that of another 'sea' people, the Vulaa, whose settlements extend from the Hood Peninsula to Cheshunt Bay.³¹ They, too, hold very little land and until post contact times their economy was entirely based on fishing and trading. The different Vulaa groups appear to be descended from a single ancestral village, now called Alukuni, at Keapara point. Evidence relating to their origins suggests that they are descended from an Austronesian-speaking agricultural group who moved from inland towards the head of Marshall Lagoon. This group was living on the top of a hill when the ancestors of the Vulaa broke away from them. The similarity between the Motu and Vulaa stories is immediately apparent. The oral traditions described above suggest that the Motu did not at first live by the sea but preferred to build their villages, often on hills, a little way inland. Gwamo, Manugava, and Tauata were situated on tops of hills, and Badihagwa was also inland. It seems possible, as a shot in the dark, that both Motu and Vulaa were not descended from late sea-borne migrants, but instead were descended from Austronesian-speaking agricultural peoples already established in central Papua. Linguistic evidence does not contradict this suggestion. The external origins of the lagatoi may be significant in this connection.

the need for further research.

The incompleteness of this account stresses the need for further research. The last old men and women who remember life as it was lived before European impact had radically altered the traditional way of life are now dying. Much valuable information is being lost. Some way should be found of recording their oral traditions even though the analysis of these traditions may have to wait until skilled researchers are available to study them.

There appears to be a rich field for linguistic and archaeological research. Further linguistic studies could throw light on the relationships between the different Austronesian-speaking groups. The sites of a number of villages mentioned in this account are discussed by Lampert (1968) in his paper 'Some Village Sites of the Motu and Koiari Areas'. The site at Taurama can tentatively be identified as that of the village founded by Kevau Dagora. Nebire is mentioned in one account (Oram 1962-5) as a village site of the Motu bita iduhu called Taurama. Of particular interest is the discovery of a large number of skeletons, pottery and other evidence of human occupation on an island now known as Motupore (Lampert 1968:3-5). A map, based on earlier reports, prepared by two government officers, J.T. O'Malley and E.R. Stanley, in 1916 shows that this island is the Motu Hanua³² mentioned in the accounts of the movements of the Western Motu.

The result of such research may be the accurate plotting of the movements of different descent groups living in the Port Moresby area and the dating of such movements. Such studies will not in themselves solve the problem of ultimate origins of these groups but they will, by tracing the different descent groups back to the few early settlements in the area, simplify the study of the wider problem of Motu and Koita origins.

TAURAMA: ORAL SOURCES FOR A STUDY OF RECENTMOTUAN PRE-HISTORYNOTES

- * My thanks are due to Mr. J. Golson and Mr. T.E. Dutton for their comments on an earlier draft of this paper. They are also due to Dr. A.V.G. Price and Messrs. Gavera Baru and Sinaka Goava, among others, for their advice and help while I was working in Port Moresby.
- 1 Outside the Port Moresby area the villages are Porebada, Lea Lea and Manu Manu.
- 2 The main difference is the use of an 'n' in place of an 'l' sound.
- 3 Groves (Groves et al. 1958:224) excludes the people of Boera from membership of the Western Motu tribe. He mentions that some of his informants said that the people of Boera came from Maiva. One informant (Eno Ata, Manu Manu) said he thought the Vabukori and Tatana people came from Nara (west of Galley Reach). The Vabukori people have no recollection of Nara origin and I have made no enquiries in Tarana about this. A second informant said that Tubumaga iduhu (descent group) of Tatana came from Vei Mauri in the same area. They stayed at Boera and then went to Daugo (Fishermen's) Island where they made sapi sapi (earrings) but then went to Tatana Island owing to lack of water.
- 4 Koita villages outside the urban area to the west are Roku, Koderika, Papa, Kido, Gorohu and Boiteka.
- 5 Copies have been deposited by Dr. A.V.G. Price in the library of the University of Papua and New Guinea.
- 6 Granddaughter of Athanasius Aoae.
- 7 Murray 1913:153; Jack Babani, (Oram 1962-5), Kori Taboro, (Sinaka Goava 1949).
- 8 According to a Hula informant (Oram 1962-5) two descent groups in Hula village are named after these hills. They are Kwamonuma and Siligonuma: numa means 'house'. According to the story, the descent groups were named shortly before European contact. Siligo is the name of a feast at Keapara

and also occurs as a name in the Aroma area. Names of geographical features, descent groups, canoes, etc., frequently re-occur throughout the central Austronesian-speaking area. This may deserve further study.

9 A number of accounts refer to Lakwaharu as the name of a group. According to one informant, Phillip Airi, Lakwaharu was the name of a village site. This was the second site of the village, the first being at Vedi between the present villages of Tubusereia and Barakau.

The Lakwaharu were the ancestors of the Motu sections of the present village of Tubusereia. From there new villages were formed at Barakau, Gaire and Gaba Gaba (Kapa Kapa). In the same way as they joined the Western Motu, inland groups also joined Eastern Motu villages on the coast.

10 Gabi and Tatana Bay are mentioned in Jack Babani's account (Oram 1962-5), Daugo Island lies some four miles to the west of Port Moresby. According to Riesenfeld (1950:338) pottery was found there of a kind unknown to any living person. The island has long been used as a camping ground for fishermen (Oram 1968 B). There are several accounts of settlement on the Island (Oram 1962-5). In one account Tatana people left Tatana Island through fear of a man-eating giant and went to Daugo; and the second account involving Tubumaga iduhu, is mentioned above. There is a story of occupation of Daugo Island by Vabukori people: Kaeme Goru was so upset when his brother Ido was lost when his lagatoi drifted away that he settled on the island. There has recently been litigation over rights to the island in which several villages were involved.

11 Motu = Ranuguri. The site is near Spring Garden Road at Konedobu.

12 Kori Taboro refers to Poreporena, but Poreporena is the present site of the village on the shore. All other accounts agree that the village was at Badihagwa during the period of these wars.

13 Sources include three recorded by myself (Jack Babani, Phillip Airi and Boio Kwara); an account by a group of Pari people recorded by Giles (N.D.); and by Geua Boge of Pari village recorded by Revo Pita. I follow Geua Boge's account, because it is the fullest, except where I have stated otherwise.

According to Phillip Airi, the Lakwaharu were living at Vedi at this time.

- 14 The story of the reason for the war is derived from Boio Kwara.
- 15 The Motu still fear the power of Koita and other inland sorcerers.
- 16 Manugai is the name of the Tubumaga war canoe. Some descent groups call their dogs by their canoe-names. The people of Hula village frequently call dogs 'Manu'ai', which is also a descent group and trading canoe name. It is also a canoe name in the form 'Manugai' in the eastern part of the Hula-speaking area. Manu = bird, gai = canoe. In Motu, this word for canoe only appears in the form asi, meaning lagatoi hull.
- 17 The Vabukori men appear to have been working in gardens situated between Gimaune (water hole near Kila Kila school) and Iriu Laguta (the shallow inlet near the Kila Kila Quarantine Station). Vabukori informants (Oram 1962-5) say that their village has had four sites: Tabama (present Sabama: taba in Motu means 'saliva' and refers to a time of famine); Darahasi or Dogurahasi Kira Kira (on top of the hill above the Kila Depot of the Royal Papuan Constabulary) Dihoroha (the little islet called Taunageno was formerly connected to the mainland by a sandy strip of land and the village was situated on this strip); and Imanakone, the present site. Accounts agree that the village was at Darahasi Kira Kira when Konio Daroa met the Vabukori men.
- 18 Accounts of her excuse vary slightly.
- 19 According to Leke Boio, Koregai and Mareva were the names of canoes belonging to two Koita iduhu, Dubara and Taurama respectively. Too much significance cannot be attached to this, but it suggests that the Koita were living with or near the Motu and were in close alliance with them. Bada is the Motu word for 'big' or 'great'.
- 20 The Motu now say that they did not use bows and arrows as weapons. Moresby saw toy bows among the children at Redsea Bay but said that there were no bows and arrows among the Motu or coastal peoples to the east (1876:157, 163). They may have existed in the past. In one story about a Poreporena lagatoi, (Gavera Baru, Gunina Idibana, Poreporena 1963), the Motu used their bows and arrows as weapons (1878:483; 488). Turner (1878:488) said that Motu weapons included bows and arrows but he included people living as far as Hoo Bay in his definition of Motu. Lawes (1879:373) says that the Koita did not use bows and arrows but that 'their use was confined to the coastal tribes'.

21 The Motu word lohia is frequently translated as chief, but the Motu had no chiefs with authority over individuals at the village level. Lohia could be applied to heads of descent groups, who performed important ritual functions, and also to any man of eminence, including war leaders, leaders of trading expeditions etc.

22 Some Lakwaharu people were left alive because they helped to rebuild Taurama village. The Vulaa (name of tribe consisting of the people of Hula village and of five other coastal settlements, Oram 1968 A) name for Tubusereia is Wapu Ama, which means the 'huts of the widows'; but the people of the Hula village do not know to which particular disaster this refers.

During a brief enquiry at Tubusereia, I could find no-one who professed any knowledge of the Kevau Dagora story, but it is possible that stories of these wars are known by the Tubusereia people.

23 Fuller accounts of the expedition to the Gulf are known to Gavera Baru and Phillip Airi but they have not been recorded by me. Writing from memory, Phillip Airi's account may refer to the establishment of Toaripi village (called Motu Motu by the Motu) at the time of European contact after the Toaripi had left Evara and spent some time in Pari, later returning to the west (Haddon 1900:273).

The presence of large quantities of pottery on the Taurama site, (Lampert 1968: 2) may be explained by the need to prepare large quantities of pots for the hiri expeditions.

24 Phillip Airi says that the Vabukori leader was Borei Vagi but this seems improbable. Borei Vagi was Phillip's fa. fa. fa. and founder of Lagi iduhu. Phillip rightly says he was a contemporary of Boe Vagi who was appointed chief of the Motu when a British Protectorate was declared in 1883 and 1884. There was, however, a war between Poreporena and Tubusereia shortly before European contact (according to an account given to me by Hila Tutuhi, Apau iduhu, Poreporena, 1963) in which Boe Vagi's daughter's husband's father, Hila Heni, and his younger brother with the same name were involved. The Vabukori claim that they frequently acted as peacemakers, and Borei Vagi may have done so on this occasion. Borei Vagi came to Vabukori from Abai iduhu, Tubusereia. According to Phillip Airi the village was moved from Darahasi Kila Kila to Dihoroha in Borei Vagi's time.

25 Pari means 'wet' or 'swampy' in Motu.

26 According to Kwalahu Daure, the village was moved to Pari because the village land boundaries extended like a fan from the beach. It is more probable, however, that the village was built first and the land boundaries established later.

27 I have treated a generation as twenty-five years.

28 Buria was a Koita village situated inland from Lea Lea. The Koita later abandoned Buria and joined the Motu at Lea Lea.

29 Tau Erema means the Kerema man, a man from the Gulf district.

30 Characterised by the absence of an 'h' sound.

31 I have given a brief account of the Vulaa in Oram (1968 A). I have not set out, as yet, the evidence relating to their origins in full.

32 Motu presumably refers to the people of that name, although in the form motu motu it means 'island'. Pore means a 'gravel bank' and hanua means 'village'.

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THE NOTION OF TIME AMONG THE MAENGE

PEOPLE OF NEW BRITAIN ¹

Michel Panoff

"Mipela i no save markim taim!" So runs the usual reply given by the Maenge to the plantation manager or the patrol officer who rebukes them for having broken an appointment². In fact, since they have no clocks, the Maenge have no accurate time-reckoning as the white man has. Moreover, their language does not even contain any word equivalent to English time. Of course, that holds true of the French language too which cannot translate into one word all the meanings included in English time as Leach humorously pointed out some years ago (1961:124), but there remains little doubt as to the ability of the French to convey the very notion of time in one way or another. The problem with the Maenge therefore is: what do people think about time when they do not possess such a verbal category as time at all?

First of all, the Maenge do evidently possess several devices of time-reckoning, and arranging an appointment is nothing new to them as some Europeans seem to believe. With respect to the latter matter, they used to rely in pre-contact times on the very technique reported from the Gazelle Peninsula by G. Brown³ at the end of the 19th century: the man who wishes to summon another one at an arranged time, sends him a string bearing as many knots as there are days to elapse until the date fixed, while he keeps himself a similar string. For their part, the Maenge used to tie knots on a twisted cordyline-leaf instead of a string or a piece of vine. Arranging an appointment, either in a love-affair or when gathering allies in warfare, therefore was called vugong-kala, which means: "tying knots". So much for the Maenge inability to plan anything beforehand!

As regards now time-reckoning proper, it will be very convenient to describe the various ways the Maenge think about time by referring them to Evans-Pritchard's well-known distinction between "ecological time" and "structural time" (1939: 189). Through doing so, one may incidentally hope to compare his own conclusions with those that could be drawn from the Maenge material. Perhaps such a comparison will offer some interest as Evans-Pritchard's article has always been in the centre of every discussion about time and history since its publication.

Ecological time among the Maenge, that is time based on "reflections of their relations to environment", depends mainly on

horticulture. Indeed the oecological cycle is regarded as synonymous with the taro growing cycle. Although some varieties can be harvested eight months after being planted and others require twelve months or so, there is a large consensus on a focal cycle of ten or eleven months⁴; at all events, that is the growing pattern for those varieties which are important in ceremonial contexts. If one adds to it one month for bush-clearing and another one for preparing the large festivals which are invariably held at the end of the cycle, one arrives at a duration of about one year before new gardens are prepared and new taros are planted. Such is the largest unit on the oecological scale. But it should be remarked that the Maenge language does not contain any word rendering the flow of time during that cycle. Of course, when people are urged to tell you how long ago did a certain event take place, they are able to calculate with a good accuracy how many gardens they have made since then, but you have always to suggest them that method of reckoning, which seems a sufficient evidence that the notion of a yearly cycle does not exist as such in their consciousness. More seldom, they are tempted to recollect the number of festivals (pesinga matana) which occurred in the interval under discussion, a figure to be taken as the approximate number of years. Here again however, there is no consciousness of a duration, only an emphasis on time-demarcation instead.

The contrast is all the more striking when the second largest unit of oecological time, the season, is considered, as it is expressed in the language and the speakers are indisputably aware of its duration. One should go even further and say that it is conceived of as time flowing. Although demarcations are assigned to it, they remain somewhat blurred and they do not play a deciding part in the definition of the interval. The Maenge distinguish two seasons, kaepâ and vinte, which can be translated as "dry season" and "wet season" respectively, the succession of them amounting to what we call a year in our own system. The criterion is meteorological, as all comments given by informants have insistently pointed out. Indeed, the Maenge attitude towards the seasonal sequence seems to follow closely the official graph for monthly rainfalls. The two periods are roughly of the same length and are characterized by their central months. Kaepâ shows its unmistakable features in January and February which actually are the driest months of the year (average rainfalls of 5.6 and 5.0 inches respectively), while vinte reaches its climax in July and August which conversely are the wettest ones (50.4 and 45.4 inches respectively)⁵. It is around each of those extremes that all the other months are marshalled, the marginal ones being attributed to kaepâ or to vinte according to the subjective experiences of the informants, as it was noticed among the Nuer too (Evans-Pritchard, op. cit. :191). Those uncertainties

re the more to be expected as the Maenge, unlike the Nuer, do not experience highly contrasted activities when they pass from one season to the other. True, during vinte they cease fishing and yams and taros, prevail in their diet, whereas kaepâ is often marked in its second half by food shortage and consequently by food collecting through the bush. But such seasonal variations are mere trends; they do not result in occupational dichotomy as they do among peoples who change a sedentary way of life for a nomadic one every six months.

Primarily based, as it is, on the contrast dry/wet, the notion of season nevertheless involves an astronomical correlation which is found in the observation of sunrise throughout the year. On each succeeding morning the direction of the sun at rising shifts from East-South-East to North-East between the 1st of January and the 2nd of June, and back from North-East to East-South-East between the 1st of July and the 22nd of December. In the latitude of the Maenge country that alternating shift describes an arc of about 90° on the compass. The Maenge are quite aware of the phenomenon which is used as an index of time-reckoning in addition to their lunar calendar. However, they do not pay equal attention to all its features. Their language is very poor with respect to the shift in progress: the sun (in fact, the direction of its rising) is only said "to go and come back again" without more details. The same is true of the symbolism connected with that aspect. On the contrary, mythological associations and verbal subtleties are flourishing as to the way in which the shift is completed. Both extreme points from which the sun rises at solstice are perfectly known and are identified with conspicuous landmarks on the horizon (mountain, reef, islet, etc.), different from village to village according to the surrounding topography. They are called kae tarangana, "resting places of the sun", as they correspond to a ten days' full stop in the shift. Because of the time of their occurrence those full stops are seen as immediately announcing, or even actually preparing, the climax of each season. Among other metaphors the sun is consequently said to devote its rest to seaming up a hat with an umbrella of pandanus-leaves in one tarangana, and to accumulating heat in the other.

The emphasis laid by the Maenge on the full stops may, at first sight, appear to be an emphasis on discontinuity. This is largely true when we confine ourselves to the astronomical phenomenon itself but it is a misleading conclusion when we turn to the flow of time during the seasonal sequence, for the shift of the sunrise on the horizon is only a spatial correlation used for weather-forecast. Indeed, as far as time is concerned, the full stop at solstice is no demarcation between two contrasted periods, but it presages, on the contrary, the highest display of that very character, of each season, either dry or wet, which has been gradually increasing

through the preceding months. Thus, the pendulous process of the astronomical phenomenon, with its repeated reversal at each kae tarangana, should not induce us to lend discontinuity to the Maenge perception of time on the seasonal scale. As the conception of their lunar calendar will better exemplify, the Maenge experience the seasonal change as a continuous process, not as a succession of discontinuities. This is evidenced also by the richness of the vocabulary used for describing the sequence of meteorological events which characterize the course of vinte or kaepâ. To sum it up, there is nothing really different from the average view held by European people as to the transition from winter to summer. But it may be of interest to come to the possibly disappointing conclusion that it is precisely so, for noted anthropologists often maintain that the notion of "a discontinuity of repeated contrasts is probably the most elementary and primitive of all ways of regarding time" (especially Leach, op. cit.: 134).

A few words may be said here about the Maenge lack of interest in the directions of winds and the movements of the celestial bodies other than the sun and the moon, a fact so different from the attitude of most Polynesian peoples for example. Although the South-east wind, isongala, is known to prevail throughout vinte, it is not used for time-reckoning, which is all the more surprising as it obviously brings about the wet season in this part of New Britain. As to the other winds, they are merely classed as "winds from inland" (sau) and "sea-winds" (karere at Malimali, vovole at Malakuru and Pomio), a distinction recognized by only a few of the older informants. No clue whatsoever to seasonal changes is secured from such a knowledge. On the other hand, only the Pleiades and Venus are noted, but they are of little significance for time-reckoning. The movement of the Pleiades, which are called kumani puna me ("a dense cluster of your taros"), has failed to suggest the notion of a yearly cycle to the Maenge, although their disappearance was interpreted as an urge to plant the last taros before the heaviest rains of the wet season. Such a planting was called "deceiving the stars" (golonge mata me). Venus is thought to be two different stars, being called kanitong maroro ("the big slow-burning ember") in the evening and mata vola ("the great star") in the morning. The latter is a sign that dawn is about to break and that travellers have to prepare without further delay.

Each season is divided into six "lunar" months. The Maenge calendar is primarily based on the observation of the habits of certain trees flowering once a year, so that the notion of month is expressed by the word ina (moon) and the idiom vega matana ("tree-category" or "tree-index") as well. Every "lunar" month is identified with a botanical species, whether the latter flowers at new moon or at full moon. Thus, any vega matana is likely to

overlap two succeeding lunar months. It is the more so, as the Maenge usually link one vega matana to each of the two stages which they distinguish in the flowering cycle of the trees selected as indices: the first one corresponding to the shedding of the leaves and the initial appearance of few flowers on one or two twigs, the second one being marked by the full flush on every branch. Despite the continuous character of the process and the obvious impossibility of recognizing clear demarcations between the two stages, flowering always remains the final criterion, which accounts for some calendar variations from village to village and even from individual to individual. Moreover, there are unavoidable discrepancies between time reckoned in lunar terms and time reckoned in botanical terms whenever flowering happens to be late as a result of unusual meteorological conditions. Nevertheless the system can be said to work satisfactorily with a margin of uncertainty less than one month. No doubt it is precisely the flexibility of the system which has prevented the Maenge from adding a thirteenth month to their calendar as the observation of the shifting sunrise on the horizon through the year should have urged them to do if their monthly unit had been straightforwardly lunar. This fact points to the same conclusion as their indifference to the movements of celestial bodies already mentioned: what is important for the Maenge is what happens in their close environment, not what happens in the sky.

The following list of vega matana has been checked up throughout the Maenge country and most natural changes said to occur in certain months have been personally observed. The calendar of the Longueinga people ("Bush Mengen") is not presented here although it offers some slight differences as to the names of the months. The reason for doing so is that discussing the notions of continuity and discontinuity with reference to their oecological time would have been too easy, hence less conclusive, since the seasonal change in the mountains is much more gradual than on the coast. Otherwise the conception of their calendar is the very same thing. Of course, one cannot equate but very roughly the Maenge months with our own and one has to bear in mind that each vega matana is likely to begin about 15 days earlier or later than the date estimated here.

alo kuna ("vine-head", that is: vine flower): end of April to end of May. Two climbers are referred to in this name: kaluva (*Calamus* sp.) and kaoilu (*Zizyphus pupuanus*). This is the first month of vinte. Some people start introducing yams in their diet. Land-crabs (goga) leave the bush at night and gather on the beach where they are extensively caught by torch-light. Thus, this month is also called goga in some villages (Pomio, Sali).

piri a kamana kena ("flowers appear on one branch of Erythrina indica"): end of May-end of June. The piri tree is

shedding its leaves and flowers appear on few twigs. The sun is reaching its "resting place" where it makes its umbrella. Now is the time to plant the last taros before the heaviest rains.

Piri manangana ("the true flowering time of Erythrina indica): end of June - end of July. There is no longer any leaf on the piri tree which is entirely covered with flowers. This is the wettest month of the year together with the following one.

Kerenge ke mera or kerenge kau soali ("Pterocarpus indicus has shed all its leaves and is bare"): end of July - end of August. Throughout this month the weather is so bad that "nobody knows who may have died in the neighbouring village as communication is too difficult".

Kerenge manangana ("Pterocarpus indicus is flowering"): end of August - end of September. The rains are declining and the sky less cloudy. Yams cease to prevail in the Maenge diet. Travels from village to village are resumed.

Uiasi (name of a small fish not identified): end of September - end of October. This is a transitional month between vinte and kaepâ. The fish called ulasi is swarming in shallow waters near the beach.

Paugala ka siana (Albizzia falcata is pregnant"): end of October - end of November. The paugala tree is budding, hence the metaphor included in the name of this month. It is the first month which definitely belongs to kaepa. Preparations for the great festivals of the dry season are well under way.

Paugala enga valipola ("the flowers of Albizzia falcata are bursting") end of November - end of December. The sun is reaching its second "resting place" and the rains are getting very scarce. The sea-annelida matamata (palol viridis) make their appearance on the surface of shallow waters for one or two nights and are skimmed off as delicacies by the inhabitants of Malakuru and Pomio. Many villages are starting their festivals. Usually large sections of bush are being cleared for preparing the collective gardens the harvest of which is designed for the following year's festivals.

Vega pana ("between two flowering periods"): occurring between mid December and mid January. This period corresponds

to no flowering time; on the contrary, it only bridges the gap between the previous vega matana and the following one. It cannot be regarded as a month since its duration is likely to cover 30 days as well as 15 days according to the length of paugala enga valipola and the beginning of tolova e volau. Felled bush-trees are being burnt in the new collective gardens. Festivals are going on.

lova e volau ("Evodia elleryana is flowering"): mid January - mid February or end of February. The tree used here as an index is referred to as "big" (volau) because it has to be distinguished from another tree, closely related to it, the flowering time of which occurs in the following month. Tolova e volau is the second driest month of the year. The best varieties of taro are being planted in the new collective gardens. The last festivals of the cycle are taking place.

lova e sina (flowering time of an unidentified tree which differs from tolova e volau in the size of its leaves): middle or end of February - end of March. The driest month of the year. Food shortage may appear as a result of both drought and huge consumption of taros through the previous months. Pig-fences are being erected around the collective gardens.

va (Alphitonia incana is flowering)⁶: end of March - end of April. This period corresponds to a significant rise in the curve of rainfall (average figure: 10 inches against 5 or so in the previous months). In most gardens the taros planted about the time of disappearance of the Pleiades are available.

This list of vega matana suggests some interesting remarks. Firstly, it is for want of any better translation that the notion vega matana has been rendered by the English word "month". It is apparent that this Maenge unit of time is vested with a meaning of its own. Not only does it follow the phases of the moon in a somewhat erratic way, but it may also last for 15 days (vega pana) or 5 weeks (tolova e volau and tolova e sina). Thus, as in the case of the yearly shift of the sunrise, the Maenge turn their attention to the phases of the moon only to secure a correlation with the phenomena observed in their close environment.

Secondly, the special features of the period called vega pana show to what extent the Maenge system of time-reckoning is flexible. Moreover, they offer a further evidence that this calendar is definitely grounded on the changes occurring in the surrounding vegetation, since vega pana consists of a void interval between two

flowering cycles irrespective of the phases of the moon. Were the Maenge calendar properly lunar, one could suppose that informants must have dropped a month somewhere in their list and that vega pana is precisely the thirteenth lunar month, but its very duration does not admit of such an hypothesis.

Thirdly, what happens in the first half of the dry season may throw some light on the way in which the Maenge are aware of a yearly cycle. Although they seem to be able to foretell with a good accuracy the time of appearance of palolo viridis, they have never thought of making a time-demarcation of this striking phenomenon as many Polynesian peoples did by identifying it with the first day of their year. As already mentioned, the position of the rising sun at solstice and the movement of the Pleiades could have served the same purpose but they have been equally neglected. However, the regular occurrence of the dry season festivals is sometimes used as an index of time-reckoning in matters related to the past. What is then the actual significance of these events in relation with that of other yearly phenomena? The festive period covers an interval of two months at least, every village holding its own feast in turn and its inhabitants being invited to attend the dances in the other ones. This means that the Maenge festivals, when used as a yearly demarcation in some instances, cannot convey the notion of a strict limit in the flow of time. In fact, they hardly represent something more than a recurring interval similar to the seasonal unit or the flowering cycle of a tree which lasts two months. What confirms this view is that the occurrence of the yearly festivals is entirely determined by natural factors. These events take place in the only favourable period of the year: when the growing cycle of the most valued taros is completed. A few months earlier there is little food available and the bad weather seriously hinders social intercourse, whereas a few months later the drought is likely to imperil the harvest. Thus, it is indisputably time which orders festivals. But what about the converse? Might it not be said that the main function of such festivals is the ordering of time? It is not plausible because, when calculating the number of years elapsed since a certain event, the Maenge refer more often to oecological activities than to festivals and, what is more, the interval between two successive festive periods is not named and not conceived of as a distinct entity, a fact in discordance with Leach's view on the matter (op. cit. 135). It is not that the Maenge are blind to the yearly cycle which seems to the anthropologist a conspicuous rhythm of their oecological time, but they evidently need no conceptualization of it. Although they are able to assign a rather vague limit to this cycle if required, they are not interested in thinking about its duration as such. What is important for them is the duration of the seasons and the vega matana.

The last remark on the Maenge calendar concerns the perception of continuity in the flow of time. Not only the flowering process selected as an index of time-reckoning is a continuous one, which accounts for the difficulty met with in distinguishing its two stages whenever the use of the calendar requires so, but the very succession of two different flowering cycles is also regarded as continuous. All the informants have constantly insisted that the flowering cycle of a certain species "is continued through that of the species identified with the following "month"". In other words, the successive flowering cycles of different species are seen as begetting one another. This metaphor may help us to understand why the Maenge do not pay particular attention to discontinuities and how easily they can use the same symbolism when they think about the cycle of human life, as we shall see later.

The seasons and the vega matana have been considered. When Maenge discuss a matter involving an estimate of durations shorter than a "month" they calculate the number of "suns" (kae), since there is no other unit on this scale. Their language contains no word expressing the notion of both day and night. As regards the movement of the sun throughout the day-time, two significant idioms should be noted. At morning-time the sun is said to be "unripe" (kae ke magura), while it is seen as "ripe" (matua) from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m. Although its aspect through the afternoon is described by referring only to its declining courage, one cannot help feeling impressed by this further comparison with the vegetal world. Indeed, the very words included in it, magura and matua, are exactly those which are used when speaking of fruits, so that the analogy is a close one. Here again the emphasis is thereby laid on continuity in the perception of time.

As soon as one considers periods longer than the season or the yearly gardening cycle, one has to face "structural time", that is time based on the Maenge "reflections of their relations to one another in the social structure" (Evans-Pritchard, op. cit.: 189). Although "in a sense all time is structural since it is a conceptualization of co-ordinated or co-operative activities" (op. cit.: 209), the distinction between the two kinds of time remains as helpful here as it was in the case of the Nuer. In particular it remains so when one examines a problem raised by Evans-Pritchard himself and irrelevant to oecological time proper. Among the Nuer "the distances between events cease to be reckoned in time concepts as we understand them, and are reckoned in terms of structural distance, being the relations of groups of people to other groups of people" (op. cit.: 210). Since this remark was made with reference to the Nuer age-set system, we have to say a few words about the Maenge age-sets so as to offer a relevant comparison between the two societies concerned.

Apart from dividing the cycle of human life into four large periods (childhood, adolescence, adult and old age) which indisputably involve the same time concepts as ours if used in similar contexts, the Maenge frequently reckon time in terms of smaller age-sets called lāla. People are currently referred to as belonging to the same or different lāla and events too, though to a less extent, are ordered along this scale. Thus, time is certainly measured after structural distance. But, unlike the Nuer, the Maenge appear to use their system in a way which is not basically different from our own conception. How then do they describe their age-sets? First of all, the limits of a lāla are not fixed once for all; they change as time passes. All the children who are at the same stage of growth, e.g. those who can stand erect as opposed to those who crawl, are classed in the same lāla. And so are the boys or the girls who undergo together the same transition rite, even if they have initially belonged to two successive age-sets, which may happen when a village has been prevented from holding its festival for one year. On the other hand, people of sixty are members of the same lāla as people of seventy or so, although they usually keep on referring to their original affiliations as being distinct. The lāla has therefore very little depth in the earlier years of life whereas it covers twelve or fifteen years in old age. Moreover, the assimilation process which results in gathering persons of different age in one lāla as time passes does not work at the same pace for either sex. Since women are seen as coming of age and growing old more quickly than men, a difference in age of 5 or 6 years does not prevent them from being included in the same set when they are only 25-30, while an equivalent interval will not be ignored until men are 35-40. Lastly, the lāla, unlike the Nuer age-sets, are not named and consequently they cannot offer to the same extent unambiguous points of reference to chronological series.

Thus, no doubt time reckoned in terms of lāla is relative and structural but both these characteristics fail to account completely for the perception which the Maenge derive from using their system. When they say for example: "such and such an event took place after the lāla of my first son was circumcised" or "we built the village just before the lāla of So and So returned from plantation work", what do they implicitly refer to but a time perspective akin to our own under similar circumstances? Indeed, by ordering events in this way, they certainly turn to the feeling of growing old, which experience conveys that very notion of time which is so familiar to ourselves whenever we abstain from using our numerical system of dating. This seems all the more probable as the Maenge can see through his life his own lāla being gradually merged with those that precede and follow it, and as he is supposed to be on the decline after having his first child and to surrender

his vital force on the birth of his first grand-child. Both these facts will suffice to show how largely perception of time is culturally determined. However, in the Maenge case at least, the basic experience which is elaborated into cultural values and to which people resort again and again, appears to be operative in a wide field of the Western mind too. That is why the most relevant question to be asked about time reckoned in structural terms is not: "how alien is it from our own way of thinking?", but probably: "what is its depth?".

Genealogical memory among the Maenge is strikingly weak. Most people are unable to recollect more than the names and places of birth of their father, mother and mother's mother. Going up to four or five generation steps in ascent is exceptional indeed, even in female line⁷. On the contrary, collateral relatives of living persons can be exhaustively listed in many instances, so that the whole population of a Maenge village, say 200 people, is likely to be analysed according to the classificatory relationships of its members without great difficulties. But this does not mean that two remote relatives, though living at the same place, will succeed in naming their common ancestress; usually they will rest satisfied with vaguely knowing that their respective mother's mothers were parallel cousins. In fact, what is important for them is their joint membership in the same clan or sub-clan. Whenever a Maenge is asked his clan, he names it by reference to his mother's brothers or his own brothers, whether biological or classificatory, and it needs further investigations among his clan-mates to discover what particular sub-clan he actually belongs to. If requested afterwards to check up his precise affiliation as given by other people, he usually replies: "This is true; I belong to a different branch to theirs, but we all are brothers and sisters all the same". However, he does not go further and try to explain in what generation the differentiation between the two sub-clans took place. Consequently, this extensive knowledge concerning living collateral relatives does not result in giving additional depth to the genealogical perspective. Although, on the occasion of gardening rites, some maga tamana ("fathers of the place") are still able to call over the names of ten ancestors who held the same office long time ago, they cannot trace their descent back to most of them, so that this list of names is nothing but a part of magical formulae. So, it may be said that genealogical time is limited in practice to two or three steps in ascent, a fact to be compared with the kinship nomenclature of the Maenge which contains no distinct term denoting relationship beyond grand-parents and grand-children.

As one may expect, clan membership equally fails to supply the Maenge with many points of reference in structural time. Not only do they frequently prove unable to reconstruct their genealogical connections with the ancestor or ancestress who founded the local

section of their own descent group, but the founders of the clans remain always unknown and so do even the founders of the sub-clans in many instances. Membership in a certain descent group of whatever size therefore consists mainly in complying with the rule of exogamy and solidarity requirements on the one hand, in partaking of a common stock of traditions, magical formulae and songs on the other. To sum up, structural time is to be found in only two phenomena: (1) the flexible succession of various age-sets which never covers much more than the cycle of human life since the Maenge does not turn to this scale when he speaks of persons who were dead before he was ten or so, (2) genealogical memory. In contrast with what obtains among such peoples as the Nuer, being surrounded by a large network of collateral relatives or facing day after day members of several clans and sub-clans which are considered as having emerged from one another cannot result here in a system of time-reckoning. It does not follow however that the Maenge do not perceive any temporal dimension in their sociological landscape, but this dimension is different from structural distance as we shall see now.

Traditions vested in the different descent groups, together with the memories told about the foundation of successive villages give the Maenge an historical background which indisputably plays a part in their perception of time. Properly speaking it has nothing to do with time expressed in structural terms although it obviously depends on the individual's membership in the group to which the events concerned are of significance. The point to be emphasized here is that the time perspective corresponding to this background is no more a function of the individual's position in the social structure than the significance of the battle of Hastings is to a British or French citizen. Thus, in addition to oecological and structural time, we have to introduce a third notion, that of "historical time". To what extent such a label is valid need be examined in relation with our own conception of history, but it is apparent that historical time in societies of this type cannot be reckoned with the same accuracy as oecological or structural time. No wonder then that Evans-Pritchard did not insist on the matter in his article since he was primarily concerned with time-reckoning. At any rate, what is meant here by "historical time" remains distinct from that time which the Maenge have recently learned to reckon by reference to events resulting from their contact with the West. It is true that they use more and more frequently such points of reference as labour recruiting for Samoa, the First World War or the arrival of the first catechist in a certain village, but this new chronological series has not merged into the traditional one even though it has induced them to wonder at their own perception of time.

Besides creation myths, the historical traditions of the Maenge may be divided into two categories: those that account for the origin and migrations of their clans on the one hand, those that describe the foundation of their villages on the other. In fact, both categories are closely interdependent with each other, since the latter corresponds only to a shorter temporal depth than the former which coalesces with mythological traditions proper. The distinction nevertheless proves convenient with respect to the various available means of checking up the historical reliability of information. All the clans existing in the Maenge country are said to have evolved from one another through a process of repeated scission, the first clan having emerged from a tree stump. Not only is a vegetal origin thereby ascribed to mankind, but the current conceptualization of the differentiation process itself is also based on a vegetal metaphor. Indeed all the descent groups are seen in their relations to one another as arranged like branches, twigs and stalks along the bole of a tree. This representation which is still adhered to by everybody, is of outstanding importance because it gives the Maenge a means of ordering the advents of their different clans and sub-clans in a fixed series which is agreed upon. Thus, although most people cannot retrace their descent even to the founder of their minimal group, either their local sub-clan or the local branch of their sub-clan, they do know what senior group theirs has arisen from, and conversely who are their juniors. No doubt such a sequence has little to do with our own conception of history, since it is a mere order of succession which cannot be referred to an autonomous system of datation or to a genealogical framework. Historians will probably ask: "how many years or generations have elapsed between the appearances of two successive clans or sub-clans?" or "what is the average duration of the intervals recognized in this series?" and, of course, nobody will be able to answer their questions. However, a test of this kind would be misleading for it would only result in demonstrating again that history recorded in traditions does not care about time-reckoning. The point to be emphasized is that the Maenge are aware of a historical perspective of their own, whatever its actual depth may be. This background can claim the right to be called historical because there is a large consensus throughout the country as to the order in which the various descent-groups came into being. Moreover, since the scission process is always identified with a migration process, the new junior branch deciding to settle down away from the original site, it remains possible to check up the traditional record in many instances through enquiries conducted among the survivors of the villages successively involved.

Unlike traditions concerning the process of clan differentiation the stories of the villages lend themselves, in their later part at least, to reckoning in generation steps and are therefore anchored in reality more familiar to the exacting historian. Most of the

present villages are not older than 30 or 40 years and those that were founded four generations ago are exceptional indeed. This is due partly to the practice of shifting cultivation, certainly a deciding factor among the "Bush Mengen", and partly to the pressures exerted by the Administration and the missionaries who started in the 1930's inducing the Maenge to leave their inland villages and settle down on the coast. But the most striking fact in this resettlement process is that it was already in progress prior to the first contacts with the West. Here tradition is supported by such evidences as the presence of coconut and areca trees on the ancient sites of inland villages, and linguistic data. Indeed place-names which are referred to in clan nomenclature, together with their glosses to be found in tradition, point to the same conclusion. Migrations from inland to sea-board were under way when labour recruiting, in its initial period, suddenly entailed a reversal of this trend, as the Maenge left the coast and resumed their living in the bush for a time, either in the vicinity of their previous villages or in provisional retreats. However, it remains impossible to assess how long ago bush groups began to move and how many people were involved. It rests with the archaeologist to examine such questions.

Traditions describing both clan scissions and migrations from village to village suggest the same remark as to the Maenge perception of "historical time". Historical time is seen as continuous and progressive. The origin and successive differentiations of their descent groups are conceived of after the pattern of the most continuous process to be observed in Maenge environment: the growth of a tree. It is no accident that such a representation was chosen and is still unanimously accepted since the individual cycle of human life, only a reduction of clan life as many informants have emphasized, is also identified with the growth of a tree. Indeed men are associated with forest trees which grow and decay slowly, and women with secondary vegetation which invades fallow gardens very quickly. Thus, oecological time as perceived in the succession of vega matana, biological time and historical time are all equated with vegetal continuity. But, what is more, historical time is progressive, though not in the sense which we are accustomed to connect with developing technology and knowledge: it is seen as irreversible. It is true that some clans and sub-clans have become extinct in the course of the scission process and villages have been destroyed through internecine wars. However these striking events are easily reconciled with the Maenge conception of their own history as they are readily compared to the drying up of twigs while the bole and main branches of the tree keep on growing. In fact, it is highly surprising that no clan or sub-clan is said to have ever merged again into the senior group from which it separated previously, a silence difficult to explain. But even if one could

emonstrate that all reversals have been deliberately erased from tradition, it would only follow that the Maenge are anxious to save that progressive character which has already been detected in their perception of historical time.

It may be added that all the qualities which the Maenge language attributes to the flow of time are consistent with the hypothesis that it is conceived of as a continuum, although one cannot know whether the rate at which it passes is considered constant or not. Time is either moro (short) or gavili (long), the very two words currently used when speaking of space as in the case of those languages which are associated with a belief in continuity of time. The English word "until" and, more generally, the notion of time-remarcation are to be rendered by lisia, which means "to cut across", again a word with a spatial connotation. The Maenge word corresponding to English "always" and "for ever" is pasavele, the primary meaning of which refers also to space and more precisely to surface. For example tava ke kerkerang pasavele is said of the sky when it is entirely blue. In all contexts but those involving an estimate of time, pasavele conveys the notion of uniformity. On the other hand, the Maenge do not apply to time those words which may have a connotation of discontinuity elsewhere in their lexicon. Thus, one derives from this vocabulary the impression that time is created as, or at least metaphorically connected with, an homogenous reality. Such an impression does not vanish when one glances at the principles which underlie Maenge verb conjugation. Only two tenses are recognized: future and a tense in which present and past are merged. What is striking with respect to the latter, is that the speaker must choose between a progressive form denoting an action in progress and a perfective form corresponding to the completion of an action. Instead of facing an abstract distinction between past and present tense which does not tell of the process itself, one meets therefore with an opposition between two exclusive ways of considering a process, and this very fact shows to what extent the Maenge ought to be aware of the irreversible character of time flow.

However, the fact that past and present tenses are undifferentiated in conjugation may suggest a further hypothesis, namely that the Maenge feel much more concerned about their past than about their future. This seems all the more plausible as their language contains no word rendering the notion of future while it has four or five denoting past. It is true that there is nothing original in representing "primitive" peoples as permanently dominated by their own past and alien to thinking about their future. But, whatever its validity may be, this disparaged stereotype obviously reflects the ideological bias which underlies our own attitude towards history and therefore it can help one to locate the actual difference between the Maenge conception of history and

the Western one. As evidenced by the stories of clans and villages to which the progressive extension of the Maenge language throughout the country should be added, Maenge history is neither "repetitive" in J.P. Sartre's words (1960) nor oscillating between successive reversals. Simply it has become no transcendental reason leading human activities along a determined path as it has in the West. But this creed itself is only a historical accident and its origin is rather recent. It dates back to say, Hegel, and nothing can prove that the Western civilization ought to be identified with it for ever.

THE NOTION OF TIME AMONG THE MAENGE

PEOPLE OF NEW BRITAIN

NOTES

- 1 Thankful acknowledgements are made to the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, and to the New Guinea Research Unit, A.N.U., for the field-work conducted in the Maenge area over the last 18 months.
- 2 The administrative spelling, "Mengen", is wrong. The Maenge number about 5,000 people located in East New Britain, along the South coast and two days' walk inland.
- 3 As the present paper was written in the field, it was not possible to give accurate references for every quotation.
- 4 Footnote from page 2: information supplied by Françoise Panoff.
- 5 Average figures over the last ten years as recorded at Pomio patrol-post.
- 6 Grateful acknowledgements are made to Mr. Womersley and Mr. Coode of the Department of Forests, Lae, who supplied all the identifications mentioned here.
- 7 The Maenge system of descent is matrilineal.

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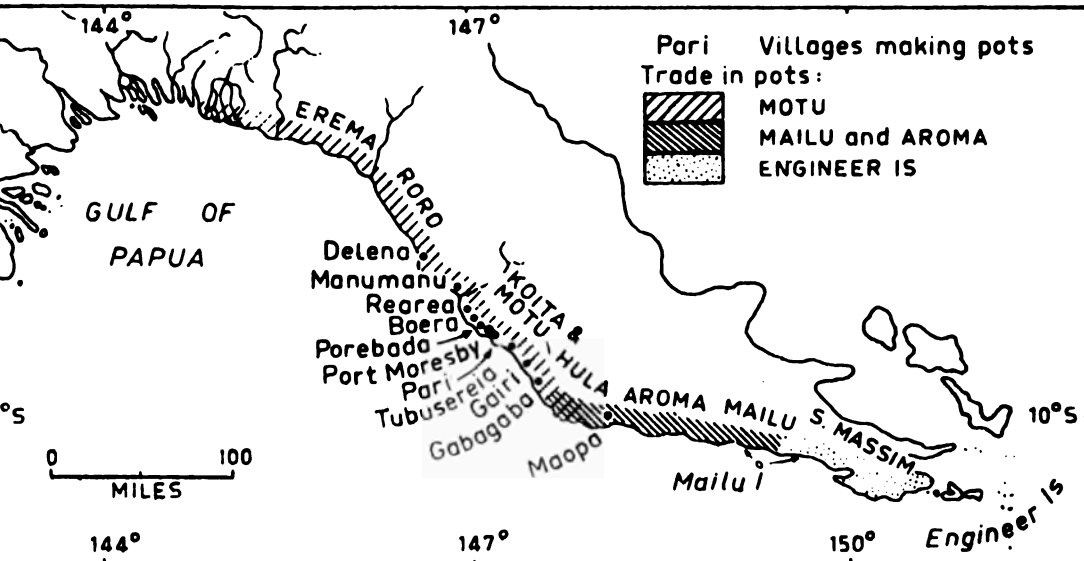
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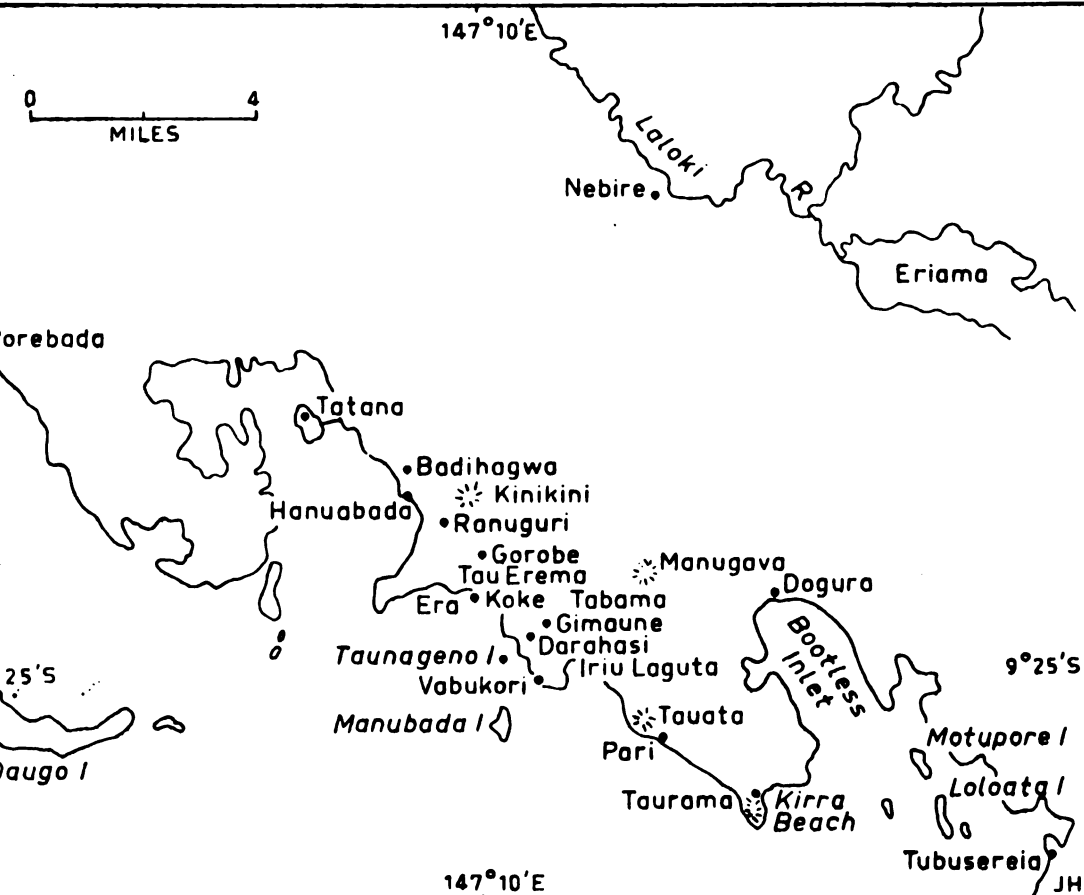
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PAPUA



PORT MORESBY DISTRICT



MYTH AND TRADITION AS HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

Marie Reay

During this seminar I have had an opportunity to discover that the subject of oral tradition as historical evidence has already been covered very competently, and I have only a few extra comments to make.

Lately I have been working almost exclusively on a topic that may sound as if it is very remote indeed from historical aspects (particularly the authenticity or otherwise) of myth and tradition, namely political change in a modern setting, tracing relationships between Territory-wide, local government, and clan politics in the Minj-Wahgi area of the Western Highlands over the period of the first House of Assembly. It is essentially a study in contemporary history. This has brought to my attention certain changes in the myths and oral traditions of the Minj-Wahgi Kuma since I first knew them fifteen years ago. The main change has come about with dramatically improved communication between people whose clan-communities were not far apart geographically but used to maintain the social distance of extreme isolation. The change is one to searching for agreement on a single authorized version of oral traditions that had formerly been fragmented and almost diosyncratic. It expresses an interest in asserting cultural unity. It expresses also these Highlanders' willingness to adapt their oral traditions to changing circumstances, and it leads me to emphasise the plasticity of myth and tradition. I am forced to view myth and tradition as tools a people use to help them pursue purposes that are meaningful for them. The myths have been changing in certain ways because the people have found new purposes to pursue.

Previous speakers have already made the point that the absolute value of any particular set of data bearing on past chronologies is very limited indeed and that in Papua and New Guinea the field of prehistory offers now the most exciting possibilities for relating bodies of evidence bearing on a single problem from a variety of disciplines. I shall bring to my comments the scepticism of a social anthropologist, not in any desire to detract from the importance of other people's discoveries, but in order to suggest to them ways of strengthening their evidence. But firstly I shall say something about the relationships between myth and historical fact, since we have paid scant attention so far to the mythical aspect of oral traditions.

A formidable array of anthropologists, psychologists, philosophers, and other scholars have discussed and made pronouncements on myth. When anthropology was a fledgling discipline, many thought that myths were evidence for a special kind of history, the history of the human mind. Tylor, for example, thought that men who were incapable of formulating abstract ideas devised stories with human and animal characters to illustrate philosophies they could not put into words. Wundt maintained that fairytales developed into myths as culture developed from primitive to civilized forms and that finally, in the age of reason, man had been able to transcend the limitations of the mythical mentality. We know now, of course, that these early scholars were doing less than justice to non-western, non-literate peoples and held a somewhat rosy view of their own societies and cultures. In any human society we are likely to find intellectuals, dullards, and men of practical affairs. On the basis of what Malinowski learned in the Massim area, he saw myth as supplementing scientific thought with rationalizations and wishful thinking and, importantly, he recognized that myth remains a vital influence in more sophisticated life. That point was worth making in Malinowski's day. In our own day it is still worthwhile to mention in passing that anthropology is heavily indebted to him (and, through him, to Papua and New Guinea, where he collected his material) for demonstrating that the so-called "primitive" people were authentic human beings with distinctive traditions and that parallels to their intellectual and religious traditions could be found among so-called "civilized" peoples.

Bidney, writing in 1953, maintained that if you describe a story as a "myth" this implies that you do not believe it. You cannot tell whether it is a myth or not simply because it is a particular kind of story, but you must apply the subjective test of credibility. "The firm faith of one generation" he wrote "become the myth of the next" (1953:295). But that is to use the word "myth" very loosely. If we admit that a myth held by one generation may be an "old wives' tale" or a pack of lies for the next; if we "see through" our own myths and discover why we hold them: does this mean that we must lose faith in them? Personally I think not. A myth is a story expressing a theory about the unknown which is taken seriously - either as historical fact or as some kind of mystical or moral truth. A myth may personify animals and natural phenomena, or endow human creatures with supernatural or divine qualities, or relate events that are objectively impossible. But in calling a story a "myth" we do not imply anything about the truth or falsity of it. Let me take an example from New Guinea. Myths have grown up in at least two parts of the Territory over the recent electoral period that tell of a meeting house in Port Moresby that is built over a haus tamberan or shrine of the ancestors. The objective facts as we

know them are that the Territory Museum, where things of the ancestors are kept, is underneath the House of Assembly. The building is not very old, and the myth is not very old. Will the myth decay before the building does? Will it vanish, to be replaced by more "rational" explanations as people back home in the bush learn what a museum is? But what is a museum if it is not a shrine of the ancestors, a place not of worship but of respect for our traditions? It is just possible that the myth, instead of disappearing, may grow in importance by expressing a moral truth for the people, symbolizing that the destiny of a free country is built upon its traditions.

The Minj-Wahgi people have a myth that tells of early man roaming the valleys and living on bush foods. He lacked a coherent language, merely grunting like a pig. He did not know how to build houses, but took refuge from the elements by sleeping in rock shelters and under the exposed roots of forest trees. (Minj-Wahgi people travelling to and from the East Kambia sleep in rock shelters and under the exposed roots of forest trees today.) His behaviour was uncontrolled like that of a wild pig, and he helped himself to any women he could find and anything else that took his fancy and attacked anyone who stood in his way. He stumbled upon a settled community in a certain identifiable ancestral place and the people there looked after him. They taught him civilized language, the speech his eventual descendants still use, and they taught him to build houses of the kind still seen today. They gave him wives and taught him the rules of civilized living, and he settled down and founded a line that still flourishes. Is this an untrue myth? It is not a likely story that a solitary man roamed the bush having no meaningful contacts with others and no language with which to communicate with anyone he chanced to meet. It is a fictional account of something. The story has a moral, that no matter how much man may wish to act like a wild pig (and this is how Minj-Wahgi people view basic "human nature") he can lead a much more comfortable and satisfying existence if he lives in a community and subdues his baser impulses to conform with laws for the common good. Thus, for the people who told me this myth, it expressed an important moral truth and formed a charter for the body of rules that governed their actions. Further, the myth is a theory of social development (of social evolution or social revolution) related in story. It identifies contemporary social institutions and custom with transition from a gathering and hunting economy to settled agriculture and fixed territories. Thus I found the evidence Mrs. Bulmer and some subsequent pre-historians turned up that gathering and hunting preceded the practice of agriculture in the highlands a convincing confirmation of the Minj-Wahgi people's own theory of prehistoric social development. When the discovery of the recent introduction of sweet potato was made and the celebrated Watson controversy began over whether pueraria constituted a

transitional crop before the sweet potato, I inquired of my Minj-Wahgi friends about the pueraria that grows wild beside the rivers. But they had no tradition that this tuber had ever been planted. They did not eat it in ordinary times, but when sweet potato was scarce they knew that they could fall back on gathering pueraria to satisfy their hunger. They do not like it much and eat it only when they need to find something to replace the sweet potato. It could easily have been a prominent item of the food they gathered in the days when, by their own accounts, they roamed the bush like wild pigs. If it is necessary to posit a transitional crop, the taro (which has certain ritual significances in Minj-Wahgi) would seem to be more plausible. I am still not completely convinced by the evidence for the antiquity of agriculture from the Manton site, (though I admit its probability) because I do not think that the articles found there were necessarily used for the purposes the prehistorians assume. The argument tends to be presented in the form: one object is a digging stick because it looks like a contemporary digging stick, and another object is an agricultural ditch because it looks like an agricultural ditch and had a digging stick in it. That sounds like a circular argument. If we accept the identification of these objects they form very strong evidence that agriculture was practised in the Highlands in antiquity. I think we should consider the possibility, however, even if we have to dismiss it quite soon, that the objects uncovered may present evidence for the antiquity of warfare instead. The stick does look like a contemporary digging stick but, viewed apart from its association with an agricultural ditch, could just as easily have been a roof-pole or a weapon. It is quite likely to be a digging stick. If it is a roof-pole it still supports the agricultural theory on evidence from the oral traditions, since these equate the adoption of agriculture and the building of houses. Or it could be a weapon. I have seen sticks of that shape and size used as weapons when it has been inappropriate to use the more elaborate and more skilfully shaped spears the Highlanders used in clan warfare at the time of first contact. Long after their society had been technically "pacified", large-scale brawls broke out and weapons were hastily improvised. Any old stick would do as a waddy to thump one's opponents. I have seen men and women pulling roof-poles from their houses and rushing to a nearby garden to seize a digging stick to use as a weapon. I have seen similarly sharpened sticks, described as "spears" (kugang) and allegedly made especially to be used as such, among the contents of war-magic houses. The so-called "digging stick" found in the agricultural ditch could easily be such a rudimentary spear. Let us suppose for a moment that it is a rudimentary spear. If we try accounting for the stick and the ditch in terms of warfare rather than agriculture, we can see that the ditch may be a defence ditch rather than one dug for

raining agricultural land. And the wooden paddle spade was made to dig the ditch, no matter why the ditch was dug. I do not know of any modern uses for the paddle spade apart from digging ditches. If the ditches were dug for defence the "wooden fence-posts" could have been palisades, perhaps hides for bowmen.

Ditching for defence may be thought to imply settled residence. But it may simply suggest early attempts at fixing boundaries in the directions from which enemies may be expected to attack, the defensive element perhaps being supplied by devices with supernatural sanctions like the sorcery traps of modern times. Or it may suggest a parallel in the past to the modern pattern of scattered residence in usual times and periodic huddling in temporary villages for the duration of the pig festival. Perhaps a gathering and hunting people holed up in one particular place when under the persistent threat of extermination by a particularly determined enemy. If we posit an alternating settlement pattern of wandering in usual times and gathering together in one place in a time of crisis, we may go further and suggest other possibilities as well. The most likely place for a group to hole up in an emergency might be some site with which they already had some unique association. I would suggest as a possibility something of the kind found in aboriginal Australia, and I shall relate an imaginary sequence of events - more fantasy than hypothesis - which would seem to be feasible on the basis of modern ethnographic evidence but which would need to be edited by other disciplines.

Some thousands of years ago the people ranged the forests in small bands. They gathered bush food and hunted small marsupials and feral pigs which had escaped into the Highlands from domestic herds kept elsewhere in New Guinea. Pigs were scarce and greatly prized, and periodically the band would remain sedentary near an exclusive ritual centre where it held fertility rites. Their staple was wild taro, excepting at these times when they could not rove far enough to gather tubers. The fertility rites were held to increase pigs and taro. They ground acorns to produce flour which could be preserved longer than fresh taro and ensure that they could subsist while gathered at the ritual centre. The stone grinding implements were either traded into the area in exchange for axes and salt or left behind when an earlier people with a developed stone culture passed through the area. They brought whole taro plants to the ritual centre for use in the fertility rites and discovered accidentally that the planting of taro in favourable conditions improved the tuber. They took to planting taro around the ritual centre, but this involved setting sorcery traps to protect a more extended area against theft of taro. When threatened by enemies they retired to

the site of the ritual centre and marked boundaries for their territory by digging ditches and erecting palisades. They used the ditches also for trapping wild pigs. Besieged clans began to practise agriculture on a larger scale than simply planting a few tara about the ritual centre and, realizing the advantages for defence and diet of staying settled in one place, their gathering and hunting expeditions grew rarer. Observing the effects of drainage, they began to use the defence ditches for agricultural purposes.

The linguistic evidence for the antiquity of agriculture in the Highlands seems at present stronger than that from archeology, but the linguistic evidence depends upon our acceptance of certain theories which, while sounding plausible, do need corroborative evidence from other disciplines to substantiate them. I would like to see the out-from-the-diversified-centre approach of the linguists applied to the data on gene and blood group distribution and the in-from-the-diversified-surroundings approach of the physical anthropologist applied to the linguistic data. Such an interchange of methodological suppositions between the disciplines could do more to relate the findings from important fields of study than present possibilities of comparing the incomparable.

I have cited one particular myth from Minj-Wahgi because it happens to be an expression of the people's own theory of social development. I should point out that it can also be cited in support of the more likely theory that agriculture in the Highlands is an ancient practice. The myth encompasses a genealogy of the founding ancestors of a particular phratry which, according to oral tradition, has developed out of a former phratry of wider span and a yet earlier phratry that was even wider. When we take account of the time that would have been needed to allow all the different groups involved to become established as groups then to expand and segment into further groups, and if we take account also of all the events that are supposed to have taken place at different periods in this oral history in all the different versions available, it becomes clear that if the myth is based on facts these facts must have taken much, much longer to happen than the story itself suggests. The likelihood of the general pattern of group segmentation being faithful to reality can be demonstrated by the many partial processes of segmentation directly observable over the much briefer period since this society was first studied.

In the myth I cited, pre-social man chances upon a fully developed community of settled agriculturalists. It is a theory of social and cultural "revolution" rather than "evolution". The Kuma's identification of uncivilized man with solitary

pre-social man, taken in conjunction with myriad oral traditions concerning clans and even phratries that formerly inhabited the arable Wahgi grasslands and have since become extinct, suggest to me that the adoption of settled agriculture may not have been such a gradual process as Watson has maintained. I think it can be cited in support of a theory that the adoption of settled agriculture brought about a population explosion. With the known prevalence of certain diseases at the time of European contact, customs of female infanticide, death penalties for witchcraft and some other serious crimes, and (importantly) chronic and passionate warfare, it seems unlikely that the pre-contact populations of the Highlands would increase substantially if they retained the same culture for some thousands of years. According to oral tradition, settled occupation of the Wahgi flats in immediate pre-contact times is associated with population decline rather than expansion. The Wahgi basin holds some of the most arable land in the Territory, but the people did not see it as a desirable site for settlement in 1953-5. They saw it as a place where groups had had to live in the past when their enemies flushed them out of the more easily defensible hills on the edges of the valley basin and in the narrow side-valleys. The river flats have never been identified, in the time I have known the Minj-Wahgi people, as the place of origin of any surviving group. Findings from the Manton site would seem to support a theory that the good earth in the bottom of the basin was used in early trials of agricultural method but was abandoned for settlement in safer locations. A population explosion in these safer locations could have led to the enforced resettlement of the Wahgi flats in more recent times.

Like the Bushongo people studied by Vansina, the Minj-Wahgi people did not (when I first knew them) see any need to compare their different versions of oral history in order to find out the historical truth (Vansina 1965:103). They were indifferent to the precise verity of their traditions. "I don't know" they used to tell me. "I belong to the present day and did not see it happen". All anthropologists are familiar with the fact that as genealogies probe further into the past they get foreshortened: individuals and entire generations get omitted when there is no particular reason to see that they are remembered. We can even say sometimes why this should happen. We can see that society has good reasons for seeing that they are forgotten. The clearest case comes from societies with a dogma of unilineal descent. When people are organised in clans and trace their descent only through males, it can be a grave disadvantage to know for certain that a particular ancestor linking the living to the founding heroes was actually a woman. People are not above "cooking" their genealogies to establish the fiction of unbroken descent through persons of one sex. Sons and brothers get substituted for sisters and sisters' sons. This is the way it happened in Minj-Wahgi. Two clans, which I shall call

A and B were traditional enemies in Kuma phratry. The members of Clan A insisted strenuously that their founder was an actual brother of the founders of the other clans of the phratry, whereas members of Clan B insisted that their rivals were not "true" Kuma being descended from the son of their ancestor's sister. Men of other Kuma clans were divided on this issue. Close relatives of Clan A asserted that the version I had heard in Clan A was correct; some admitted that they had heard the other version but it was well known, they said, that Clan A was a Kuma clan and clans have the right to be known by that "big name" when they are descended from the original ancestors through males only. Close relatives of Clan B asserted that Clan A was really a grasslands group belonging by agnatic descent to a large phratry that was now long extinct. The survivors, they said, had taken refuge back in the hills with Clan B because they were too small a group to survive alone in safety and their ancestor was the offspring of a woman of Clan B. More neutral Kuma, who did not take sides in the traditional enmities between the two clans, told me that either version could be correct: they themselves were men of the present day and were not living when the various clans were founded, so how could they know for certain? The old enmity between Clans A and B was ritually abolished in 1965. In the following three years tensions grew up afresh between the two groups, but at least there was some social interaction between them and a famous fight leader in one clan developed a warm, though perhaps guarded, friendship with the surviving brother of his equally famous opponent. The older men of Clan A admit now that they were only pretending in 1953 that their ancestor was a brother of the other clan founders and that he was "really" the son of a woman the ancestor of Clan B had given the founders of the now extinct phratry. I have no opinion on whether the version now agreed on is correct. Probably there was a former phratry of the posited name located on the grasslands where Clan B had specified, for I have obtained independent accounts of it from members of other groups who have no axe to grind so far as I know.

A better authenticated oral tradition from Minj-Wahgi is the tradition that Clan A was formerly a much larger group that split through internal friction, with half the clan fleeing and ultimately establishing itself as an independent clan in the Jimni region. According to tradition, the quarrel was caused by a theft of insignificant birds' eggs. We can discount this as a literal account of what occasioned the rift, since it is the standard explanation in the area for the splitting of a clan into two permanently separated parts. I think the triviality of the alleged cause expresses a desire to gloss over the actual cause and make it seem unimportant. This implies a much more serious cause. One can make some informed guesses as to what it might have been, but it is hard to devise a method of proving such

nesses to be right or wrong. The split through internal friction, however, that led to the establishment of an additional independent clan looks as if it accords with historical fact. There exists a clan in the Jimmi region that has the same name as Clan A and the same tradition of having separated from A in the past. Before the arrival of the kiap men of Clan A used to visit parts of the Jimmi in trading expeditions but did not have any significant contact with their namesake clan until they went to the Jimmi later with administration patrols. The independent traditions of the two greatly separated clans are entirely consistent with each other and can be supported in broad outline in the testimony from completely unrelated groups.

I have mentioned the possibility, which can be attested for some African societies as well as for New Guinea, of people "cooking" their genealogies - either deliberately, as in the case I cited, or because the verbal traditions they have inherited have already been adjusted to suit particular conditions, possibly to yield a version of the past that is more favourable to the group. If, for example, my clan in Minj-Wahgi had split over a particularly flagrant violation of incest taboos its members would have every reason to conceal this from outsiders: to be known as an incestuous group would be a disaster. It would shame them unbearably in the eyes of friends and enemies alike, and they could expect to suffer practical consequences in a reluctance on the part of other groups to give them wives. People in many societies, including Western societies having a high degree of literacy, have been known to falsify genealogies when it has suited them to do so.

As an example of the problems involved in trying to assess genealogical evidence that is not supported by other evidence, I would like to glance at a genealogy with which all or most of us are already acquainted through Nigel Oram's excellent paper on oral sources for Taurama history. You will remember that Athanasius's wife, born about 1901, was the seventh generation descending from Devau Dagora, who was again seven generations descending from Taurama Buasi, the founder of Taurama village. Her descent from Devau Dagora is traced through both males and females. In suggesting tentative dates for the chronicle of Taurama village, Mr. Oram treats one generation as twenty-five years. What kinds of evidence, in addition to that given in the paper, do we need to assess the reliability of this genealogy?

First of all, what has led to the decision to treat one generation as twenty-five years? Various anthropologists have used durations as short as sixteen years and as long as thirty for this time span. By taking a shorter duration for a generation, say twenty years instead of twenty-five, seven generations would pass more quickly than has been suggested. When the line of descent

includes persons of both sexes, I would query the advisability of taking an overall average figure to represent one generation, particularly when only one genealogy is being examined. Our chronology has to allow enough time for each individual born to grow up, marry, and have at least one child, but the age of marriage for females is typically lower than that for males and we would have to allow for a generation represented by a male to be longer in duration. Unless there is precise information about the brothers and sisters of the intervening ancestors, it is safer to take a first-born child than a more "average" child (say, the middle child in a family of average size), because in the absence of other evidence it is generally simpler to establish that something could not have occurred any more recently than some precise date than it is to give any precision to a judgment that it could have happened earlier. What we have been told about the genealogy of Athanasius's wife is very suggestive, but memory is one of the frailest of human faculties and, for part of the period the genealogy seems to cover, the Motu had no registers or family bibles to correct it. There are two reasons for this genealogy to be treated a trifle sceptically. Seven generations elapse between the founder of Taurama village and the important character of tradition, Kevau Dagora. This happens in a society where genealogies are more typically four or perhaps five generations in depth. Each of the two main sections of the genealogy is seven generations in length. I would be inclined to ask whether the number seven has any special significance for the Motu people, since the structure of this unusual genealogy suggests that it may simply stand for an unknown number that is bigger than usual. Secondly the genealogy links a person of modern times with men who have the traditional status of culture heroes, and anyone in the line of descent from Kevau Dagora may well have adjusted the genealogy slightly to ensure a certain prestige for his or her descendants. In drawing attention to some of the questions we need to ask about genealogies if we wish to use them as evidence for dating other occurrences, I do not mean to suggest that the genealogy of Athanasius's wife is a fabrication. I am simply mentioning questions which I am sure Mr. Oram has himself considered, but which I think should be spelled out explicitly to draw attention to the problems involved. These need not detract in any way from the excitement of the present phase of prehistorical studies in Papua and New Guinea, where relationships are beginning to take shape in the assembling of knowledge from a number of different disciplines. The chronology of Taurama village is a clear case of genealogies having an important bearing on economic, political, and religious history.

What happens when there are different versions of the same genealogy - when, for example, a number of lineages in an African

society agree that they are descended from a number of brothers but each group claims descent from the eldest brother and alleges that the other groups are descended from the younger ones? The anthropologist who is interested in establishing what were the facts of the matter now turns detective. If he is wise he begins not by assuming that his task is to discover which of the available versions is closest to the truth, but by assuming that all these versions have been distorted to serve all the interests involved. He has to look at testimony from groups outside the alleged descendants of the brothers and at any other kinds of evidence bearing on the problem from other sources.

Perhaps more often he turns his attention to comparing the different versions of the tradition from another point of view, to deepen and illuminate his analysis of the ethnographic present. He may see these conflicting versions, for example, as evidence that groups compete for superiority over each other.

Conflicting versions of oral traditions are found in New Guinea. In Minj-Wahgi adjacent generations in a single lineage or sub-lineage may present substantially different versions of their own genealogies of the founding ancestors, typically two brothers who are the offspring of a woman from a particular clan, are placed the same generational distance from the Ego of the young men's genealogy as men of their fathers' generation have placed them from themselves. Names that intervene between the founding brothers and the personally remembered fathers and grandfathers of the older men are omitted altogether by the younger men, unless they bring down a generation the name of someone who is well known as a distinguished fight leader in a famous battle. When the difference between the genealogies recounted by the two generations casts doubt on the precise relationship between the young men, this seems always to indicate that the group is still busy adjusting its traditions for the future to accommodate the incorporation of an outsider into the group. For the older men, at least, have public and private answers to genealogical questions when they are the last surviving witnesses of something it is better for the group to forget. With the activities of the land demarcation committees encouraging people to establish their title to land, conflicting versions are recounted of genealogical relationships to persons known to have used the land in the past. A genealogy may act as an accepted charter for the relationships between contemporary groups or contemporary individuals but sometimes it may be cited to serve different or conflicting interests of different groups or individuals.

While we are earnestly discussing genealogies and their functions we should remember that a genealogy can serve a non-literate people as an approximate measurement of time. The calendar for periods of time past that are greater than a moon or a season or the length of

time a baby stays in its bilum is at least implicitly a set of facts about the present. Time past is divided into intervals between the founding of the various social groups. Often, though not invariably in this country, there is a distinct division between an immeasurably remote mythical period and a more detailed and often more plausible historical period. Thus the Enga-speaking people of the Western Highlands conceive of a mythical period when the Sky People were the only beings present and had not yet begun to propagate human descendants. The myth of the Sky People forms a firm charter for the modern system of descent groups. Sometimes the Enga view the relations between the Sky People as the model after which the relations between earthly groups are patterned, and sometimes they see them as a projection into the past modelled after the earthly groups to which they themselves belong. (Meggitt 1965).

Notice the two-way positioning of the Enga model, looking upward into the remote past of the Sky People and also seeing the supernatural issuing from the natural and concrete present. We talk in English of looking or travelling backwards in time and forwards into the future but a different traditional model which we use in our own genealogical reckoning has dominated the way we have recorded non-literate people's perception of time past. We talk of "descent" from the ancestors, but for Minj-Wahgi people descent of one's own descendants from oneself is more important. Dr. Panoff has drawn attention to an indigenous image of history as the growth of a tree, moving upward and outward instead of descending downward as in the standard genealogical representation of history. Both he and I have noted a progressive character in indigenous perceptions of historical time.

Dr. Panoff's people have no word for "future" but four or five denoting past. I do not see why this should indicate a greater concern with their past than with the future; in fact, I think the earlier part of his paper suggested the contrary. The presence of a continuous past-plus-present tense may be interpreted as the successful absorption of what is needed out of the past, whereas the future is a matter of intention and speculation.

I would like to mention, before closing, the Minj-Wahgi's perception of time as place. The Dry Season and sunny weather are referred to as "the good place" and the Wet Season or rainy weather is referred to as "it rains", a verb form using the word for "place" ("it-strikes the place"). Is rain not important to them because it occurs in the language as something unspecified that strikes the place? The vernacular term for "year" is konggar, translated through the Pidgin krismas. Krismas connotes both "festival" and "year". The kiap's krismas was the New Year singing that used to be organised on all government stations.

The Minj-Wahgi recognized it as being parallel to their own pig festival, the Konggar-Konggol. Konggar and Konggol are the words for the two periods of a year or so each dividing the practical side of arranging the festival, which culminates in the building of the long-ontr-nggar (Konggar in short), the characteristic long-houses. The Konggol is the main ritual and ceremonial period of the festival. But in translating krismas the people use the more concrete place-oriented word rather than the word for the ritual phase. Konggar is also the term for the ceremonial ground where the long-houses are built.

I have tried to keep as closely as I can to the subject of "myth and tradition as historical evidence" without duplicating ground already well covered by previous speakers. But perhaps a better title for this paper might have been "Some Comments on Some Aspects of Some Relations between Some Oral Traditions and History with Special Reference to some of the People I know best in New Guinea".

PLANT HISTORY IN MELANESIA

R. G. Robbins

Approaches to plant history

Studies concerning the history of plants may be said to have two major approaches. The first is historical plant geography in which we study the record of plants and vegetation against the background of geological times. Here we are concerned with such matters as land-sea changes, wide fluctuations in climate and the migrations of whole floras. This field of study includes the patterns of plant distribution, both in the past and the present, and interpretations of how they came about. Plant geography draws upon many other branches of science, but particularly that of geology.

The second approach is that of ethnobotany which is the history of plants in their relationship to man. Here we deal with man's impact on vegetation, the crop plants which he developed from wild ancestors and later carried with him, and the uses he has made of plants for shelter, food, medicine and magic. Straatmans (1967).

Both these approaches find a particularly interesting field in the Melanesian region. While ethnobotany may rely on some documented history, for the most part it is the plants themselves that provide the documents from which we read their history.

Theories of distribution

When identical plants were first brought back from lands far apart, the only explanation was that of separate special creations. The theory of evolution with its concept of the law of descent has since discounted such beliefs and we have fallen back on several main hypotheses to explain present-day plant distributions together with the mechanisms by which they could have been brought about.

The simplest of these theories is that plants have spread by chance long-distance, often trans-oceanic, dispersal. Seeds and spores have spread around the world by being blown by winds, floating across seas or carried by birds while drifting logs have carried living plants between islands. In recent times this theory, once widely held, has lost some ground. It has been shown by experiments that many seeds are killed by salt-water, that birds carry most seeds for relatively short distances, that some plants well-adapted for dispersal, are in fact limited in range while others without any dispersal mechanisms, are world-wide. There are many instances

of distribution patterns contrary to present-day sea and wind currents. While it is true that, given millions of years, it only requires one chance successful plant arrival every ten-thousand years to explain an island population, there are many areas, including Melanesia, where whole plant communities appear to have migrated en masse.

A second theory is that known as the land-bridge theory. Its proponents believe that a series of dry land connections once stood between many of the continents and that plants and animals migrated across such roads before they again sank beneath the seas. Once more, there are pros and cons. If all the postulated land bridges were drawn in on a map of the world, the globe would be a veritable network! Many of these would cross what are now deep seas and thus are disputed by geologists. Could alpine plants, now found on mountains on both sides of the equator, have crossed the tropics over low altitude bridges? As we shall see later an answer here would be to alter the climate! A very persuasive and up-to-date presentation of the land-bridge hypothesis is given us by van Steenis (1962, 1964).

As with all hypotheses there are those who proffer modified alternatives and compromises and here, together with land-bridges we must place migrations via strings of "island stepping stones", previous extensions of present land masses, and long-term land-sea changes bringing about entirely different land configurations over the past.

As a third distinct viewpoint, however, there is the theory of continental drift. Here the idea is that the world began with one, or maybe two, supercontinents. Over these plants spread albeit unevenly. Later, however, these continental land masses broke up along cleavage lines corresponding to the present coastlines and the parts drifted apart, carrying the plants with them. While it is true that the present continents of the world do resemble parts of a jigsaw fitting roughly together, this theory is far from being as naive as it sounds. It has the support of many geologists and has accumulated some impressive evidence from differing sources. Many biogeographers accept this theory. Good (1957, 1964), Darlington (1965).

As we shall soon see, Melanesia, and in more particular New Guinea, figures in all the three theories outlined above but particularly in that of land connections and continental drift. However, let us set the stage a little more yet.

Geographical background to the Melanesian region

Looking at the map of the world, we can recognise three

pathways connecting the northern and southern hemispheres.

In the New World the Americas are connected by the narrow land bridge of the present Panamanian isthmus. Via this one can trace an interchange of flora between the Rockies in the north and the Andes in the south.

In Africa, a whole broad continent straddles the hemispheres and apart from such historic factors of the European Ice Age sheet ice front and present physiographic barriers such as the Alps, the Mediterranean Sea and the Sahara desert, there are no problems of explaining the past and present migrations and patterns north to south.

In the south-east Asian region, however, it will be seen that only a string of islands, both big and small, connect the tropics. Melanesian New Guinea holds a key position between Asia and Australasia. Further consider that this large half-way island lying athwart the cross-roads between the hemispheres provides a whole range of ecological niches for plants and animals from sea coast to snow-line, and you have some idea of its fascination for the biogeographer.

The Flora of Melanesia

We are now in a position to make a quick inventory of the plant-life of New Guinea and the rest of Melanesia. The dominant vegetation is, of course, of Indo-Malaysian affinity. However, in the montane regions of New Guinea there exists a distinct southern element which is often referred to as subantarctic! Here, in the mountains of New Guinea, as nowhere else in the world, grow acorn-bearing oaks derived from South East Asia, shoulder to shoulder as it were, with southern beeches (Nothofagus species), a tree with a present distribution covering Tasmania, New Zealand and Patagonia in South America.

In New Guinea, we are standing on the meeting place of plants passing southwards out into the Pacific and others proceeding northwards to Malesia. Many of these northern plants find a southern boundary in New Guinea today - for example, the dipterocarps from Borneo, the Indo-Chinese oaks and the Himalayan rhododendrons (a lone representative of this last reaches a mountain top near Cairns). Others from this stream indeed passed into the Pacific via Melanesia as witness the imprint of tropical families in the make-up of New Zealand's temperate rain forest. In the same way many southern plants reach New Guinea and there make a halt. Others are still found as far north as Kedah peak in northern Malaya or on Mindanao Island in the Philippines. Using only the montane flora above 1000 metres (3,300 ft) van Steenis (1962a) has mapped out

these past migration tracks.

A more recent analysis of the flora of New Guinea by Good (1960) emphasises the remarkable fact that in many ways there is a more significant botanical affinity between New Guinea and New Zealand across 2000 miles of open sea than between New Guinea and Australia across but a 100 miles of shallow sea which, moreover, was thought to be dry land in comparatively recent geological times!

A detailed floristic comparison between plant families and genera in Australia and New Guinea reveals great differences inconsistent with the proximity of the two countries.

As Good (1963) says, "There is an extraordinary discordance of biological facts inconsistent with the geological and geographical situation." Van Steenis (1950) also emphasises the floristic break, marked by 1000 genera, between New Guinea and Australia. Both discount the suggestion that there is a critical climatic gradient here. Apart then, from the discordance of Australian and New Guinean floras we still have to explain why Indian rhododendrons and New Zealand alpenes grow together on the top of Mt. Wilhelm.

The classical view of the past geologic history of the Malay archipelago, for which the name of Malesia is now proposed, is that here we see the remains of two land masses which once formed continental shelves attached to Asia on one hand and Australia on the other. In the north, Malaya, Borneo and most of Indonesia formed the Sunda Shelf or Sundaland, while a combined Australia and New Guinea represented the Sahul Shelf or Papualand. As now, there was a sea channel between the scattered islands. This is termed Wallaces, named after the naturalist, Alfred Russell Wallace who was associated with Darwin in the theory of evolution. Such a concept of ancient Malaysia was proposed to account for the so-called Wallace's Line, which, with some modern modifications, runs through the scattered middle islands marking the southern limits of many animals and some plants and separating them into Asian and Australasian camps. It would explain the exclusion of endemic cattle and the one-horned rhino as well as monkeys found in both Java and Borneo, from New Guinea.

Such then, is the geologic, geographic and botanic background to Melanesia - all rather hastily sketched in. We are now in a position to briefly examine it against the various theories proposed.

The Continental Drifters

The proponents of this hypothesis explain the affinities between New Guinea, New Caledonia and New Zealand by having the whole line of Pacific islands swung down southwards and pivoted into a position where they once formed an archipelago parallel to the Antarctic coast. At this time Australia was inverted and only Tasmania would come into proximity with New Zealand. As this island arc drifted out into the Pacific, New Guinea finally came to rest in the tropics above Australia. Geologists, David (1950) included, have proved that at least parts of Papua are continuations of Australia. The Main Ranges, however, have no such geological affinities and Good (1957, 1963) suggests that Australia, including the Papuan Merauke ridge, has been pushed hard against the New Guinea ranges at a later date. Australia, as a separate land mass first drifted through a zone of aridity before turning into its present position against New Guinea.

Thus is explained the present position of the ancient Australian continent abutting the youthful, uplifted and volcanic cordillera of New Guinea. The lack of strong biotic ties between the two countries is explained as are the definite "migration tracks" leading back southwards via New Caledonia to New Zealand and extensions to Tasmania and South America. There has been little, if any, direct interchange across the Tasman. The chronology of events seems to fit except that the tropical Malaysian element must be assumed to have only really been established in New Guinea after it "arrived" in its present location. There may well have been time for this, but such an element has not stopped short at New Guinea. It extends south to New Zealand which suggests in turn that a route southwards has been available for a long time.

The Land Bridge Adherents

These believe in the fixity of the continents, but have a long "Melanesian" continent connecting New Guinea and New Zealand in ancient times. This latter was, at one time, extended south almost to Antarctic which was then verdant and via which the South American plant connections became established. With such land connections plus fluctuations of climate which we know to have occurred, there could well have been a lengthy interchange of tropical and temperate genera throughout the region.

Maybe you will notice that with this last remark there has been thrown in another major factor - that of changing climates. Warm up the climate and you can postulate tropical species migrating south; cool down the climate and polar species may conceivably cross low land bridges into the tropics and later escape to the mountain tops. Here one can see the importance which was placed upon the size and

range of habitats found in New Guinea. Van Steenis (1964) stated that an island flora has no escape possibility with changing environment. New Guinea is an exception. This great island geographically positioned in the tropics has afforded refuge for almost all the plants and animals which have reached it during unchronicled migrations. The mid-mountain slopes today exhibit the greatest assemblage of lower montane forest formations to be found anywhere in the world. There are plant communities owing allegiance to places as far apart as Yunnan and Patagonia. Croizat (1958) puts it more picturesquely by saying that the distance which separates the Indo-Malaysian and Australian plants on a Bornean mountain is not a matter of feet or metres, but the distance between Mt. Everest and Mt. Kosciusko!

The Ice Age

The most significant climate change to world vegetation was, of course, the Ice Age, the last fluctuations of which were evident as recently as 10,000 years ago. It would appear that at this time the warmth-demanding species of the southern beech trees escaped northwards to find a refuge in New Guinea where their discovery in the 1930's created some excitement in botanical circles. See van Steenis (1953). Other species belonging to this warm fascies died out in Patagonia, New Zealand and Australia and thus we owe their survival to the sub-tropical zones of Melanesia (lowlands in New Caledonia and montane slopes in New Guinea). Glaciers are still present on the interior mountains of New Guinea and during the past this glaciation extended into eastern New Guinea. Mt. Wilhelm, Mt. Giluwe and other peaks in the Western Highlands show clear evidence of glaciers now long since retreated. Such glaciations would have resulted in whole vegetational shifts with a general lowering of the surrounding altitudinal vegetation zones.

Another interesting example of a forest community now relict to past conditions is in the tall klinkii pine forests of Araucaria trees found in the Bulolo and other valleys in northern New Guinea. This is shown by a study of the present ecological status of the community. Structurally the forest is of three tree layers with emergent klinkii pines. As such it falls within the lowland forest formation, Robbins (in press), yet its range of altitude, 2500 to 4000 ft above sea level, and position side by side with two tree-layered lower montane forests is anomalous. With the support of floristic comparisons with similar forests in Queensland my interpretation is that it is a remnant sub-tropical wedge within the present tropics derived from a past intrusion from the south.

Wider studies of the present patterns of Pacific rain forests have led to similar historical interpretations. The coniferous forests of Melanesia, for example, may well represent the remnants

of widespread gymnosperm forests which once clothed the Southern Hemisphere as pines do the Northern Hemisphere at present.

Croizat (1958), a biogeographer of Dutch extraction now living in Venezuela, has recently presented a rather novel and quite attractive hypothesis regarding Melanesia. He points out that New Guinea is a young country with a puzzlingly high number of plants regarded as of ancient lineage. He is also aware that, except for the southern Papuan plains, there is little affinity for the closely approximate Australian continent. Again it is accepted that the Papuan shelf was indeed once part of Australia and that the biotic disparity cannot be explained by regional climates. Croizat's explanation is that the northern Main Ranges part of New Guinea was not always in existence, but rose later from beneath the sea. However a little to the north in the Bismark Sea there did exist an ancient Melanesian continent. With the gradual subsidence of this beneath the sea the present Cordillera of New Guinea was pushed up. Remnants of this older continent from which were transferred the older plants can still be seen in the north shore islands of Manam, Karkar, Long and Umboi. Croizat thus believes that we can solve most problems of geographical distribution by acceptance of past land configuration changes invoking emergences and subsidences. Like any theory it certainly explains the facts, but this by itself cannot prove the theory. In the Melanesian area, however, he has the support of van Bemmelen (1949), a geologist of great repute in the Malaysian region. Certainly the summits of the New Guinea ranges are capped with marine deposits. Croizat then believes that he can trace the present patterns of "rock and flesh, leaf, hair and feather" and these are "like embers still aglow out of worlds bygone; the equivalent in biogeography of the ruins of Ras Shamra, Sparta and Persepolis in human history".

Pollen analysis

Turning now from the present patterns to the past, we find that much is traced by the study of fossils. During the present century a new aspect of paleobotany has emerged called palynology or pollen analysis. It was found that where pollen grains fell into lakes which were slowly transformed into peat bogs all the pollen showers remained preserved in chronological layers.

Thousands of years later these microfossils could still be identified with the plants which produced them. A core bored down through the peat, the various depths of which can now be dated by the C^{14} method, could be read as a history book of the vegetation surrounding the lake.

The presence or absence and relative abundance of the different pollens and their division into trees and herbs plotted against time

reflected changes in vegetation. Some of these changes can be interpreted as climatic. For example, John Flenley (1967), who has recently completed a PhD study at Australian National University of the peat bottom of Lake Inim at 8500 ft above sea level in the Western Highlands near Wabag found that some 12,000 years back there grew in this area certain obligate alpine plants now found only at 500 metres (1600 ft) higher up the mountains.

The influence of man sometimes shows up on the pollen record. The large-scale clearing of forest would reduce the forest tree pollens which would be replaced by the pollens of secondary species, garden weeds, grasses and even crop plant pollens. In New Guinea domesticated trees such as the she-oak, Casuarina, would come in and indeed this was shown by Flenley. His pollen record shows a sudden increase in Casuarina pollen about 100 years ago indicating a comparatively recent settlement of the Sirunki area in the Western Highlands.

The pollen record refers mainly to the post Pleistocene or recent time epoch within the Quaternary period, that is, it takes us back some 10,000 to 20,000 years only. At the present time, Miss J. Wheeler of the Australian National University is working on the pollen record as it reflects the settlement of the New Guinea Highlands. Although much of the early work on pollens stems from the southern hemisphere pollen studies have really only begun in the Pacific area. See Cranwell (1964).

Ethnobotany

I have time enough left to only mention the more recent aspect of plant history known as ethnobotany. Here the botanist collaborates with the anthropologist, archaeologist and linguist.

Most of the pre-European food crops of Melanesia appear to have been brought by migrants via Indonesia and New Guinea. From here they passed out into the south Pacific mostly by-passing Micronesia. Routes can often be studied by a geographic mapping of vernacular names. See Barrau (1963).

Let us look at a few examples each dealing with a single plant. Cotton (*Gossypium*) is a plant found growing and utilised on both sides of the Pacific since pre-Columbian days. In 1937 a world survey revealed that genetically the cultivated New World cotton was a hybrid and that one of its parents must have been an Old World plant, the parent from where it got its fibres long enough to spin. Silow (1953). Old World plants have 13 large chromosomes, New World wild plants 13 small chromosomes, whereas the cotton plants cultivated for their lint in Mexico were found to have 26 chromosomes, i.e. diploid plants with two sets.

urther, there was one small set and one large set! The individuals of each set were so distinctive that they could be traced back to a wild Mexican parent and a cultivated Asian (South China) parent. A modern cross produced a modern hybrid identical to the cultivated New World cotton. Here then was incontestible proof that Asiatic man had crossed the Pacific bringing with him his fibre plant which later crossbred with the wild cottons of his new home. Such cottons date back to 2500 B.C. in Peru and are associated with a loom identical to Asian types. It seems evident that such inductions could have been made across the more temperate south Pacific. What is of interest to Melanesia is that when the so-called endemic cotton of Fiji was examined, it too was shown to be the hybrid between an Asian and Mexican parent. The inference is that the hybrid cotton was carried out back into the Pacific.

A second and classical example is the sweet potato or kaukau, pomea batatas. Unfortunately here genetical studies do not help as clearly as with cottons. See Yen (1963). The plant is common throughout Indonesia, Melanesia and the Pacific. It is not truly tropical and is more prevalent in sub-tropical and montane zones in the tropics. Until quite recently it was thought to have been carried from Africa and SE Asia down into the Pacific and hence eastwards.

However, botanists are now almost all agreed that the centre of origin lies in Peru in South America and the question arises, did early Polynesian adventurers reach the shores of South America, perhaps through Easter Island, and return with this tuber? Or did they indeed themselves stem from this very place and, migrating west into the Pacific, take with them their native crop plant? Heyerdahl (1952, 1963), was the first to suggest this latter and proved its practicability by his famous Kon Tiki raft adventure.

As far as Melanesia is concerned, there is strong evidence that sweet potatoes were not introduced until the Spaniards, early in the 17th century, took it to the Philippines. It may not have reached New Guinea until about 350 years ago. This has a direct bearing on the history of the New Guinea Highlands, a fascinating area for the historian in Melanesia. Today, more than half a million people in these valleys depend upon the sweet potato. The history and development of these highland people still remains largely unknown. We do not yet know who made, or why, the many types of stone mortars and pestles now found as archaeological items throughout the Highlands. Riesenfeld (1950) even suggested that a stone-working artisan people traversed central New Guinea leaving a trail marked by stone artifacts, legends and crop plants, e.g. taro, yams and coconuts, as well as ornamental and ceremonial plants such as the 'tanket', Cordyline.

The present Highlanders certainly have no conception of their own origins from outside the intra-montane valleys where they live. Linguistic studies, Wurm (1966) have shed some light on the cohesion and antiquity of these people with a far-distance link to those of the Huon Peninsula. Blood group investigations, Macintosh et al (1938) have revealed an east-west gradient but failed to indicate any relationships with peoples outside the Highlands.

I have suggested that the Highlands were entered mainly from the east, Robbins (1963a), this premise being based on the extensive man-made grasslands of the Markham Valley. These could have marked the passing of a forest-clearing agricultural people moving on a front from the coast. Apart from the large Phragmites reed swamps, the whole of the Highland valleys were originally clothed in a lower montane forest much of it dominated by Asian oak trees. The present open grasslands are regarded as man-made, Robbins (1963). Brass (1941) has also remarked how the mountain peoples in New Guinea have settled the oak zone. Were they first hunter-gatherers? Were the stone mortars used for grinding collected nuts and making acorn flour? Such speculations have been made by R. Bulmer (1964) and S & R Bulmer (1964). In the Highlands everything points to an east-west gradient. The large areas of short grasslands with many immigrant species, found in the Eastern Highlands, are far older chronologically than the tall indigenous swordgrass areas of the west. The impact of man upon the vegetation as shown in the extent of forest clearing and establishment of man induced vegetation decreases rapidly going west. Of course population densities, annual rainfall and other environmental variations can affect the rate of forest-grassland conversion, but it is apparent that such grassland communities are many hundreds of years old at the least. We now have factual evidence from C14 dates, S. Bulmer (1964), White (1967), Golson (1968), that man has been in the Highlands for something like 10,000 years. Further, that garden ditches and garden implements go back many thousands of years. There is evidence accumulating from animal finds and bird studies that there has been a swing from tree animals such as cus-cus or tree kangaroos and forest birds to grassland wallabies and grassland birds, Schodde (personal communication). Certain open grassland bird species have lived in high altitude grasslands long enough to show varietal differences. All this supports the contention that the Highlanders were early on gardeners and horticulturists even although the initially lacked the sweet potato.

Watson (1965, 1965a) in his review papers summarises many workers and then goes on to postulate a tremendous agricultural expansion coupled with a population explosion resulting from the introduction of the sweet potato some 200 or more years ago.

While it is hard to imagine the present Highland economy and landscape without the ubiquitous kau kau there are crop plants which could have been used in the past as a basis for gardening. Certainly agriculture as such did not begin with the sweet potato, but must have been sharply extended with its introduction. Some local species of taro, yam, sugar, bananas and plants such as wing-beans may have been present in the lower valleys while a number of indigenous greenleaf vegetables are still cultivated at higher levels. A leguminous tuber, Pueraria, still sporadically grown throughout the highlands, is a strong possible crop plant before sweet potatoes.

There seems little doubt that many individual plant introductions reached the highlands intermittently over a long period. Cassava for example, is an American plant carried by the Portuguese to Africa and hence to South East Asia in the 16th century. No doubt such plants passed along the normal trade routes. It is an interesting point of conjecture that the European introduction of peanuts and maize may have followed those ancient distribution patterns. Their spread can be traced within the highlands with some detail and may well show a fascinating parallel with earlier introductions.

Each new introduction would have had its impact affecting the history of settlement. Incidentally more definite dates can be given to man's domestic animals and present archaeological ages established are: pig, up to 5000 years back, hens 700 years and dogs only 200 years.

Ethnobotany has still much to contribute to the undocumented history of Melanesia and in particular in New Guinea. I hope I have been able to show you some of the ways in which this contribution is being made.

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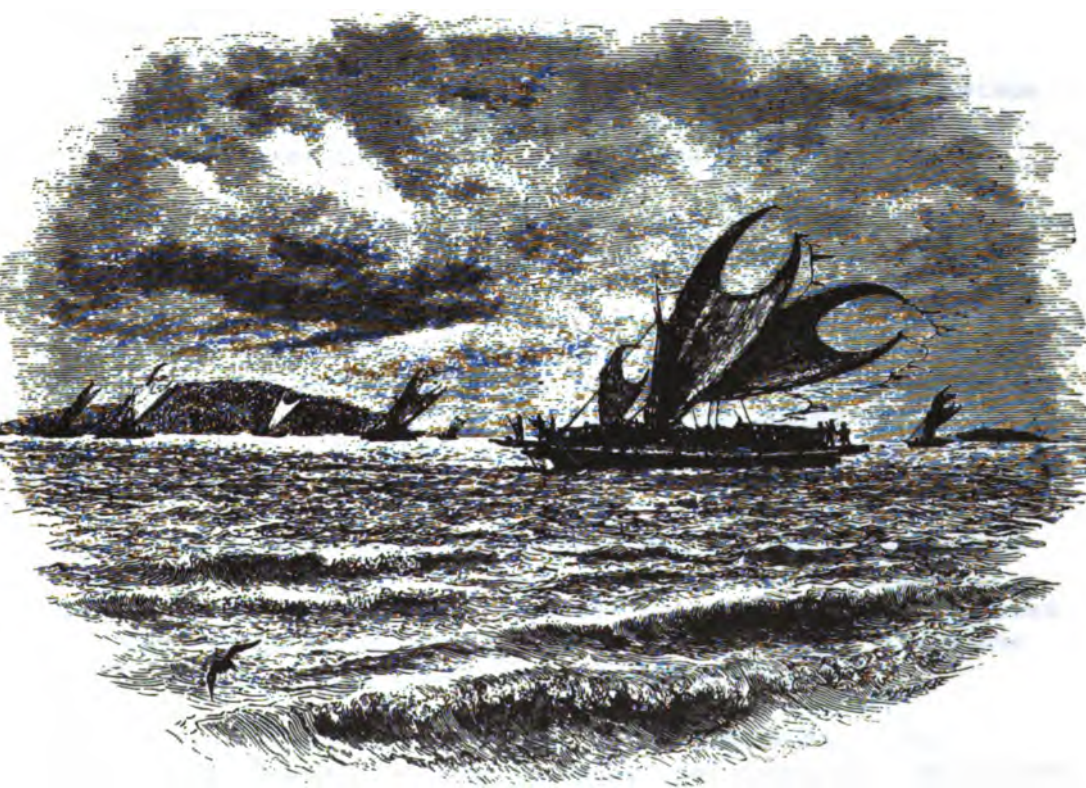
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VI WORLD WAR II



THE PACIFIC ISLANDS REGIMENT

Don Barrett

What was to become the Pacific Islands Regiment was born on 9 June 1940 when Major L. Logan officially raised the first company of the Papuan Infantry Battalion.

A training cadre of Australian officers and warrant officers, together with a few volunteers from the Royal Papuan Constabulary, assumed the responsibility of turning into soldiers a group of Tokaiva men from near Kokoda, who had been recruited by an official who would now know as a field officer of Department of District Administration.

Second in command of this first company was Capt. W.T. Watson SO,MC and Bar, DCM, Croix de Guerre, an outstanding soldier and officer who was later to command the expanded battalion.

Quickly trained, this first company was rushed to the Buna area and together with Australian troops fought the rearguard action across the Owen Stanley Range.

When the Australians advanced using the Kokoda Trail PIB were again present: by the time the combined force reached Buna the Papuan troops were well blooded. It is perhaps incorrect to refer to Papuan troops at this stage since many New Guineans had by now been "enlisted".

These New Guineans were in the main men who had been brought from the New Guinea Islands by the Japanese to act as carriers. They took advantage of Japanese reverses to quickly join Australian forces. Many volunteered for service with PIB, happy to have the chance of bearing arms against their erstwhile captors.

The process of expansion for PIB was a simple one. The "veterans" were divided to form the nuclei of companies; enlistment on the trail filled the ranks. A lot of the training was bearing arms in action. There was no time for the niceties.

As the fighting moved into New Guinea and United States forces joined the Australians PIB were kept busy. One company was part of the force that landed at Scarlet Beach, Finschhafen. Here the company commander Capt. T. Letchford was killed and RPC Sgt. Iwagu, attached to the company, won the George Medal.

Another company was in action at Salamaua, and a further company proceeded up the Ramu Valley.

At the same time a proper training establishment was set up at Bisiatabu near Sogeri. In future most new recruits would go to this centre before joining the fighting portion of the unit.

Several individual soldiers had already won acclaim for their exploits and the unit was proving that Papuans and New Guineans could well take their place alongside Australians and Americans as jungle fighters of skill and determination.

Among the recipients of awards were two brothers from the Kerema area; Sgt. EHAHA - Distinguished Conduct Medal, and Lance-Cpl. EHAHA - Military Medal.

The citation for Sgt. William Matpi of Manus Island records several outstanding exploits over a period and almost casually concludes by mentioning that the sergeant is officially credited with personally killing 110 of the enemy!

WO2 BENGARI on two occasions entered enemy lines in the guise of a carrier, obtaining vital information.

WO2 TAPIOLI's Military Medal citation instances his bravery whilst serving with a US formation, and on other occasions. He is cited for "outstanding leadership, wide knowledge of jungle warfare, and magnificent bravery in the face of great odds and devotion to duty at all times". A recommendation of which any soldier might be proud.

A single outstanding feat was that of Cpl. GEAI who whilst leading a small patrol contacted three Japanese who indicated they wished to surrender. The patrol walked into an ambush - the "surrender" party had been decoys. In the ensuing action Cpl. Geai was thrice wounded yet managed to personally account for 7 of the enemy and extricate his patrol.

Sgt. Nicholas Farr won his Military Medal when his patrol of four men routed a vastly superior enemy force accounting for 22 of whom Farr personally killed 11.

Sgt. Kari was in charge of a patrol charged with denying the use of a particular track to the enemy. The Japanese attacked in strength but were driven off after a fierce battle in which Kari personally killed 31.

These were the sorts of feats which were earning a reputation for the soldiers of PIB. These were the feats which were creating tradition.

It is interesting to note that many of these actions involved the use of initiative by the soldiers. Here were no mere followers, here were leaders.

An outstanding feature of PIB had been the way in which men from all parts of Papua and New Guinea had fought side by side. This was the more remarkable in days when travel was restricted. Many of those who found themselves in action together had scarcely heard of one and another's places. Here was the earliest example of a unity which is today sought after and talked about, but not achieved to the extent that it was by the soldiers of PIB.

There was a closeness too with the Australians who officered the unit; a closeness that was almost to end in tragedy when a reorganisation later separated officers and men who had fought together for months.

The success of PIB, particularly in deep penetration patrols and fast guerilla like strikes against the enemy, prompted a decision to form more battalions.

At the same time another decision was taken - in future "native" infantry battalions would consist entirely of either Papuans or New Guineans; there would be no more mixed units. This was sad news for many officers and men. It was inevitable of course that soldiers of experience should be required to form cadres in new battalions, but the overall policy followed showed a strange lack of insight and little appreciation of "native" psychology.

The raising and training of 1st New Guinea Infantry Battalion not far from Lae in the Markham Valley proceeded quite smoothly with the transfer of some officers and men from the old Papuan Battalion to the men all New Guineans. New recruits were all New Guineans in keeping with policy. But here the process had been a gradual one; troubles were still ahead.

As 1 NGIB neared a state of battle readiness a start was made on the raising of the 2nd New Guinea Battalion. This unit too had its early home in the Markham Valley - at Nadzab.

When only a handful of officers and men had been assembled a bulk transfer of old New Guinean soldiers was made from PIB. Bureaucracy triumphed even in this time of war when an order was issued that these experienced soldiers were to be re-enlisted!

It was true that many of them had been recruited "on the trail" and it was certainly desirable that records should be made straight. What was more important and what was overlooked was that no slight should be implied. It was a shock to these men to leave their fellow

Papuan soldiers. They reacted as veterans of any Army would react if suddenly thrust among a large number of "rookies".

To compound the shock they were informed that none of their old officers would be transferred with them. Officers and men alike smarted under this foolish decision.

Even greater follies were to be committed. PIB soldiers had been accustomed to wearing shirts with NCC rank badges on the sleeve. Now such distinguished soldiers as Tapioli were asked to sew badges on laplaps. There could have been no greater insult to these New Guinea soldiers. By custom pre-war sanitary workers had worn a distinguishing mark on their laplaps. To the soldiers the inference was plain - "You are no better than sanitary workers".

Obey the order or lose your rank was the edict. "Keep your stripes" was the reply of Tapioli.

That hot and sultry morning at Nadzab was suddenly disturbed by the yells of highly excited and much incensed men. Past training and the discipline of months of tough fighting were momentarily forgotten in a blind desire to be revenged in some way on the authority that had thus insulted them.

In this "trouble" two Australians were wounded in the first few ugly minutes when tempers were most frayed.

The handful of Australians surrounded by some of the new soldiers faced two hundred old soldiers armed with knives, stones and in a few cases rifles - though no shots were fired and it is doubtful if any would have been unless the Australians had appeared armed.

Apprised of the crisis the commanding officer of the battalion immediately ordered "no arms". His decision was a wise one.

Gradually tempers cooled.

A period of re-adjustment followed but training of 2 NGIB continued.

I NGIB was now in action on New Britain where patrols of the unit on both North and South coasts were in contact with the enemy. These elements were in fact the front line of Allied forces in New Britain at that time and up until the surrender. Battalion Commander was Ben Dawson, later to become an Australian Trade Commissioner. Colonel Dawson possessed a red setter which was his inseparable companion and made as many cross island trips as his master. The 100,000 Japanese were content to maintain contact and

keep their main forces in the Gazelle Peninsula - which was probably as well for I NGIB and Australian troops in the area.

The old Papuan soldiers were now joined by new recruits - all Papuans this time, and the original unit was given the designation 1st Papuan Infantry Battalion. The new commander was Lt. Col. Syd Elliott Smith who had been a resident magistrate in Papua before the outbreak of war.

Unlike the New Guinea Battalions where the policy was to have companies comprising troops from a number of districts 1 PIB had a full company of Orokaivas, a full company of Keremas - and officers such as MC winner Harold Jesser who understood them and could control these sometimes volatile soldiers.

Reasoning behind the mixed companies in the New Guinea Battalions was that men such as the Sepiks chose to regard one man's trouble as everyone's trouble. This habit caused some touchy situations from time to time, but things would have been far worse with a full company from one area. Conversely if the officers of the NGIBs had had as much time and seen as much action with their troops as officers such as Jesser mutual trust and understanding would probably have allowed full companies of one tribal group.

2 NGIB ready for action and commanded by Lt. Col Alan Murchison MC moved to join 6 Australian Division in the Sepik area. Murchison was a vigorous commander and soon had his troops doing things that the sceptics and critics said they could not do.

Company attacks and advances under artillery and air support became a commonplace and the mounting tally of Japanese dead testified to the prowess of the unit.

I PIB soon joined the 2 battalions already in action moving to Bougainville where the enemy were active and aggressive. Elliott Smith not to be outdone by Murchison had his troops too making company attacks

In the meantime 3 NGIB was being raised and trained back in the Nadzab area. Some of the old New Guinea soldiers who had earlier shown their displeasure at the badge of rank order were posted to this battalion. The unit was commanded by Lt. Col. Fergus Macadie DSO - one of the youngest Lt. Cols. in the AIF at the time. Macadie was one of the few permanent soldiers in PIR.

A Depot Training Battalion under the command of old New Guinea resident Lt. Col. J.C. Mullaly, OBE, had been established, also at Nadzab, and Australian officers and NCOs fresh from mainland Australia as well as New Guinea recruits underwent training at this establishment

The expanded PIR - Pacific Islands Regiment - now had a regimental headquarters although this latter did not at any time exercise any operational control. Battalions invariably came under command of some one or other field force commander. It was not until after the cessation of hostilities when all units, except the Papuan element of the Training Battalion, concentrated in the Gazelle Peninsula to carry out garrison duties, that the Headquarters exercised any real control and command.

Not that orders had not emanated from the headquarters whilst the war was still being fought. Tense signallers of 2 NGIB spent upwards of two hours on one occasion decoding a priority signal from HQ PIR whilst their own headquarters was under attack - to find that the message called for some routine administrative information. What they and the C.O. had to say did not bear encoding.

The headquarters had been at Nadzab under the command of Colonel Bill Edwards OBE until moved to Lae for a short time to coordinate the general move of all units to Rabaul. As always seemed to be the case headquarters was the butt for joke and often somewhat ribald comment from officers and men in the battalions. The Siassi people from a group of islands between New Britain and the New Guinea mainland are renowned for their carving. A number of Siassi soldiers found themselves posted to the headquarters at Nadzab, where, according to battalion personnel, they spent most of their time making bowls to be bartered for such luxuries as refrigerators unavailable to the lesser mortals in lower formations. The belief was strengthened when a company commander of 2 NGIB carrying out a reconnaissance for a training exercise stumbled on several of these Siassi soldiers in a small hut, well hidden, industriously engaged in carving. The establishment was shown on his plan submitted to HQ for approval as "Siassi Bowl Annexe". The exercise was not approved!

An act of outstanding bravery resulting in the award of a George Medal was performed in the Nadzab area by Cpl. DITI a Morobe soldier serving with 2 NGIB. Whilst the unit was moving to Lae for embarkation a flash flood caught a laden truck in the middle of a stream. Four Australians on the truck seemed beyond saving and one was swept away and drowned. Cpl. Diti raced through the flood three times to bring the remaining men to safety. It was a spontaneous act requiring almost superhuman strength as well as great courage.

The Pacific Islands Regiment of the Japanese war differed in many ways from today's Regiment.

Twenty five years have brought great social changes to Papua and New Guinea. It is not surprising to find a high standard of education among the Papuan and New Guinean soldiers of 1968. One can reflect however that it was the catalytic effect of the war that brought many of the changes. Never before the war had Australians and Papuans and New Guineans been so close, never had there been such a common purpose shared by all.

Thus to one who has seen the year to year development of the "new PIR, and who served with the "old", the differences though great are expected.

To an Australian who served in the 1940s and now suddenly saw today's Regiment the effect would be surprise, even amazement.

I was the original adjutant of 2 NGIB and served with this unit through its raising, training and action until I moved to HQ PIR after the cessation of hostilities in New Guinea.

We could easily count our literate soldiers - literate that is in pidgin; we had no English speakers. Nor was it unusual for recruits to come to us who could not even speak Pidgin. Like Australians in the same circumstance they soon learned in the hard school of necessity.

War time recruiting was very different from the sophisticated operation it is today. I was the Army's recruiting officer from 1954-1965 covering the whole of Papua and New Guinea. I must accept responsibility for a deal of the sophisticated procedures.

I often wonder what my old friends Bert Pauley and "Lucky" Regent would think of Geoff Ord's psych tests!

I'm sure of one thing. They would find words to describe them that would stagger the Army Director of Psychology.

A good deal of the country over which these men operated was still in the hands of the enemy. They went "into the bush" usually accompanied by one of two PNG soldiers, and operated in the same sort of way that labour recruiters had always operated - moving from village to village.

Often they were behind Japanese lines - if such a thing as a "line" can be said to exist in the type of jungle war that was being fought.

They were the most casual pair of individuals one could meet. I remember Pauley who was a New Zealander, appearing unexpected and unannounced at 2 NGIB HQ when the unit was operating in the Maprik area of the Sepik District.

"Where have you come from?" I asked rather stupidly. From "....." said Bert naming an area which we certainly knew to be infested with enemy. Bert allowed this might be so; but said he'd seen none so all was well.

He, Pauley, was short and stout; Fegent was long and lean; but I'd not hazard a guess as to who was the best walker. Both were held in high regard by all ranks.

If a battalion wanted recruits from a particular area their wishes had only to be made known and whether the enemy happened to be in that area or not sooner or later the recruits would be forthcoming.

Rather naturally neither of these officers was very regimental. This was accepted by all concerned - but with varying degrees of grace. One senior staff officer on HQ PIR winced every time he received an official letter from Fegent, who insisted on finishing these documents "emasol...H.L.G. Fegent." Very apt; but hardly in accordance with the best concepts of military writing.

A well known New Guinea resident and soldier succeeded Colonel Edwards as commander PIR, this was Colonel H.T. "Blue" Allan OBE,MC,ED. "Masta Blue" was a fighting soldier and a man with a vast knowledge of New Guinea but his administration was a little unorthodox. He created violent likes or dislikes among his subordinates but was well loved by the New Guinea soldiers.

The last commander before disbandment took place was a Staff Corps officer Colonel A.B. "Bandy" Macdonald. Contrary to forecast by "old hands" he was quickly accepted by the troops and enjoyed a surprising popularity among all ranks. He had the common touch.

There are many untold tales some of humour, some of bravery, some of tragedy. It was Duff Cooper who said "old men forget". One would hope that before all the fine old soldiers of Papuan and New Guinean Battalions forget some effort will be made to record their exploits.

Tapioli once told me long after the war how he and Bengari had been sent by their company commander to investigate a rumoured enemy position. They found the position - and some 30 of the enemy just preparing a meal. Although told merely to observe and report this tempting target was too much for the two warriors. Quickly one wormed his way to the far side of the camp and at a prearranged signal two Owen guns blazed. Not one of the enemy party escaped. The two returned not quite sure how to explain the firing their company commander must have heard. They decided to tell the truth. This did not save them nor did their feat of arms. They had been

old to observe and report. As Tapioli puts it "Company commander kros tumas".

Flash floods are not unusual in New Guinea. In the Ramu Valley company of PIB found themselves forced to literally "take to the trees" on one occasion. After an uncomfortable and wet night there was a little cheer in the morning when a small wild pig was captured. Miraculously a fire was made and soon the tempting smell of cooking pork was causing mouths to water. Watering freely was the mouth of Lt. Harry Read who was also bemoaning the loss in the flurry of the previous day of his denture. Pig cooked, and Read's batman Pte. Lalum produced a tasty meal assuring Read the pork was tender enough to eat without teeth. It was. "How was it done?" queried Read. "Simple", said Lalum, "I chewed it first".

1 NGIB during their training were camped near the Wampit River in the Markham Valley. Their theme song to the tune of Waltzing Matilda was "Who'll come and jump in the Wampit with me?".

Several officers of 2 NGIB training at Nadzab became rather envious at the success of base officers in the Lae area with nursing sisters from the General Hospital. The former turned out in well starched khaki, natty cut down US gaiters, and gleaming lightweight boots.

Not to be outdone the NGIB villains made a grand entrance to the base officers' Club on a chosen night. A jeep arrived on the dance floor laden with a fiercely moustachioed group of jungle green clad officers each wearing, incongruously, a monocle, and bearing perched on his shoulder a trained small green parrot. Final touch was a tame green tree snake twined nonchalantly round the neck of a certain captain and which somehow found its innocent way into the lap of a brigadier who was entertaining a group of nurses. The NGIB party was not exactly asked to leave but a few quiet suggestions were made. Most of those present however entered into the spirit of the rank - and in future nursing sisters seemed to seek invitations to 2NGIB Officers Mess.

These things were shared quite often by Australians and Papuans and New Guineans. There was a spirit of great comradeship. There were too the promises, made in good faith, of help after the war. There were many intentions expressed by Australians of return to Papua and New Guinea. Not surprisingly few of these men did return; but their Papuan and New Guinean fellow soldiers still waited.

The promises made were those of soldiers who truly believed that adequate rewards were due to the PIR soldiers who had fought by their sides. Those who made the promises were not of course in any position to see that what they promised eventuated. A great opportunity for

a quick move towards national unity was lost at this time.

Instead the official attitude was to ensure that these men who had risked their lives did not become "big heads". Too often no use was made of the leadership instincts they had shown. No one wanted to know; everyone, or nearly everyone, wanted to forget the war and go back to the good times.

The old soldiers are few now and their voice is not often heard. They have become bitter; often with reason.

Perhaps after all it is not so strange that the history has not been written. Perhaps there are still those who prefer to forget.

WAR, RACE AND LOYALTY IN NEW GUINEA, 1939-1945

K.S. Inglis

On 13 October 1942 a man named Bert Beros, a coal miner in civilian life and now a sapper in the A.I.F., was doing repair work on the Kokoda trail. As he recalled later:

We were making steps up a very steep grade to enable the carriers to get out the wounded from the Iorabaiwa ridge. Seeing the way the natives looked after the wounded, Vic. said to me: 'There'll be a lot of black angels in heaven after this'. Next morning I wrote the 'Fuzzy Wuzzy Angels'...

Many a mother in Australia,
 When a busy day is done,
 Sends a prayer to the Almighty
 For the keeping of her son,
 Asking that an angel guide him
 And bring his safely back -
 Now we see those prayers are answered
 On the Owen Stanley Track. . . .
 Slow and careful in bad places
 On the awful mountain track,
 The look upon their faces
 Would make you think that Christ was black. . . .
 May the mothers of Australia,
 When they offer up a prayer,
 Mention those impromptu angels
 With their fuzzy wuzzy hair.¹

These verses were published in a newspaper in Brisbane, the Courier-Mail, and then in the Australian Women's Weekly, the most popular magazine among mothers of Australia.

One mother wrote some verses in reply:

And we're glad to call you friends although your faces
 may be black,
 For we know that Christ walked with you on the Owen
 Stanley track.²

More than twenty years later the verses by Bert Beros were recalled sardonically by a writer who had been on the Kokoda trail as a war correspondent. As Osmar White saw it in 1965:

A sentimental soldier with a bent for versification wrote

some lines of doggerel which described native stretcher-bearers on the Kokoda Trail as 'Fuzzy Wuzzy Angels'. The phrase caught on. Almost overnight even the most sullen, reluctant New Guinean employed on the military supply routes became in the minds of a large section of Australians a heroically faithful underdog offering proof by gallantry and devotion that he was not only a Christian gentleman at heart but he was also profoundly grateful for the benevolence of Australian policy and performance in the past. The speed with which the public image of a New Guinean was transmogrified from that of a bloodthirsty cannibal with a bone through his nose to that of a dusky-skinned, mop-headed, sexless Florence Nightingale must forever remain an inspiration to political propagandists.³

White allows that some native carriers did show the qualities for which they were praised; but

the majority did their work only because the white men in command bullied them into doing it. Few if any were serving voluntarily and most would have deserted if possible. At this stage they knew of no reason and felt no desire to fight on the side of the Australians against the Japanese; but the habit of obeying white men, inculcated by about sixty years of colonization, was hard to break.⁴

It seems to me that Mr. White is a little too sardonic about the idea of the fuzzy wuzzy angel. The carriers on the Kokoda trail did impress and even amaze white soldiers by their dedication to the job and their skill at it. When the Australians made their last withdrawal, from Iorabaiwa to Imita Ridge, the carriers undertook what their overseer and patron, Captain G.H. Vernon, said was the worst journey he had ever experienced in many years in New Guinea. The Australian commander, Brigadier K.W. Eather, wondered at this point how the carriers should be rewarded; and orders were issued requiring all soldiers to show consideration to the carriers and drawing attention to what they were contributing to the campaign.⁵ It was not long after this order was circulated that Bert Beros wrote his verses. Near the end of the war a senior military medical officer spoke to doctors in Melbourne about the natives of Papua and New Guinea.⁶ The sentimentality of legend he dismissed:

They are not gods - they are not even angels - they are men, and splendid men.

He contrasted them favourably with the only other non-European observed closely by Australian soldiers, the Arabs - whom many Australians have been inclined to regard as typical of the

on-English-speaking peoples of the world. "In marked contrast to the 'wogs' of the Middle East", he said of the natives of New Guinea, "they are cleanly and modest in their habits." And of those whom he had seen working as carriers on the Kokoda trail, bearing the wounded and the seriously ill, he said:

They carried stretchers over seemingly impassable barriers, with the patient reasonably comfortable. The care which they showed the patient was magnificent.

That was not the propaganda of 1942; it was a professional tribute offered long after danger had passed. A still later judgment in similar terms may be found in a volume of the official history of Australia in the war.⁷

One plain fact stood behind the invention of the fuzzy wuzzy angel in 1942. The carriers on the Kokoda trail were needed as natives had never been needed before by white men in New Guinea. The dependence was illustrated beautifully in films taken by Damien Parer, who was Osmar White's companion on the trail. Parer's films gave a great many Australians their first close look at New Guinea and showed in particular the competence and tenderness of the carriers. In one of these films Kokoda Front Line, the commentator says: "No boongs, no battle". A student at Goroka High School last year, talking about the study of history, said that it was interesting to read about the war "and how our people were able to take part in it". For once, in the relationship between European and native people, there was partnership of a kind. It was not the partnership of equals. But white men would starve to death or be killed for lack of weapons or die of wounds, if the carriers did not get through. There were not enough white men to do the work of carrying; and they could not do it as well as the natives. As the official medical historian writes of one phase in the Owen Stanley Campaign:

The superiority of the natives in this work was well in evidence: the white carriers could manage on a level track, but over the many steep and difficult places the patients had more discomfort, and the bearers became exhausted.⁸

It was this new need that made it possible for the fuzzy wuzzy to be regarded as an angel.

Rabaul had fallen in January 1942. In February everybody expected Port Moresby to follow. But the Japanese paused, and then in May an invasion fleet bound for Moresby was forced to turn around in the Coral Sea and go back to Rabaul. In July the Japanese began their effort to drive by land across Papua to Port Moresby. It was

reasonable to believe in these months that when Moresby fell Australia would be invaded. For the first time in their history, Australians really were fighting to defend their own land. An Australian war correspondent on the trail, George Johnston, made a shrewd prediction:

I have an idea that the name of the Kokoda Trail is going to live in the minds of Australians for generations, just as another name, Gallipoli, lives on . . .⁹

In terms of Australians involved and killed and wounded, Gallipoli was a minor campaign compared with later battles in France and Belgium. The fighting on the Kokoda trail was also small in scale compared with later campaigns in New Guinea. But Gallipoli was felt to be a blooding, a national initiation, as France and Belgium were not; and Kokoda was felt to be a defence of home and hearth, as no later campaign was: so each was the object of that special regard which is the stuff of legend. And as an individual saver of lives, Simpson, the man with the donkey, participated in the legend of Gallipoli, so a collective saver of lives, the fuzzy wuzzy angel, became part of the legend of Kokoda.

No such indigenous contribution was foreseen by anybody when the war started in 1939. The beginning was announced in The Papuan Villager, a monthly paper produced for the small minority of Papuans who could read English. "We are sorry to have to say that the British Empire is at war", the editor said in September 1939. But the outcome was certain.

Some of you will remember the war that began twenty five years ago. We called it the 'Great War', and our side won. Perhaps this new war will be still greater. It will last a long time. But we feel quite sure that our side will win again.

On the same page was a photograph of a reassuring symbol of British imperial might, a warship. It was H.M.A.S. Australia, a descendant of the H.M.S. Nelson which had brought British protection to Port Moresby in 1884, and namesake of a ship which had presided over the seizure of German New Guinea in 1914.

The war had been caused by German aggression; or, as the paper put it, fierce Germany had been growling and snapping at the smaller dogs of Europe, and even eating them. Great Britain and France, quiet dogs, became savage when Germany ate up Poland.

The essay on the war concluded with a warning, a reassurance, and an exhortation. The warning was that

War among the white men is a terrible thing. They do not fight with bows and arrows and spears and clubs, but with warboats and flying-machines, and rifles and bombs and cannon. You could not count the men who will be wounded and killed before the fight is over.

The reassurance was that Papuans need have no fear of it:

It is true that we are part of the British Empire, and therefore an enemy might come to attack Papua. That is why we have some big guns and fighting aeroplanes and soldiers and sailors at Port Moresby. But it does not seem likely that the war will come here; we are so far away.

The exhortation followed:

every Papuan should remember that he belongs to the British Empire; and he should be ready to do anything he can to help his Empire win.

In September 1939 it seemed unlikely that the help offered by a loyal Papuan could be direct or substantial.

But by the middle of 1940 the war had taken on a grim aspect. "There will be hard times for everyone before it is finished", readers were warned in May. In June they were asked to send money to a Papuan War Fund to help the Empire fight. By the middle of 1941 air raid precautions began in Port Moresby, superintended by F.W. Williams, the government anthropologist, who was also editor of the Papuan Villager. Readers were told in May 1941 that bombs burst differently from hornbill eggs. But Papuans need not be alarmed: an aerial enemy would be too anti-European, thrifty and accurate to trouble the natives.

If an enemy came here in an aeroplane he is not likely to want to hurt the native villages. He is at war with the Europeans, and he would want to smash the things that belong to Europeans, such as the big stores, in Port Moresby. He would have to carry his bombs a long way, and he would only have a few of them. He would not waste them on Poreporena. He would go for B.P's or the Post Office.

In August 1941 the Japanese were mentioned.

The Japanese are almost as bad at making trouble as the Germans. Their war against the Chinese is a very wicked and cruel one. . . . We do not like the Japanese very much, but we do not want to have a war with them. They

have been making trouble. America is talking very strongly to them.

They were the subject of a long article in October.

The Japanese are not white men. Their skins have a rather yellow colour, sometimes pale brown. They are often small men, but well-made and strong. One strange thing about them is the way their eyes slant upwards at the outer corners. . . . In early days the Japanese soldiers were bow-and-arrow men, like so many Papuans. But now they have warships and cannons and tanks and aeroplanes.

Perhaps this was a mistake. I do not think their warships and other fighting things are really as good as those of the Europeans; and if they ever go to war against the Europeans they will soon find this out.

Finally the editor fitted Japan into the canine metaphor.

Japan is like a very snappy little dog, barking at three big dogs that just lie down and look at her. The three big dogs are Great Britain, America and Russia. If this little dog ever begins to bite, then the three big dogs will jump on her and tear her to pieces.

The Japanese were mentioned briefly in November 1941. "They are not in the war, and we hope they will not be silly enough to come in". That was the last issue of the Papuan Villager ever published.

* * * *

The complacent view of the war expressed for so long in the Papuan Villager was genuine, not contrived. In the Papuan administration, as in that of the Mandated Territory, and, indeed, in the Australian government and armed forces, there was during most of 1941 no serious apprehension that the war would come dangerously close to Australia; even if the Japanese entered, it was confidently assumed that forces at imperial and allied bases far from Australia would contain them. The whites themselves were unprepared for the coming of war to New Guinea; and even when they saw it coming they did little to prepare their native charges for the experience.

The white residents of Papua and New Guinea - the Islanders, as the late Eric Feldt called them in a perceptive portrait - were in 1941 a commanding race.

Constant dealing with, and authority over, natives gave the Islander a habit of command. . . . With it went a sense of responsibility, not of the kind which coddles but which takes the native into account in any project . . . The islander was, in fact, something of a seigneur10

guide to race relations issued to every Australian officer and non-commissioned officer in the Pacific islands during the war, and written by a member of the prewar community of Islanders, declared:

The native has always looked up to the white man. He admires him because of the marvellous things that white men at large can do. . . . You may not be marvellous yourself, but he will think you are, merely because you are one of the white race. . . . he stands in awe of us. He thinks we are superior beings. We may not all deserve this reputation, but it is worth acting up to11

The Japanese invaders quickly made it difficult for white men to act up to their reputation as superior beings. White men sometimes contributed actively to the reduction of awe by not taking the dependent native into account in their own projects for self-preservation - by not discharging (to pursue Feldt's idiom) the responsibility of seigneur to vassal. Natives who worked in Port Moresby, and in particular the wharf labourers who made up the town's main body of workers, became apprehensive in December 1941 when they saw the departure of white women and children and other signs of anxiety among the Europeans. Early in the afternoon of 13 January an air raid alarm sounded. The natives labourers fled at once into the bush; and, in the words of an official commission of enquiry, "although many returned to the town later, their confidence in their white masters had been gravely impaired. . . ."12 The alarm had been false. It must have been a relief for the natives when no Japanese planes appeared: but it may not have been comforting to discover that the white masters appeared not to know whether or not the bombers were on their way. In any case, genuine air raid warnings came soon enough.

On 25 January the military authorities in Canberra ordered the calling up of all white British males under 45 in the two Territories. The order caused commercial houses to close and disabled the civil administration. George Johnston, who arrived on 13 February, reported:

Semi-civilized natives were the biggest sufferers. They had come to rely on the trading stores for their rice and tinned

meats. With the stores closed they began to pull in their belts, and they began to lose confidence in the white men who had protected them for so long.¹³

Some residents of Port Moresby now conscripted into uniform were set to unfamiliar work. "There was", Feldt wrote of the pre-war Islanders, "a distaste for doing those things which a boy usually did for a European - menial tasks and those requiring no intelligence."¹⁴ The Administrator of Papua, Leonard Murray (who had succeeded his late uncle Sir Hubert in 1940 after working under him for 30 years) observed that natives "were alarmed at seeing those who had been their masters doing labouring work in Army uniform . . ."¹⁵ Civilians suspected that the call-up had been intended to humiliate them.

The military commandant, Major-General B.M. Morris, denied it; but it was true that the soldiers engaged in administering the call-up showed no great tenderness towards civilians.¹⁶ Some of the soldiers, who were not Islanders but newcomers, may even have relished setting seigneurs to do the work of vassals.

The first air raids happened early in February. The events were reconstructed later by J.V. Barry, K.C., sitting as a Commissioner of Enquiry into the circumstances relating to the suspension of the civil administration of Papua:

At 3 a.m. on the 3rd February, 1942, the Japanese bombed Port Moresby. About six bombs were dropped; one soldier was killed, and a soldier, a sailor and a civilian injured, but there was no substantial material damage. As a result of this bombing the natives fled from the Port Moresby area . . . and coastal shipping was immobilized through lack of native crews.¹⁷

The second air raid, soon after 3 a.m. on 5 February, caused more damage than the first. Burns Philp's and other stores were hit, and by daybreak Australian troops were looting them. They went on looting stores and empty houses for days. Osmar White, looking back 25 years, found that this is what he remembered most vividly of the Territory in time of war:

Looted Moresby was a blood-chilling example of how thin the veneer of white civilization is in times of great stress and danger.¹⁸

Barry concluded as Commissioner that the civil administration was from this time unable to maintain order.

Some of the native police left Port Moresby without authority and some prisoners were either released or ran away from the gaol gardens.¹⁹

Those police who stayed in the town left at night to sleep in the bush. So did the remaining European residents. "From the 5th February onwards", Barry concluded, "the situation, so far as it related to the natives, was out of hand at Port Moresby . . ."²⁰ That human facts lay behind such judicial clichés we can only imagine, unless somebody who endured those days can be persuaded to set down his memories of them. General Morris informed the Chief of the General Staff on 13 February that not only in Port Moresby but throughout the Territory, native administration had broken down. His message outraged Leonard Murray; and Barry's inquiry found that only in Samarai and Misima had control collapsed as it had in Moresby. But Barry judged that the Commonwealth Government had been wise to order the suspension of civil administration and the introduction of military control in both territories.

Leonard Murray was ordered out and left for Australia by flying boat on 15 February. He begged for an investigation and duly got it; but Barry's report can have given him no comfort.²¹ Barry discerned in Hubert Murray's nephew "a mental approach which lacked the flexibility necessary in the rapidly changing urgencies of the situation. . ." The Commissioner offered, moreover, "a craver criticism" of Leonard Murray.

It was among the foremost duties of the civil administration to protect the native inhabitants of the Territory and consult their welfare, and over the years the natives had been taught to rely confidently upon the Administration and to respect its authority. Yet in none of his communications with the authorities in Australia. . . did the Administrator advert to the consequences which would result to the natives from the withdrawal of the white administration officers . . .

It was indeed a grave charge: in effect, that Leonard Murray had thoughtlessly abandoned what his uncle had called the sacred trust of civilization towards the natives of Papua:

so far as the civil administration was concerned, the natives would have been left in a time of crisis without the guidance and protection to which they had become accustomed and for which they were entitled to look.

Barry found that in the circumstances, it was better to have a military government which did have plans for the protection and welfare of the natives.

The Anglican Bishop of New Guinea, Dr. Philip Strong, describes the behaviour of white men at Samarai in these weeks as

a sorrowful chapter in the history of Papua . . . The chief motto I fear has been 'Save thyself', or rather, 'Save the white man and don't bother about the native'.²²

The Bishop reported that hundreds of indentured labourers, signed on under contracts guaranteed by the government, had been abandoned by their employers. "I can see" he said

that it will take years to undo the harm of the last few weeks and to win back the confidence of the natives again, if indeed it can ever be as implicit as it was, and victory when it comes . . . will be robbed of some at least of its fruits by reason of this dishonour.

Native people in the Mandate saw the white men flee before the Japanese early in 1942. Such flight was inevitably undignified, in some places more so than others. Feldt writes severely about the manner in which administration officials and civilians escaped in haste from Kieta after the fall of Rabaul; and he reports that at Buka Passage, a number of civilians declined the advice of an official to prepare for the possibility of invasion; such a move, they protested, would be derogatory to their prestige with the natives.²³ It was clearly Feldt's view that by making undignified departure more likely, such a response, or lack of response to the approach of the Japanese would do even more damage to the prestige of the white community in native eyes.

A missionary who worked as a coast watcher in the British Solomons, and who has written recently a history of the Solomons as he thinks it might be seen through Melanesian eyes, says of this time: "The Europeans at Tulagi left in a hurry and Melanesians for the first time saw white men in a panic."²⁴

I have been quoting European observers. What did native people think of all these events? How widely was confidence in the European masters damaged by the coming of the Japanese? How permanent was the damage? To ask a still larger question about indigenous attitudes: how did native people perceive this war? To that question there must be thousands of separate answers, covering a range from the reader of the Papuan Villager to the person who understood no language but his own local one, and from people whose areas were visited directly by the war to those who saw nothing and heard little of it.

Warfare had once been normal among the many peoples of this region, from the coasts to the high lands of the interior. The

white men had forced peace on them. "The two outstanding facts about European settlement in a country like Papua", Hubert Murray had said, "are the introduction of metals and the establishment of tribal peace."²⁵ Less than twenty years after he spoke those words, a great war had New Guinea as one of its front lines. The names of villages in New Guinea were in the headlines of the world, and the world brought more disruption to the peoples of New Guinea than they or their ancestors had ever known. Before this war was over it had become the greatest, and in a sense the first, event in the history of this country. One day, some Papuan or New Guinean scholar may deny that it was an event in the true history of his country, as the Indian historian K.M. Panikkar has denied that the period of English influence and rule belongs to the proper history of India. If so, he will not really be denying its importance; he will be expressing a certain policy towards the European element in his history. For the present, it remains the most widely apprehended divider of public time: Time Belong War, Time Belong Fight Belong Japan.

Historians so far have not written much about native responses to the war. There is information scattered through the official war histories, but it is not easily drawn together. Some social anthropologists have been more enlightening. Dr. Margaret Mead reports the Manus theory of why the war was fought.

Originally the English - in the person of Captain Cook - discovered New Guinea, and the English were going to come and occupy it. But they didn't hurry enough, and the Germans got there ahead of them. The English, however, kept on remembering that they were the ones who had discovered New Guinea, so in World War I they came and took New Guinea back. But then the Germans couldn't forget that they had had New Guinea, so in World War II they put the Japanese up to trying to get New Guinea back for them. Because there were so many Japanese, the Americans came to help the Australians drive them out. The Americans, however, didn't want New Guinea; they only wanted to straighten things out.²⁶

Professor Peter Lawrence found that some people in the Madang District believed the war to be sent by God as a punishment for the Europeans' dishonesty; and other people believed that the Japanese were spirits of the dead, sent to liberate the people from European rule and help establish a more prosperous way of life.²⁷ When K.E. Read went among the Ngawarapum of the Upper Markham Valley after the Japanese had left, people asked him about the war.

They were concerned to learn why the white men were fighting the Japanese and were not averse from reproaching me with

the contradiction that, while they themselves were forbidden to fight, Europeans were engaged in a war with another people. On these occasions I explained that the Japanese wanted to take New Guinea. 'Then why not share it?' I was asked. 'It is a big place; there is enough ground for all! . . . Only the white men knew what the war was all about, I was told, and in a vague way the natives believed that its duration depended on the will of the King; when he said we had fought long enough, hostilities would cease.'²⁸

The war brought from over the sea a new kind of white man. Coming as they did from the virtually monoracial and fairly egalitarian society of Australia, the soldiers lacked instruction in how to behave towards natives. The old hands, the Islanders, were anxious to give it. The Islanders' guide book to the newcomers, You and the Native said:

There may be a bad egg who deliberately defies you, just to try you out. There is only one thing to do in these circumstances. Crack him.'²⁹

Dr. Ian Hogbin, who quotes this advice, reports that when soldiers and natives were clearing up the mess of Madang after its recapture

Two tanks were installed near the wharf for drinking, both full of the same chlorinated water but labelled respectively 'European personnel' and 'Natives only'. As I passed one morning I heard the ANGAU officer in charge of the natives roundly abusing a private who had gone to the wrong tap. 'Have you no pride of race?' he asked. 'Don't you realise that this water is for coons?'³⁰

The answer, presumably, was No. This private had not realised that the water was for coons, and may not have thought of the natives as coons anyway. Osmar White writes:

When white soldiers arrived in force they seemed hardly to belong to the same race as the aloof Government officials, planters, missionaries and commercial men whose 'magic' had exempted them from vulgar toil.'³¹

The people studied by K.E. Read responded exactly as Osmar White implies native people responded to the new white men. They decided that the soldiers were a different race from the Europeans they had known before the war. They concluded that there were two distinct groups of Europeans, the English and the Australians. Before the war, in pidgin, white men were divided into German and English. The soldiers who arrived from Nadzab in 1943 called

themselves Australians. They looked different from the officials of peacetime: their uniforms were green, not white. They behaved differently. A young man told Read that during an air raid at Wau he had run into a slit trench only to find that it was occupied by Australian soldiers. "But they did not turn me out. If it had been the English they would not have let me stay with them. But the Australians are different." The Australians, Read was informed, knew that the people were men, not dogs. Most ANGAU officers were classified as English, not Australians.³²

This was a village whose experience of contact with Europeans before the war was smaller than that of many coastal areas. How commonly was the distinction that Read discovered made elsewhere? There may still be time to find out. The people in this village had heard, by the way, of another group of Europeans known as Amrika, though they had not seen any; and of people whom they called Afrika, or Bilak Amrika. Hogbin and Mead offer leads which might yet be followed up about the native perception of negro soldiers, and Mead in particular has explored the relationship between Americans and natives - a large theme which I am excluding almost entirely from this paper.

Some of the new white men gave new names to the natives. Mead reports that to the Americans in Manus the people were not "boys" or "niggers" but "Joes" or "good Joes".³³ George Johnston on the Kokoda trail wrote:

The boys from the Middle East called them 'wogs' at first, because it was their name for the Arabs. Soon they learnt the New Guinea army term, which is 'boong'. Before they have been there long they are calling them 'sport', which seems to be the second A.I.F.'s equivalent of 'digger'. . . . Like all other colonial races, the Papuans have learnt to treat the white man with a certain amount of awe. They call him 'taubada', which means something like 'lord' or 'master', and they do what he tells them. They are a little bewildered to hear the white man call: 'how are you, sport?' as they pass him. . . ."34

This was an interesting moment in a history that is so far practically unstudied, the history of naming in this country. "Wog" and "coon" were words full of contempt - sometimes genial, sometimes not. "Boong" was ambiguous: it could contain more or less of respect or affection, according to how and by whom and of whom it was used. "Sport", unlike any of the other words, could be used reciprocally: two men may call each other "sport", or "mate"; and if they are of different races they are making an affirmation about the family of man. How widespread was the usage noted by Johnston? And if it was widespread, why did it not remain common after the war?

Johnston made his notes two days after Bert Beros wrote those verses giving the carriers a name which expressed not merely respect but a kind of reverence. It was not an Islander but a coal miner, a newcomer used to putting his own body to hard and dirty work, who celebrated the fuzzy wuzzy angel.

It would be interesting to know what the carriers themselves might say about their relationships with the soldiers, and perhaps we can find out through sons and daughters literate in English and studying history and anthropology. It would be good, also, to have the testimony of men who evaded the ANGAU agent, or who deserted after being impressed for carrying, and of those who carried for the Japanese. The published evidence in English suggests that the Japanese were more disagreeable as masters than the Australians, and this may well be true. But we do not yet have the story from the only people who can tell it with authority.

On the general theme of native responses to the Japanese, more has been published than I can refer to even summarily here. The anthropologist Dr. Peter Worsley, reviewing the literature in 1957, observed that "apart from the long-occupied regions, generalization about Japanese-native relations are not easily made".³⁵ This remains true a decade later. We had hoped to have at this seminar a Japanese scholar who could have spoken on the theme, but unfortunately that has not proved possible. There must be varied memories of the Japanese among older native people, waiting to be elicited. There was a striking example lately of how clear the memory can be, when the son of a Japanese soldier here in the war showed his father's photograph to a group of people near Aitape and was taken at once to an unmarked grave. He dug, and found his father's bones and identification disc.

Coast watchers were unusually well placed to observe native responses to the Japanese, living as they did in Japanese-held territory and depending for survival on the support or at least toleration of native people. Feldt's book reports cases in which white men were handed over to the new masters, cases in which white men were protected from them, and cases in which people were uncertain whom to obey. He says that in contested areas it was very difficult for natives to decide which, if either, of the contenders to believe: never before had there been at the same time two sets of foreign masters, contradicting each other. He shows different people in the same locality making different decisions about how to behave, as for example when the Japanese landed at Saidor. Here, writes Feldt:

The natives were impressed by the Jap numbers and terrified by the savage punishments meted out to those of them who disobeyed. A few remained loyal to the Coast Watchers and

continued to help with food and information at great danger to themselves. Most tried to be neutral, but some openly assisted the Japs.³⁶

The official war histories contain a great variety of evidence on the theme. In Dexter's volume The New Guinea Offensives, for example, is printed a message from the Australian commander-in-chief, General Blamey, in June 1943, that the Australians in the Sepik area must "do everything possible to enlist the natives on our side, or at least draw them away from the Japanese".³⁷ In this region, until quite late in the war, natives fought for the Japanese against the Australians. In the battle for Shaggy Ridge at the end of 1943 natives suspected to be working for the Japanese and pretending to be members of the Papuan Infantry Battalion were shot. What Dexter calls "the native problem" was troublesome along the Ramu river in 1943.³⁸ The commander of Bena Force wrote on 21 July 1943:

we are essentially dependent on the generosity of a population which owes the 'Allies' little or no allegiance.³⁹

In one area near the Ramu an experienced ANGAU man, Captain G.C. 'Donnell, wrote:

The pre-war history of the natives was of truculent groups with some experience of European plantation ways, very infrequently patrolled or visited by Government officers and, consequently, contemptuous of the authority of the Administration.⁴⁰

Dexter suggests that in the Ramu Valley, many natives were hostile to intruders whoever they were, and this may have been so in parts of the Sepik region. In the Markham Valley, Dexter reports a senior Australian officer who thought that the Lutheran mission had done much "to sow the seeds of anti-British feeling" among the natives.⁴¹ But natives in this area who had actually been fighting for the Japanese changed sides cheerfully when the Australians returned.

Even these Japanese-trained natives were not averse, however, to changing sides, particularly because of the contrast between Australian and Japanese treatment. In one of the huts at Kaiapit were three dead natives who had had their hands and feet tied and had been bayoneted by the Japanese. Such treatment did not endear the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere to the natives.⁴²

The published writing by Australians includes many accounts of Japanese treating natives with a severity which antagonized other

natives. If the Japanese were thoroughly in command, such severity might serve the rational purpose of ensuring obedience; but where the natives had any freedom of action, it tended to be self-defeating. Feldt says that around Cape Gloucester, natives at first amiable towards the Japanese were turned against them by apparently senseless brutality. Of one episode he writes:

The natives were horrified - violence for a purpose they could understand, even for the most selfish purpose, but they could not forgive this wanton, purposeless murder.⁴³

The key word here is "wanton". The Japanese here were seigneurs who showed no responsibility to the vassals, recognized no limits to what the overlords could do.

Whether Japanese or native informants would agree that behavior of this sort was general I do not know; but there is no doubt that deprivation and impending defeat made the Japanese more demanding as masters. Shortage of supplies forced them into increasingly unpopular behaviour. Lawrence reports that on the Rai coast relations between natives and Japanese were friendly until the tide of war turned. Then in 1944 the hard-pressed Japanese demanded more and more labour, no longer bothered to pay for it, and punished severely any failure to co-operate. In retreat, they

became desperate. They robbed gardens, coconut groves, and banana and sugar-cane plantations. They stole pigs, dogs, and fowls. Finally, they shot and ate natives themselves.⁴⁴

A cult leader protested, telling the Japanese that he was responsible for their coming and that he would now work through his ritual for the arrival of the Americans and Australians. The Japanese shot him.

In the upper Markham area studied by Read, the Japanese took coconuts and bananas and pigs without paying for them. This cost them sympathy not only because people were deprived of food but because it lowered their respect for the newcomers. It was customary here to judge the superiority or inferiority of people by the abundance of their food resources. Read was told:

In their own place . . . they said they had plenty of everything. If they possessed these things their relatives would have sent some. But nothing came to them.⁴⁵

As the Japanese became visibly less well supplied it was easier for people to decide which of the two armies of outsiders was going

to be the winner. For many people that had been the great perplexing decision of the war. Mr. Peter Ryan, patrolling behind Lae in the time of the Japanese occupation, had many conversations with natives who were anxious to be on the side of the winner. He tells in his book Fear Drive My Feet how he tried to persuade people that he represented the winners.

Circumstances had made shrewd politicians of these natives, for they were caught between two opposing forces and were determined to side with the ultimate winners. They sometimes argued with me that the Japanese were so numerous that they must win. 'Look', they would say, 'you know for yourself there are now more Japanese in Lae alone than there were white men in the whole of New Guinea before. The Japanese must be stronger'. I would point to our air raids. 'If the Japanese are so strong, why don't they stop those aeroplanes from bombing them? . . . Every day more and more of our planes come over; we are getting stronger and stronger, and will soon finish the Japanese off'. . . . 'Yes, perhaps', they would say with a shrug, and go off puzzled, trying to decide whether to back the side that had many men or the side that had many aeroplanes - a small-scale edition of the problem that armchair strategists were arguing about all over the world.⁴⁶

At Oligadu, on the Huon Gulf, in September 1943, a native whose job it was to carry the pack of the commanding officer of the 22nd Australian Infantry Battalion took flight at the sound of Japanese small arms. According to the historian of the battalion, the man "became panic-stricken and took to his heels down the track towards Lae", shouting "Big fight, big fight, Ja-pan man e win". The unit never saw him again.⁴⁷ He was wrong, as it turned out; but who would say that he was irrational? Not for another two years was it quite certain who had backed the winner, and native runners were sent to spread among the villages the message: "Japan man 'e cry enough".⁴⁸

Looking back on it all, one man in a village between Madang and Wewak spoke of the contending intruders in a tone of stolid resignation. To an anthropologist this man said:

You see, we do not understand. We are just in the middle. First the Germans came - and the Australians pushed them out. Then the Japanese pushed out the Australians. Later the Australians and the Americans forced the Japanese to go. It is beyond us. We can do nothing. When a kiap tells us to carry his baggage we have to do it. When a German told us to carry his baggage we had to do it. If we did not we might be killed. All right, there it is. Take it or

leave it. Nogat tok. I didn't say anything, that's just how it is, that's life.⁴⁹

The Australian authorities after the war did not hold it against a man merely that he carried baggage for the Japanese. When the time came, for example, to decide who should be compensated for loss of land or property, or for death or injury, caused by the war, it was recognized that European notions about the obligation of citizens to show allegiance to their government were not applicable here. As Professor John Legge writes, the committee on compensation

agreed with Mr. Justice Phillips, Chief Justice of New Guinea, that natives, especially those of the Mandated Territory, had seen a number of changes in administration, from German to Australian, to Japanese, to Australian, and that they lacked the experience which enabled them to judge when a de facto government should be recognized as a de jure one, 'a question which even enlightened European governments have found embarrassing'.⁵⁰

Many natives of Papua and New Guinea knew that somehow or other they were under the King whom Australians recognized as their sovereign. I mentioned earlier the view of the war expressed to Read:

in a vague way the natives believed that its duration depended on the will of the King; when he said we had fought long enough, hostilities would cease.

When Mr. Malcolm Wright landed from a submarine in New Britain in July 1942, he was given a piece of locally made tapa cloth by an old luluai who said to him:

We would like to send this to the King. . . . Tell him that we are still his people and we look forward to the day when the Australians return to New Guinea.⁵¹

In October 1943, in another part of New Britain, Wright was recognized by a tultul who had known him before the war.

He held our hands in a mixture of joy and disbelief; then suddenly he asked, 'How's the King?' Assured that His Majesty was in good health, he began to ask questions about the war.⁵²

But it would be difficult to argue that such declarations of loyalty to the monarch, made by people knowing no society larger or less personal than a tribal community, expressed a meaningful

allegiance to the constitutional structure of which King George VI was the ceremonial head. In the Sepik at the end of the war an Australian soldier described in his diary a parade of natives inspected by Captain R.R. Cole, of ANGAU. The soldier wrote:

His little Praetorian Guard of native police always fascinates me; I am sure they would kill anyone from King George down if Cole said so.⁵³

It was not likely that the future Commissioner of Police would order his men to kill King George; but the diarist's choice of words illuminates, I think, the character of the loyalty displayed by such men. Mead makes a similar point about those natives who remained faithful to individual missionaries in areas held by the Japanese:

They were not loyal to a country - they had no country, no idea even of the Mandated Territory as a political unit. . . . they had seen first the Germans, then the Australians administer a system within which certain individuals had treated them kindly, others had treated them badly. There were 'good masters' and 'bad masters', that was all.⁵⁴

According to Mead loyalty was not really expected of natives.

The official view of the war as presented to the people of New Guinea by the Australian military administration officers. . . was simply, 'The Japanese are bad. Kill them. This was reinforced with 'We are coming back'. There seems to have been no ideological presentation more complicated.⁵⁵

The last Australian official to leave the area studied by Read spoke to the people in similar terms. Read says that when the Japanese arrived, the population had not decided on any fixed attitude towards the newcomers:

the native attitude developed out of first-hand knowledge of the invaders, and as conduct was either resented or approved, so the people arrived at their final judgment.

It was thus not loyalty which influenced the ultimate decision . . . Coercive powers are more apparent to subject peoples than abstract principles.

The view of Australian rule held by these people was that

they were subject to our Administration, that it was imposed on them, backed up with force, and that they

had to accept it or suffer the consequences. 'You have guns' men said to me. 'We have nothing. We do as the white men say. What else can we do?'⁵⁶

The illustrations I have given are all from the Mandate, which had known German rule before Australian rule and in which it was dubious whether Australians had the right to demand loyalty. But Read's observations about the coercive character of the colonial relationship may be taken to apply to Papua as well as to the Mandate. To an English observer familiar with developments in Africa, Lord Hailey, Sir Hubert Murray's system of administration "amounted to no more than a well-regulated and benevolent type of police rule".⁵⁷ It does not make sense to speak of loyalty to a regime resting so much on command and so little on consent as Hubert Murray's Papua. Moreover, consent presupposes knowledge; and it is plain to any reader of the Papuan Villager that not even the most highly educated of Papuans in 1941 were assumed to have any serious knowledge of the world outside their own immediate environment. Dr. Lucy Mair was writing of both territories when she said in 1948:

in the absence of the conception of a regime to which loyalty was due, there could be no question of disloyalty, or of co-operation with one side or the other.⁵⁸

Sir Hubert Murray himself was frank about how little the war was understood. In November 1939, he wrote:

These natives have of course only the vaguest notion of whom we are fighting against, and none at all of what we are fighting for . . .⁵⁹

He was nevertheless confident of what he called the "solidarity of the native population with the Government and the white residents generally. . ." and it seemed to him that unsolicited gifts of money which had been sent to the government were evidence of such solidarity

. . . I think that their desire (which is general throughout the Territory) to stand by us in our hour of need is of value as testimony of an appreciation of the efforts which have been made to help them in their painful ascent towards modern civilization.

Murray did not live to see the coming of the Japanese army to the country he ruled, the defeat of the white men in parts of Papua and New Guinea, the impressment of native labourers on a scale unimagined in peacetime, the appearance of a new kind of white man. He would surely have been wounded by some things the new men said

about pre-war administration when they made huge promises about the future.

In the past, you natives have been kept backward. But now, if you help us win the war and get rid of the Japanese from New Guinea, we Europeans will help you. We will help you get houses with galvanized iron roofs, plank walls and floors, electric light, and motor vehicles, boats, good clothes and good food. Life will be very different for you after the war.⁶⁰

That was the gist of an address in Brisbane to natives who had joined the Allied Intelligence Bureau. One of them, Yali, excited by the promise, passed it on to his people at the end of the war. Fogbin suggests that individual soldiers innocently encouraged hopes about as high as Yali's.⁶¹ Why can't every village have a school and good roads and decent transport? Why can't each man have a cash crop to grow and market? Why can't plantation workers get a pound a day? It was not the job of an ordinary soldier to find answers to the questions he asked on behalf of the natives.

Would any of the wartime promises be fulfilled? The central character in T.A.G. Hunderford's novel about the war in New Guinea thinks not. It is August 1945, and the Australian soldier has just told a native scout that he cannot come to Australia after the war.

There was no way of telling them that there was to be no reward for their loyalty and bravery and hospitality. Now that the white man's crying need of them was filled, they would have to go back to whatever they might salvage from their lives. And nobody could do anything about it.

They had already had their reward - a slushy poem written from the gratitude of a soldier's heart and dedicated to them, the fuzzy wuzzy angels, the Christs with black faces. But they were not angels, and they were not Christs; they were men, dirty and cruel and loyal and brave, and incapable of understanding that their blood-brotherhood with the white soldiers, who had shared the hospitality of their hidden villages and the common danger of ambush and attack, would be broken in a day.⁶²

That was not the view of Colonel J.K. Murray, who now became the first Administrator of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea.

A new spirit, new ideas, new demands and standards, have spread through the native community. I do not propose to attempt, even if I could hope to succeed, to stifle that spirit so that European employers can return to the standards of a vanished world.⁶³

The new Administrator was speaking to an Australian audience in 1946. He said of the war:

The native population suffered appallingly, caught up in a war not of their making in which they were helpless and bewildered. . . . Security, the priceless good which we had once brought to the natives, had been replaced by the memory of fear and a new knowledge of the impermanence of the seeming-solid institutions of European order. Everywhere there was uncertainty, restlessness, hardship and the desolation. . . . With a handful of experienced officers we set about rebuilding the Territory.⁶⁴

Among the returning Islanders there was a lively fear that J.K. Murray and his men were about to complete the destruction of the Territory. Osmar White renders the state of mind of one old hand, who says:

The natives are insolent - completely out of hand. They won't work. They don't want work with all this war damage money about.

And as for the Administrator:

a man who invited educated cannibals to dine with him and talk about equality with animals, animals, animals! Him, an Administrator.⁶⁵

It is beyond my scope to try to assess how far the hopes and fears of 1945 were fulfilled in the years that followed. Looking back from 1968 one may be struck more by what did not change after the war than by what did change. Despite the spirit of restlessness which Colonel Murray and Osmar White's character discerned, a colonial society survived. Were wartime observers inclined to exaggerate the elements of dislocation and underestimate the continuity of control? Was it, as White suggests, that the habit of obeying white men was hard to break? If so, why? Was the pervasive presence of military discipline a safeguard against any drastic change in relationships? Were the peoples of the region still too divided into separate villages for the coming of the Japanese to have such profound effects as it had on the Netherlands East Indies, where a nationalist movement already strong seized the war as an opportunity for revolution?⁶⁶ (And were there any substantial differences between the Australian and Dutch parts of New Guinea in their experience of war?)

The changes brought by the war were not revolutionary or straightforward; but changes there were. Few white men were as

ll placed to observe them as Mr. J.K. McCarthy: kiap in the
ndate, coast watcher and ANGAU officer in the war; senior official
n the administration of the joint Territory after the war. For
ne native people, he writes in his book Patrol into Yesterday,
ne war was both a great destroyer and a great teacher; it brought
ne end of awe and the beginnings of friendship. The spectacle of
ne white masters in defeat, he suggests, taught that there was
ot, after all, such a great gulf between white skins and black;
nd more positively, Australian soldiers conveyed the same message.

It became fashionable after the war to regard as
sentimental nonsense the legend of the Fuzzy Wuzzy
Angels, but sentiment should be judged by the times . . .
The foundations of goodwill had been laid, and the
war consolidated them . . . the natives began to
glimpse the future of their race.⁶⁷

WAR, RACE AND LOYALTY IN NEW GUINEA, 1939-1945NOTES

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THE AUSTRALIAN NEW GUINEA ADMINISTRATIVEUNIT (ANGAU)

Peter Ryan

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Grateful acknowledgment is made to all those who, over a long period, have helped me generously with information, with papers and with advice, especially those former officers of Angau and of the administrations which preceded it. Some of them are no longer alive to read what I hope they would have approved, as a fragment of a longer work which will tell in full what they did in 1942-45.

My thanks are due to the courteous and efficient officers of the Australian War Memorial, where I read the Angau War Diary.

'The civil interests of these (native) communities have been admirably cared for by Angau.'

General Douglas MacArthur

(Letter to John Curtin, 15 October, 1944)

'...when the supposed needs of the Army have conflicted with the welfare of the natives, Army requirements have triumphed.'

J.V. Barry, K.C.

(Report of the Commission of Inquiry
into ... the Suspension of Civil
Administration ... of Papua.
29 March, 1945.)

PART 1

On February 15, 1942, The General Officer Commanding Eighth Military District, Major-General Morris, issued in Port Moresby the celebrated order by which he assumed all powers of government. Thus, in bewilderment and confusion, civil rule gave place to military government in Papua. Across the border in the Mandated Territory, with more force but less formality, the Japanese had already achieved for us a somewhat similar result.

The tasks of government and law and order, the management of indigenous affairs, the deployment of native labour and the effective marshalling of expert local intelligence were not jobs for ordinary operational units. Specialists were needed, and so were created the Papuan Administrative Unit and the New Guinea Administrative Unit, commanded respectively by Lieutenant S. Elliott-Smith and Captain G.W.L. Townsend, both experienced peacetime government officers. A few weeks later¹ the two units were combined as the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit, or Angau.

It was an important moment in New Guinea history, for in the succeeding quarter century up to today, the two Territories have had one government. Peace might have preserved separate administrations for ever.

It has been said that Papuan-New Guinea unification was an Angau 'achievement'. True, Angau provided evidence that a combined government would work, but unification was really one of the happier accidents of war, perpetuated by the exercise, at last, of economy and commonsense on the part of the Australian government.

Angau's role was threefold: -

- (i) operational
- (ii) administrative
- (iii) production.

Before considering these functions, one should sketch in very roughly the background - the sort of air which Angau breathed for its four years of life.

Its officers were largely pre-war government men such as resident magistrates, district officers, patrol officers and other officials. They were supplemented first by pre-war non-official residents, and finally by newcomers without peacetime experience. Among Angau's staff in the field, there was at all times and in all places a clear preponderance of pre-war officials. There were delicate problems of seniority and of difference of

philosophy between former Papuan and former Mandated Territory officials. The pre-war European community had been a tiny one, where individuality was cultivated, sometimes even beyond the point of eccentricity, and where everyone knew everybody else's business. The petty animosities of small closed communities survived and festered in war as in peace. To them were added the frictions, seemingly inevitable, between headquarters staff and men in the field - abrasive factors alluded to more than once in official documents.² Short of shipping and virtually without aircraft, Angau had fantastic problems of communication and supply; late in August 1942, for example, it was noted that Ramu and Sepik Districts had received no stores whatever since December 1941.³ Cargo cult was widespread. For long, there were nagging doubts about the whole legal basis of Angau's existence. In Australia, in almost total ignorance of conditions then prevailing in New Guinea, missionaries, commercial people, frustrated ex-officials and just plain busybodies festered the government and badgered the overworked Lieutenant-General in charge of Administration at Land Headquarters. Finally, in Canberra, the activities and capacities of the Army and Territories Ministers it is kindly to treat as Constantine said he would treat a bishop surprised in adultery - by the discreet drawing-over of a cloak.

This, then, was the background - uncertain, unsettling, unpleasant.

In August 1942 (having handed command of New Guinea Force to Lieutenant-General Rowell) Major-General Morris became G.O.C. Angau. He was a professional soldier, a gentleman of courtesy and honour. He thought it not odd, in 1942, to take as an Administrator's beau ideal Sir William MacGregor⁴, although that great man's Papuan associations had ended in the previous century. The General took most pride in Angau, and relished especially such duties as reviewing ceremonial parades of the Royal Papuan Constabulary.

In March 1943, Brigadier D.M. Cleland was appointed Deputy Adjutant and Quartermaster-General of Angau - in effect its principal staff officer. Today, in the mountainous Angau War Diary, one can see clear evidence of the importance of this posting. The orders - especially the early orders - of Brigadier Cleland were like a brisk wind: clear, precise, with a detailed grasp of all administrative consequences.⁵ Angau had problems to the end of its days, but one never got the impression that administrative grip at the top ever seriously faltered. If critical reappraisal of some Angau policies and practices proves eventually to be warranted, it should be acknowledged at once that few officers could have done better than Angau's DA & QMG. Indeed, against the unpromising background sketched above, not many men could have made Angau work at all.

Of the unit's three functions - operational, administrative and production - a short summary only will be given, since the absorbing question is not simply how well or how ill each function was carried out; the more subtle and significant enquiry is whether the three duties imposed on Angau were essentially in conflict with each other; if they were, how did the Unit deal with the contradictions? Had Angau, just possibly, been launched into life with inbuilt schizophrenia?

(i) Operational

Whether for taking supplies forward, or for bringing wounded back, the transport needs of the troops in action were, through the whole New Guinea campaign, basically the responsibility of carrier lines provided and managed by Angau. Without Angau in the Owen Stanleys, Port Moresby might well have fallen. Kanga Force, operating in Wau and Bulolo and the hinterland of Lae and Salamaua, would never have survived without Angau's help. Though critics may point to exceptions⁶, the job in general was efficiently done. So were the multifarious duties of road and airstrip construction, camp building, water transport and so on.

Propaganda was attempted, using leaflets and radio broadcasts in pidgin, but results were hard to measure. Angau men were guides to forward troops and, frequently with their police detachments, participated in the fighting. Of the active troops in Bena Force in 1942-3, nearly one third were NCOs and constables of the Royal Papuan Constabulary.⁷ Angau also had certain responsibilities for the raising of the P.I.B.

Operational commanders found that intelligence secured by Angau scouts was beyond price or praise. Some of these patrols were fantastic in their hazards, conducted by men hungry, sick, hunted and alone. Casualties were heavy for a unit called 'administrative': the names of 46 men who died appear on the bronze honour roll in the National War Memorial. We may salute them and pass on, with the reflection that in its strictly military and operational role,

Angau's contribution to victory in New Guinea was substantial and honourable.

(ii) Administrative

In enemy occupied areas the administrative work of government ceased. In regions unaffected by conflict, things continued upon a more or less normal basis. The 'kiap' now held army rank, but patrolling, courts, gaols and all the paraphernalia of administration went ahead much as before. In the country fought over and recovered, Angau in its operational role went in with the troops, and Angau's administrative routines were set up just as soon as the area was cleared of the enemy.

The health of the village people and of the men employed by the forces and on the plantations was an administrative responsibility. In some places and in some respects, army resources gave medical treatment of a standard and upon a scale never dreamed of in peacetime. Yet on the whole, for the health of the indigenous people, the war was a disaster almost unmitigated.

Relief and rehabilitation were a major Angau administrative task. Relief often was necessary even in non-operational areas, to temper the food shortage in villages where the men had been taken away to work. Rehabilitation and relief were invariably urgent needs of vast proportions in areas recaptured from the Japanese. Distribution of food and seeds, replacement of lost tools and equipment; help with village reconstruction, urgent medical attention - these and related activities created a busy programme of the highest humanitarian importance.

When the fortunes of war improved, civilians wanted to return to New Guinea. Angau had to form a Civil Affairs branch to handle their applications, and to control those who were allowed back.

Finally, (though last neither in time nor in importance) was the administrative function of recruiting men from the villages to carry and labour for the army, to work on the plantations, and to serve in the police and in the newly-raised indigenous battalions. The subsequent repatriation of these men was a further administrative responsibility.

(iii) Production

War brought urgent need for copra and rubber. Maximum production was sought from all plantations which remained in our hands, and even minor products such as gum copal and manganese were wanted. Production was entrusted at first to Angau, and the unit's original organization was simply for a H.Q. and two branches - District Services (which carried the operational and administrative burdens), and Production Services.

Many plantations were brought from neglect to production. Expert study of the evidence is needed to tell whether achievements were as good as Angau thought they were, but the ablest and most acid pen in the Territory, that of 'Kassa' Townsend, wrote that Angau had done well. General Morris thought so too, and when in August 1942 Sir Charles Marr, a director of W.R. Carpenter, attacked the way Angau was doing its production job, and suggested that civilian planters might return, the General was indignant. Planters who had fled wanted, he wrote, to have 'Angau function for them as a wet nurse' while they run their plantations for profit. 'I will have none of it'.⁹ But ten months later Angau was 'relieved' of its production function by the Australian New Guinea Production Control Board, set up under National Security Regulations. General Morris issued a special order about its establishment¹⁰, and Angau assumed, at least partly, the role of 'wet nurse'.

Note several points about the Production Control Board:

- (a) Though a quasi-civilian body, responsible

not to Army but to the Minister for External Territories, its Chairman was Brigadier D.M. Cleland, who simultaneously was DA & QMG, Angau.

- (b) The P.C.B. dealt only with those products where substantial interests and investments were involved - copra and rubber. Smaller but sometimes vital undertakings - e.g. sawmilling and rice - were left to Angau.
- (c) Board policy, to quote its own Report, was 'complete co-operation with the owners ... [and] ... minimum interference with owners'.¹¹
- (d) There was a Chairman, a Finance Member and a Commerce Member. An adviser was co-opted in July 1943 whom 'the Board regards ... as representative of the owners ...'¹²
- (e) No person was appointed with the specifically stated duty of representing the employees.
- (f) The Board was exclusively dependent on Angau for the labour without which not a sack of copra nor a sheet of rubber would have been shipped. 'Angau is the responsible authority for the recruitment and administration of native labour and for its maintenance and welfare'.¹³ The Board paid Angau for these services and such payments became in turn a charge against the plantation using the labour.

gain one needs expert assessment of the production figures to evaluate the job done by P.C.B. At the very least it must have been reasonably effective, for in 1944 rubber tonnage exceeded the best pre-war year. It might be argued, of course, that P.C.B. could not have managed this if Angau's earlier plantation work had been bad.

The Production Control Board by no means relieved Angau of production responsibilities. The dual appointments held by Brigadier Cleland are one proof of this truth; Angau's obligation to supply and 'administer' the plantation labour force is another.

In broad terms and in breathless haste we have surveyed the creation of Angau, its achievements, its duties. We have said nothing about legal matters or about organization - both interesting studies in themselves. Nor have we touched upon the rich personalities of the individuals, both indigenous and European who were the real salt of Angau. Alas, there is not time today. But we can now ask certain further questions:

- . Did Angau's functions inherently conflict?
- . If they did, which function, if any was regarded as paramount?
- . Do these things matter today?

To seek answers will be the endeavour of the second part of this paper.

* * * * *

PART II

Recall 1942-45: a savage war, the chief Mandated Territory centres in enemy hands, touch and go whether we could hold even Presby. Our position was at best serious, and sometimes it was desperate. Compulsion applied to both military and civilian service in Australia, and with New Guinea an actual theatre of war, greater tenderness was not to be looked for there. Remember these hard facts, for to think in peacetime terms would be unreal. Having by this concession adjusted our standards of expectation, let us see what happened.

The indigenous people suffered death and destruction from bombing and shelling - whether from the Allied or enemy side matters little; they were hungry from being unable to garden and fish; they lacked medical attention, the list is long. But in a very restricted sense of the word, these were 'accidents'. They were disasters, but they were not imposed deliberately on the population by conscious and calculated policy.

But burdens of other kinds were laid upon the people as deliberate acts, and of these burdens the heaviest and most far-reaching was labour service. Had we any right to impose such service? I believe we did. If the Japanese had been likely to care for the people better than we did, our rights might have been dubious but all the evidence is that they would have been a good deal worse off under Japanese rule, so it was reasonable to expect - even to insist - that the indigenous people support the war effort.

Was labour service imposed in a reasonable and equitable way? Was the load made as light as humanity and sound administration could make it? The subject is huge and complex, and in a short paper the picture must be painted in broad strokes. Nevertheless, one can suggest some impressions.

Thoughtful Angau officers early saw potential conflict in their duties - an incompatibility between the needs of war and the obligation to protect the native people. On 15 May 1942, the Deputy Director of District Services and Native Affairs (Lt. K.C. McMullen) issued to District Officers an order which said that labour recruiting for the army must go on, it is '... our duty to do everything possible to further the war effort [but] the native population must be safeguarded'. Not more than 25% of fit adult males were to be signed on, and warning must be given if hardship appeared in the villages. Note that an 'adult male' was one apparently over the age of fourteen years.

Grim fighting in the Owen Stanleys modified Angau's thinking. On 20 August, General Morris's first circular to D.O.s referred to

'all the requirements of the fighting services ... a District Officer's first duty is to supply these ... even if a temporary sacrifice of native interests is involved'.

Dudley McCarthy says: 'The hand of military authority fell heavily on the native labour force'. From 15 June 1942, under an order made by New Guinea Force, any native might be conscripted to serve anywhere in the Territories of Papua or New Guinea, more or less upon any conditions imposed by District Officers. Natives still had to execute formal contracts of service, though it is difficult to say what meaning the word 'contract' has when one party signs under the bayonet point of a watchful native constable. Pay might vary between 5/- and 15/- per month, with rations and personal necessities provided.¹⁴

Of the carriers on the Kokoda Trail it might be said that they performed too well for their own good, or for the good of their indigenous brothers. An admiring army saw the job they could do, and immediately its appetite for carriers and labourers became ravenous, and Angau was the means to satisfy it.

On 31 October 1942, total labour strength was 7914. By the end of the year it had doubled to 16,050, and three months later it had risen to 18,446. In September 1943 it was 30,000 and by July of the following year it had jumped another 30% to a total of 40,000 under contract of service. This does not include many people serving short engagements near their homes. More men were working than in peacetime, when there were serious fears of over-recruitment and depopulation. But now, in wartime, many populous districts were Japanese-held, so that less than half the population of the controlled areas were supplying the entire levy. (Gavin Long says that at the peak 55,000 men were serving).¹⁵

We have noted already that to 'sign on' was compulsory. Quite often police patrols enforced it - another significant departure from pre-war practice. From being the independent authority who stood aloof from labour bargains, except to enforce the contract terms impartially upon indigenous employee or expatriate employer, the government officer under Angau became recruiter and employer, and no appeal lay beyond him. One need not criticise Angau for this, for what else could be done at the time, with the Japanese pressing? But it would be interesting to know whether, as a result, the status and regard of the 'kiap' underwent important or permanent change in indigenous eyes.

Recruitment in some villages was 100% of fit male adults (i.e. over 14 years of age). I myself knew villages where, in 1944, recruitment exceeded 100%, since partly unfit men were impressed for lighter duties. The villages suffered severely,

without men to clear gardens, hunt, maintain houses and canoes, etc. etc. Diet was deficient, disease mounted, the women were strained from overwork, there was in some places near-starvation and very high infant mortality, there was all the grief of separation and bereavement and that frightening apathy and loss of will to live, noted by many observers.

In 1944 attempts were begun at repatriation, and limits were again laid down (sometimes 30%, sometimes 40% of 'adult' males) beyond which recruiting should not go, or to which populations should be restored, 'if operational requirements allowed'. Repatriation figures need further study, but Lucy Mair concluded that by the end of February 1945 the net total of labour employed had been reduced in the previous four months by only 170 people.¹⁶

One often sees the phrase 'operational requirements' in Angau documents. In time of war, operational requirements do come first, but when examined in detail, they seem to embrace a surprising variety of military necessities. To be a stretcher bearer at Kokoda, to take ammunition forward at Salamaua, to carry cargo for an intelligence patrol near Madang - these are operational duties, to be sure. To labour on airfield construction or to unload supply ships - these too, are doubtless operational tasks. Depending on one's disposition to extend word meanings, even labour on copra and rubber plantations might be called operational. But to wash officers' shirts or to be a gardener in a base area - is that operational? In 1945 Gavin Long noticed the 'well drilled native waiters' who served the Lae officers' club, where 200 might dine and dance.¹⁷ Were these operational waiters? Is it possible that they might have been better employed back in their villages feeding their families, instead of the hungry officers of Lae Base Sub-Area?

The Angau War Diary abounds in complaints about the difficulties of supplying the army's evergrowing demands for labour, but it discloses only one example of firm resistance, and that not until April 1945.¹⁸ Other representations might have been made in conference, or informally, and not recorded. But early in 1945 Brigadier Lloyd arrived from Land Headquarters in Melbourne to check for himself the use being made of native labour. The Brigadier's inspection was thorough, and suddenly it was discovered that labour requirements had, perhaps, been somewhat overestimated. The Commander of Angau Southern Region found it possible to make several minor adjustments which resulted in a saving of some labour. In February, First Aust. Army demanded an extra 2825 labourers for operations in Talasea and elsewhere but, after checking labour allocation in base areas, it was able to reduce the requisition by 1000. At the same time, it defined strictly those tasks which native labour might perform. While this was being done, largely at the instance of an officer from Melbourne, Angau had been making a

survey in an effort to meet the original requisition.

We may draw the somewhat arid conclusion that, while all labour was operational, some was more operational than others, and pass on to a brief survey of the conditions under which that labour served.

Emergencies in jungle fighting can't be helped, so Australian soldier and native carrier alike accepted philosophically their cold hungry nights in the rain. I shall not here be speaking of such occasions, when the enemy was a mere rifle shot away. But in 1943 I passed through an area which the Japanese scarcely approached, up the Lakekamu River from the Gulf of Papua, and over the Bulldog Track to Wau. It was a 7-day walk over country which might conservatively be called mountainous, cold and difficult. The carriers each had a load of about fifty pounds weight. Their daily ration was one meal of boiled rice, which they cooked for themselves each night. They had each a packet of army biscuits in the mornings, usually eaten on the march, and they set out from Bulldog with a small tin of meat apiece which they ate the first day, so as not to have to carry it. Apart from his loincloth or G-string, each carrier had one 'trade' blanket. I have slept in 'trade' blankets often enough to know what they are worth in a cold place.

Simple scientific measurement shows that this ration lacks protein, fats and vitamins, and even for ordinary work could be deficient in crude calories. For arduous labour in cold mountains it was quite inadequate. Sickness rates sometimes rose higher than 25%, 14% was accepted as reasonable. Beri-beri, New Guinea mouth and tropical ulcer - all diet deficiency signs - were common.

Individual Angau officers tried to supplement the ration with local produce or extras 'scrounged' from army or the Americans, or they tried to plant gardens. At L.H.Q., memos by the Director of Army Catering and the Director-General of Medical Services show that Angau's native ration scale was condemned in 1942. It continued to be criticised until 1944, when the so called New Guinea Force ration scale was adopted. Some 'old hands' called this 'extravagance' and 'pampering'. Doctors and dietitians said it was plain food sufficient for a man doing hard work. Sickness dropped to 4%.¹⁹

Other conditions improved. Good army sweaters and blankets were supplied. Shelter, though sometimes crude and crowded, was generally adequate. Loads were reduced by ten pounds or so.

When Angau's Assistant Director of Medical Services visited Markham District in February 1944, he found carriers straight

from Wau-Salamaua areas who had not had a single rest day for over a year - not even a Sunday off. This matter, too, was adjusted, although abuses still sometimes occurred.²⁰

A wise organizational change was made in June 1943. A new and separate Native Labour Section took over these duties from District Services, handling native labour right down to the front line. Usually, a European N.C.O. labour overseer was in charge of each group of 40 natives.

There is no doubt that the new Section managed labour more efficiently for the army, but it took little initiative in improving conditions, for which suggestions came more often from the Medical Section, or from outside Angau altogether.

Medical problems were at first so large as to be beyond even the devoted personal efforts by the early M.O.s. In March 1943, Angau Medical Section had, on paper, 1 Assistant Director of Medical Services, 2 Deputies, 4 Medical Officers and 306 native assistants and orderlies. In actual fact, the ADMS (then Capt. McKenna) found himself presiding in lordly isolation over 142 native personnel (less than half his entitlement) and without one single medically qualified officer to help him. Outstanding improvements were made here, and medical treatment for Angau native labour became far better than anything known pre-war.

Some writers²¹ stress that Angau had to issue orders forbidding assaults on labourers by supervisors. Labour discipline was strict, it had to be, and sometimes blows were struck. But systematic or regular violence did not occur, and if Angau's record is not spotless, it is creditable.

The account so far is one of conditions beginning ill, and improving rather slowly, but steadily, at least they did not get worse. This was not wholly and invariably the case, and we must look now at the Australian New Guinea Production Control Board.

We have seen that the Board controlled civilian plantation owners. Though its Chairman was also DA & QMG Angau, it was not responsible to army, but to the Minister for External Territories also, for the greater part of the Board's existence, was the Hon. J. Ward. We have demonstrated that P.C.B. activities cannot really be separated from Angau.

We should look at Angau District Service Instruction No.9, issued by Lt.-Col. Jones on 3 September 1943. It orders District Services personnel to inspect regularly the plantation labour used by the Production Control Board. Individual natives are not to be asked for complaints, as this 'tends to encourage natives to 'make

court" with the result that numerous trivial complaints are received'. Inspectors may deal at once with complaints made by employers against natives, they are ordered to take no spot action on complaints made by natives, but to refer to H.Q.

So much for discipline on plantations. Now let us look at rations.

The improved N.G.F. ration covered all natives under Angau, thus plantation workers as well as carriers received the benefit, at first. But it was more expensive than the old ration, and the Board applied to have it set aside. On 17 September 1944, G.O.C. New Guinea Force (Lt. General Savige), forwarded to L.H.Q. the request of the Production Control Board to revert to the old ration scale.

Savige's letter says that as the ration recommended by the Board 'conforms to medical requirements and that the lower cost of this ration will be of benefit to the plantation owners', he requests approval to go back to the old ration.

Note two points:

- 1 Angau's chief medical man, Lt.-Col. Mack, strongly opposed reversion to the old ration.
- 2 Down at L.H.Q., Major General Sir Samuel Burston, Director General of Medical Services, wrote that the ration proposed by the Production Control Board had been analysed, and found deficient in calories, calcium, riboflavin, niacin and ascorbic acid. He went on to say 'it is quite impossible for this Directorate to approve of the suggested ration scale' and added. 'The proposed scale is a retrograde step ... and is contrary to the principles of Angau Administrative Directive No. 1 of 22 December 1943 - "Maintenance of the Health of the Native"'.²²

Yet the inferior scale was restored, and no doubt it produced the appropriate economic benefits. It produced other things, too. Angau Southern Region Commander reported in March 1945: 'Natives will readily engage for work in the Angau labour lines, but the response is not good when they are called upon to sign for plantation work'. Deficiency diseases continued to be reported.²³

By way of aside, many people will remember the celebrity earned by the Territories Minister, Mr. Ward, who had declined to be carried by natives through breakers to the beach, just a few months earlier. There is no public record of comment or action on

his part in respect of rations or labour conditions of natives employed by the Production Control Board, for which he carried Ministerial responsibility.

A few further observations at a rather difficult level are needed, before we draw the threads together.

Lt.-Col. (Professor) T.P. Fry²⁴ has pointed out that Angau did not operate at a high policy level. Weighty matters of Territory post war development were not entrusted to it, nor was it equipped to handle them. The expertise of its staff was not impressive in specialized fields such as agriculture and education. After the death on service of F.E. Williams it had no anthropologist. Much of the highly expert advice it needed came from the Directorate of Research and Civil Affairs at L.H.Q. It was this body which dealt with high policy at Commander-in-Chief and Cabinet level. Up to the end of 1944 Angau had spent less than 1000 pounds on native education. For the training of its own patrol officers Angau relied on the School of Civil Affairs, started and maintained by the Directorate of Research. Even today, after nearly quarter of a century, the Prefaces to the Laws of Papua and the Laws of New Guinea acknowledge the Directorate's part in those publications.

A measure of the talent available to Angau is found in the proceedings of the Conference of District Officers held in Moresby in February 1944. They were all men whose character and tenacity had enabled them to survive the stern tests imposed on pre-war field staff, and their sincerity and honour are not in question. But with certain exceptions (the names of Capt. W.R. Humphries and Major J.L. Taylor come to mind, and there were others) the level of thinking and the knowledge of the outside world displayed by the speakers was pedestrian and provincial.

At that Conference, General Morris said: '... native administration ... as we want it to be must take a back seat because of operational necessities'.

An observer from outside, J.V. Barry, K.C., reached a similar conclusion. 'Angau ... was an essential and valuable body to meet the urgencies of the time and it has, from the military viewpoint, been successful in its handling of native affairs, but the fact that it was a military unit has meant that when the supposed needs of the Army have conflicted with the welfare of the natives, Army requirements have triumphed...'

Nor is that all. Another detached student, Gavin Long, believed we drove the New Guinea people harder than we drove ourselves. Speaking of 1944-45, when conditions of service for labourers had been much improved, Long wrote: '... the burden of war was weighing

heavily on the New Guinea native - more heavily, man for man, than on the general run of Australian citizens'.²⁶

One final remark: If an unjustly heavy load was, in truth, laid in wartime upon the New Guinea people, it serves no purpose now to recriminate. But it is useful and important to elucidate the truth, for now Australians are being asked to shoulder quite substantial burdens for New Guinea. To be sure they are financial burdens, not blood and labour, but if the time comes when Australians show reluctance to continue this help, it will be useful to know precisely what the New Guinea people did for us during the war for five or ten shillings per man per month.

THE AUSTRALIAN NEW GUINEA ADMINISTRATIVEUNIT (ANGAU)NOTES

(The Angau War Diary is abbreviated thus - W/D.
The works cited by McCarthy, Dexter and Long are
volumes in the Australian Official War History.)

Dudley McCarthy, in Kokoda to Wau (p.43), says the merger
occurred on 21 March 1942, W/D gives 10 April, a date
used also by other writers.

W/D 22/12/43 is an example.

W/D 22/8/42.

Morris to M.G.F. 22/11/42.

W/D. The Instruction issued on 10 June 1943 (Angau Admin.
Inst. No. 1) is a good example.

D. Dexter, The New Guinea Offensives, p.609.

G. Long, The Final Campaigns, p.368. Long appears to
suggest that Angau-Army co-operation did not
become smooth until 1945 - a harsh judgment.
See also Long, p.330.

Dexter, p.599 (note).

W/D 20/5/42.

W/D 28/8/42.

W/D 27/5/43.

12, 13. First Annual Report of the Australian New Guinea
Production Control Board.

McCarthy, pp.115-6.

Long, p.83.

L.P. Mair, Australia in New Guinea, London, 1948, p.190.

Long, p.90.

18 W/D April Report 1945.

19 W/D Report by ADMS Angau.

20 See for example Long, p.326, for a bad case of gross overwork of carriers as late as April 1945.

21 Mair, for example.

22 This Directive contains phrases such as: 'The object ... of building up a robust community ... no race of people can develop or progress ... when their diet is deficient in proteins, fats and most vitamins ...'

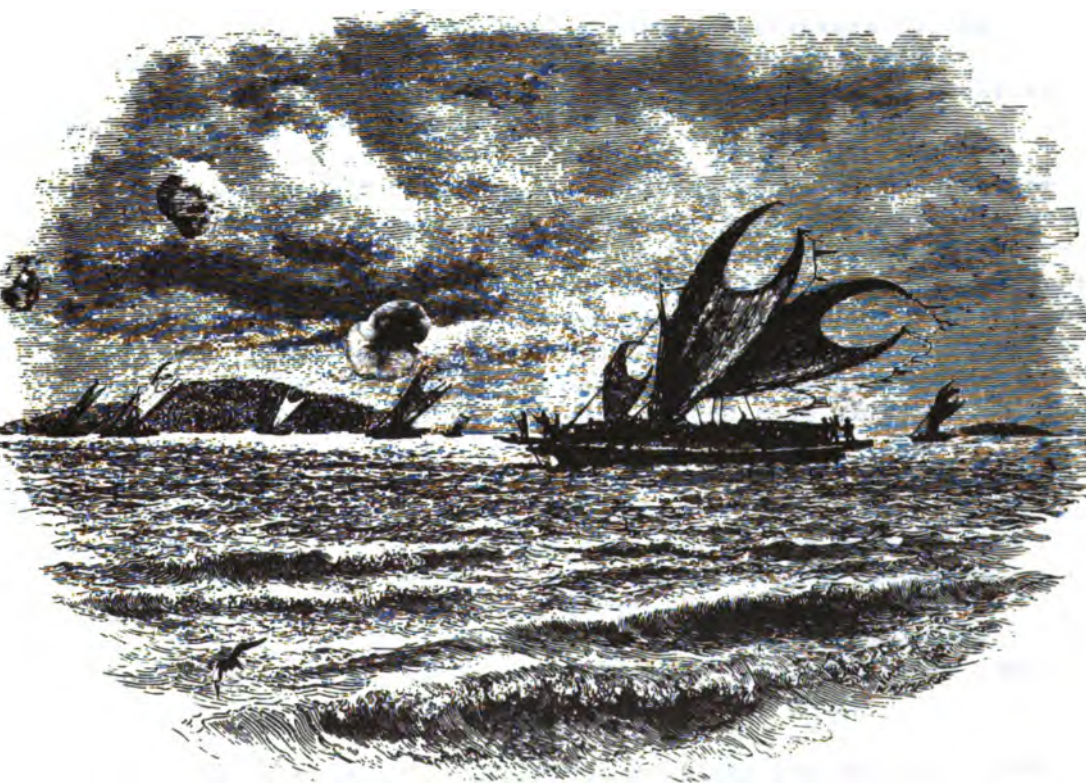
23 An outbreak of 'New Guinea Mouth' in Milne Bay in January 1945 was treated by making the native labourers chew half a lime on parade.

24 T.P. Fry, Relief and Rehabilitation in Australia's Territories in New Guinea, a paper prepared in 1945 for the Australian Institute of International Affairs.

25 Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the circumstances relating to the suspension of the Civil Administration of the Territory of Papua in February 1942, paragraph 188.

26 Long, p.83.

VII OTHER PAPERS



THE IMPACT OF WESTERN CULTURE ON SOLOMON

ISLANDS SOCIETY: A MELANESIAN REACTION.

Francis Bugotu

Introduction and Background

Melanesian history is not tied to Time. Both time and history are relative to the cultural values and practices of particular societies.

Today's Melanesia is so interesting and objectively challenging, that it is a pity that it is so little known to thinkers of the world, and even of the Pacific region. It offers wonderful opportunities for study and research. The field is wide and varied and soon it will be too late.

In the Solomons, great changes are taking place, for better or for worse. The eye is impressed by a lot of it, but a great deal more change than is generally realised, involving deeper, intimate and more important issues, is going on in the mind of the Melanesian: this is the IMPACT that the outside eye finds difficult to understand though it can be understood by those who try with humility. These invisible changes in the indigenous people are not appreciated by outsiders until often it is too late and events have surfaced in undesirable forms.

The 1945/46 "Marching-Rule" movement in the Solomons is an example of dissatisfaction aimed not directly at the British, not entirely because we were over-awed with American generosity and wealth, but because through the conflict of cultures, - the non-recognition of our own against theirs, and the eye-opening experience of the period, we didn't know what to expect next. We did not want to be too British.

We still now do not wish to be too British, nor American. We want to remain Solomon Islanders and feel that any development and change to come must be based on what is good in our culture. Only then will all developments be understood and meaningful.

Many foreigners are either unable or uninterested to find out from the Melanesian, the full value of the Melanesian culture, or whether he has any culture at all. The newcomer is often immediately warned and told stories of the Solomon Island savage, of heathenism and cannibalism. These stories and alleged peculiarities of the Melanesian in the past are perpetuated for the present and future

out of historical contexts to excuse the practices of the foreign culture and those who look down on Melanesians being too simple to have a culture. Without realising it the European is continually influencing the Melanesian to think of his own culture as being inferior and belonging to the past.

Thus for some young Melanesians today the ultimate goal in life is: to acquire a pair of white stockings with a pair of black shoes to wear to a Sunday Service. For some it may be the hairstyle with strips of ribbon hanging over the ears like a prized cow in an Agricultural show, or the ability to consume much beer, and to attend many picture shows. For others the mini-skirt and modern dance constitute civilisation. No longer do many of our youngsters esteem the value of basket-weaving, pattern-weaving, figure-carving, canoe-making and mother-of-pearl-decorating, of communal meeting house building projects where art displayed the meaning of our culture.

To many of my generation today, these belong to the old World. We laugh about them, and are genuinely ashamed to own and talk about them in front of Europeans. And yet our hearts cry out self-betrayal from the inside. Is this not an IMPACT?

Many Europeans have said to me, "It's a shame that you are losing all your own things of so much beauty". Very true. But their culture has helped to do this for us. They do not seem to realise that we have a sense of values based intrinsically in our own way of life. We can't just accept dollars and cents as being more valuable than land, wives and pigs overnight.

The Religious Aspect

Our beliefs were binding with the spirits we worshipped and the transfer to other faiths such as Christianity was easy only because the level of transfer was at the conditional "faith-and-belief" level and not necessarily for its intellectual or even "common-sense" content. Otherwise, we would know or would want to know more clearly the meaning of genuflecting, prostrating and crossing oneself in the church. We would want to know the meaning of hymns and psalms instead of merely getting emotionally involved in their beauty of rhythm and tunes. We would question the use of foreign languages in our prayers. We would question why we should eat meat on Fridays; why we shouldn't eat pork and crab for example when pigs and crabs provide the only source of meat-protein in certain areas. We would question the demand by some churches that women wear European style dresses reaching below the knees, in this hot climate, and when money is so scarce, they are not allowed to wear simple skirts and expose their breasts. This is unhealthy for the Church and for our women. Ironically the purpose of such

measures is to encourage health-habits. Instead of the required healthy standards however, our women-folk would end up with more skin-diseases such as Bakua that apparently were never present in pure island society.

As for modesty, it is one thing that the Western culture cannot teach my culture, however scantily dressed we may appear to be.

The Melanesian woman's place in a village Society.

Our women are often being irresponsibly spoken of as "slaves" of our society. They are not. Rather they form the base of our society. Their function is real and full. Fuller than the lip-stick hairstyles, mini-skirts, eye-lash pencils and nail-varnishes which turn a woman into a slave to fashion in a world of superficial quantity rather than of quality. The so-called freedom has weakened the man to subjection in a world created and controlled by the woman in a function unreal and in many ways insensible.

Emancipation? - What emancipation? The woman will always be the base of a society whatever turn or form it takes, and society will mainly be what the woman makes out of it.

In a matrilineal society like mine, the woman has, and the man is unimportant. Whatever the man acquires becomes the woman's. How then could she be a slave? She fulfils at her own wish, at her family's wish and at her husband's wish, all the functions as dictated by society-codes to the fullest of her abilities. She doesn't have to be told to work as hard as she does, to carry as much as she does and to look after her children as well as she does. Society is the judge and she knows it.

She knows also that she is the most respected by the society in which she belongs. Her smile does not show any stings or restriction of slavery. She knows and feels she belongs, and most important of all, the society and the people belong to her.

A man contemplating marriage aims to find a good woman. Not a good mate but a good woman who will uphold standards of behaviour and be a pride to him and society. The choice of a good woman therefore cannot rest on an individual. Democracy preaches majority decisions, but majority decisions in the West are made on other issues. Our society practises it at the root, with the woman and marriage. Every marriage is a concern of society and especially of the families involved. Because society judges, the woman and the man are constantly being reminded of their responsibilities - the man to protect and command the woman, the woman to obey, contribute to and build society.

The buying of wives in primitive societies has no equivalence with the pecuniary exchanges of the West. Money is not important and certainly not the attraction. It is the woman who is valuable. The equation between a piece of shell-money or a string of dog's teeth and dollars and cents is therefore in fact nil. The more we try to force ourselves to accept foreign values and equate them with ours, the more unreal the situations become. We end up losing our values because the foreign culture is too forceful, and we are left pretending and lost.

People of a foreign culture think buying wives is stupid and silly, because they probably think that the woman is being degraded to a thing that could be bought and sold. This is not true in Melanesia. On the contrary the woman's position is in fact elevated in society. The foreign Culture judges from a different set of values. Money as they know it is not money as we know it. When recently in Foo'te village, Malaita, a girl was forced to marry without brideprice it was the women of the village, not the men, who cried their hearts out all night for her in sympathy, because they felt she was degraded and could no longer claim her rightful place and function in their society.

The question of Unity and Gratefulness

Unity is bellowed at us as if we don't know the meaning of living together. Harmonious living is almost complete in our societies. Giving and sharing are a way of life. Communal living is practised and understood very early. Communal bonds are so strong that men became jealous of their tribal groups and hate disharmony. It is this hate of disharmony which would often threaten security of a group and throw us into war with other tribes in the past, and not necessarily the hate of one man against another.

Our wars and battles were thus tribal in character and not the works of greedy dictators as in some places. It was because we knew the meaning of living together that we had to protect our own. At no stage have we become selfish individuals. Today it is a rare thing to find a genuinely rich Solomon Islander, because he would be constantly fighting against his own nature to become rich.

Even to maintain a certain European standard of living involves a constant fight against Culture, where possessions gained by one in the family rightly belong to all in the family-unit. So to refuse to accommodate the rest is to fight against sense itself, even if it is just Melanesian sense.

Herein indeed is a big IMPACT, for the Melanesian family is security, in our eyes much more valuable than what money buys in

Life Assurance Policies, Pension Schemes" etc. My wife and children are easily absorbed into my family if I should die now, but in a few more years they would have to be provided for by me alone or they would starve and be lost.

Europeans are shocked to learn that we have no words for "thank you", no greetings such as "Good morning" or "Goodnight". This is not the sign of an ungrateful culture. Gratefulness, sharing and giving are a way of life, accepted and practised almost unconsciously by all. When I give, I have the satisfaction of giving in a continuation of friendly relations. I wouldn't expect a verbal "thank you" because thankfulness is seen in deeds rather than in words. An individual who finds it difficult to give and part with his possessions would need to be reassured with verbal "thank you". A society that takes pleasure in giving and receiving needn't invent a word for thanks-giving.

To reiterate, the IMPACT of Western Culture on the Melanesian is found not so much in the visible changes of bigger buildings, motor ships and cars in themselves. These dazzle and to a certain extent satisfy the eye. But their impressions are short-lived and although the Melanesian is amused, the forces of such impact soon fade away. It is the apparent importance in meaning and value that the European places in such material things that puzzles the Melanesian.

The IMPACT is an internal one of equating one set of cultural values against another, persistently causing bewilderment, uncertainty and insecurity. It is lasting, since day after day the Western cultural values seem to become more and more wholly equatable with the material world the Western man continually builds for himself.

It is almost a spiritual war against the material world. The Melanesian is still largely a spiritual being, and thinks of worldly things not as important as spiritual things and elements. Should this way of thinking be reversed, so that he values worldly things more?

This was how the missionary gained easy access to the Melanesian but what he has given us is not enough now. We need to be led through the difficulties that his culture has created. The people of the culture which brought the bible to us are practising what the book says to be bad. The missionaries that brought Christianity to us were good men and women, many of whom practised what they preached and some even died that we might see the light of God. We still, however, see Europeans not as Englishmen, Australians, Scandinavians, Germans, South Africans or Americans, and not in fact even as missionaries, officials or traders, but as "oloketa whiteman".

Many Europeans newly arrived in our country also say about us: "Everyone just looks the same to me it will be sometime before I shall start knowing them as individuals".

We met Christianity at the "faith and belief" level and although adventitious roots are spreading the tap-root may be still not deep enough.

Conclusion

The history of the Solomons is in the main a copy of the history of other peoples where an advantageous culture has been allowed to dominate and indoctrinate an indigenous culture without warning, question or full mutual understanding. In the Solomons it began in 1568 with the arrival of Alvaro de Mendana.

The first items of recorded history that follow were about the good and brave European adventurers and their first contacts with the black bloody savages. - "Cannibals and headhunters who murder all they can lay their hands on, feasting on their bodies and carrying off their heads". These words from the Burns Philp's Handbook 1899 quoted in Dr. Fox's latest book: "The Story of the Solomons" were reinforced and repeated for our ears and eyes over and over again.

When I was 14, I read a similar account of me and my people written in the PIM by an European lady-journalist, and which has left an indelible sad impression in my thinking ever since.

After a list of discoverers and navigators (which to us Melanesians are not so important anyway), came the missionaries 1845/50.

Then the blackbirding recruitment for the Queensland Sugar plantations in the 1860s. These European thieves of human bodies and souls helped us to murder in 1871 another Bishop of the Christian Church - Bishop Patteson of the Anglican Church. We had already murdered in 1845 one Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church - Bishop Epalle on Santa Ysabel Island. Not bad at all, 2 bishops in our tally of murders, and the record is made to appear that we were the only ones that were murdering a lot. Nothing much is said about the sufferings on our side. Yet we fought with spear clubs, bows and arrows. The foreigners fought with cannons, guns and bullets.

We had no means of recording, but does it mean we had no history of our own? Perhaps even before Mendana? No one asked us. Past history was given to us as it was effected by Europeans and as it affected them. Present trends are unnecessarily guided by the past

to follow, not to evolve anything new, anything moreover that is based on our culture which would be meaningful to us.

I'm wary of a continual perpetuation of a type of history lifted out of its proper context both situational and historical and bent to the values of another situation and time. History will never be recorded correctly in its own place and time, with the present trends in the Solomons. It will be a negative repeat of history as experienced by already over-whelmed past Colonial territories.

In 1893 we were thankful for British protection, enforced by British law and order which we didn't understand. We were children not knowing what was good for us. We still are today, - lovable little barefooted dears with fuzzy-wuzzy hair. We learn to sing "a-ba-black sheep" and are taught the "wooden horse of Troy" for our history lesson. We are considered forever unfit to take on responsible duties - when any European is around. Perhaps over other Melanesians its possible, but over an European, no, its impossible and too humiliating an experience. This is where all the avowed foreigner's good intentions of helping us to self-determination become meaningless, mythical and ironical.

History? Certainly, for children of other lands to pass their examinations and get their B.A.'s as did their fathers before them, and of course to rule and govern according to their books.

During the last ten years, the Solomons under the British has gone through the patterned phases of Constitutional development:

- Stage I - Advisory Council.
- Stage II - Legislative Council with official majority.
- Stage III - will probably be Legislative Council with unofficial majority.
- Stage IV - Total Self-Government.

This is our history today and what comes after this is our story for tomorrow. To most of us Melanesians this must be right because the white man says so. But is it right?

The biggest issue is the IMPACT. Where is it? and what is it? It's certainly not found in all these developments, because the Melanesian and his culture are not actively involved. A dressed man we understand and are understood if at all, and we are led all the way.

Present trends make us feel we are going to be passengers all the time. But we don't want to be passengers all the time, we want to hold the helm and you don't get a sailor able to steer a ship

by lecturing to him on land all the time. He is put on the ship and given the wheel, and through rough and fine seas he pushes against the waves under the captain's eyes. It is the only way.

The IMPACT on the Melanesian is invisible from the outside. Last minute revelations forced from either within or without have always been proved by history to be wrong.

POLITICAL PROGRESS IN PAPUA & NEW GUINEA

1918-68

John Guise

My talk in this paper is to try and present to the Seminar in simple, non-academic, and in a practical way, political education, political thought, and political progress in this country.

In order to prevent myself from overstepping my own limitations, I prevailed on the Committee organising the Seminar to have the subject matter changed to the present title which would permit me to speak on this very difficult matter from the year 1918, when I was 4 years old and living with my Aunt at Wedau where I was born.

I will have to speak in a general way and begin my talk starting firstly on village political structure and growth in the immediate district from which I come. I have no doubt that there could be many similarities in principle of village political system in my areas, to other areas and districts of Papua New Guinea.

During my childhood days at my village of Wedau Dogura, I was very fortunate to have been adopted by custom as an infant, on the approval of my dear mother by one of my Aunts at Wedau. She and my mother were most careful about my upbringing and at every opportunity took me along to all the tribal and/or clan meetings, or feasts to which they were entitled to go, or were called upon to attend. Every day I used to accompany my Aunt to our gardens carrying her small "goba" (a string basket) and assisted her in our everyday life at Wedau until I was about 8/9 years when I had to reluctantly attend school. My love and affection for my dear Aunt and of course my dear mother will always remain in my heart. I believe and pray that they both be granted eternal rest and peace in the bosom of our blessed Redeemer and Creator of the Universe.

Looking back over those years up to the present time, I would say and I believe this, that there has always been, and will continue to be, for a long time, a clearly definable political system based on the order of magnitude and importance of clans forming and accommodating or ending at larger political groups.

These groups or clans through their hierarchy took care of matters that could be called political at various levels, each according to its importance. For example at Wedau the WADOBUNA, DUNI and NABUNABU clans which were the most important clans would take care of land matters, the principal structure of power in the

overall village community. There are of course other clans such as the AURANA, MANIBOIANAI, EWA and LAVARATA. Through my mother I belong to the LAVARATA clan. The hierarchy of the WADOBUNA, BOUNI and NABUNABU clans while actively seeking and taking note of the opinions and advice of the other 4 clans have in fact the final say. One is reminded of the functions of the Administrators Council where the Administrator seeks the opinions and advice of his small group of Council members but does not have to necessarily accept every opinion and advice given to him. The Administrator ultimately has in fact the final say according to law. I will give a factual example - many years ago my mother and one of my Aunts who belonged to the LAVARATA clan made application through the normal village channels of communication (a) LAVARATA clan thence to (b) the EWA clan through the Auntie who adopted me, thence to the (c) AURANA and (d) the MANIBOIANAI clans for a small piece of land on which my mother and father would settle in retirement. Groups (c) and (d) were considered to have the "ear" of the three land power structure. I might add here that my father actually came from ALEWAI in the HULA area where he is known by our grand uncles and aunts and relatives at Hula as KILA WARI. He was named after his uncle KILA-LUI who was the fighting chief of the ALEWAI village of HULA, and a chief who was intensely disliked so I am told by the KOITABU clan of the Kila Kila areas for his fighting qualities. I was never able to know whether my father actually became a member of my mother's clan to which we, his children, belong now.

The whole matter of my mother's application for land was transmitted to the power group and was considered by them, that is the WADOBUNA, BOUNI and NABUNABU clans. This power group actually sought opinion and advice from the hierarchy of the other clan leaders who submitted the request which of course excluded the LAVARATA clan. During the negotiations it was common knowledge that the three transmitting clans gave their strong support and advice to the upper hierarchy for the transfer of this small piece of land to my mother. However, the request was ultimately refused. No reasons were given for the refusal. No reasons were expected by my mother. The decision was final. My mother and Aunts in private were disappointed. They did not show their sorrow in public. My mother accepted the decision with the usual Papuan graciousness. She could not have acted otherwise for the fact that some of the members of the upper political hierarchy were in fact related to her and my Aunts by customary law and marriage. I as the son, know them to be my Uncles and Aunts or by customary law as AMAMAIAI and ALOLOIAI which means "our fathers and our mothers".

It was obvious to me that during the negotiations for my mother's small piece of land, the final decision of refusing my mother's request through our clan and related clans could have

been influenced by several factors:

- (1) My father's wish to get the Administration to buy the land from the people, instead of having it transferred by customary practice to my mother. At this crucial moment I was away from home as a Sergeant of the Royal Papua and New Guinea Constabulary stationed at Port Moresby and therefore was not able to bring advice to bear on my father's approach through the clan and through my mother.
- (2) The reactions of the upper hierarchy as the custodians of village land quite logically suspected that my father's approach to get the Administration to buy the land for my mother, was not the right approach to them according to customary law within my mother's clan the LAVARATA, and
- (3) These reactions then brought forward the view within the upper hierarchy that my father belonged to a clan in the Alewai Hula area whose clan was outside the LAVARATA clan.

In spite of this minor failure of my mother's application I could never dream of refusing to assist my Uncles and Aunts and relatives in this upper strata of political structure of the ADOBUNA, BOUNI, NABUNABU clans as well as in the AURANA, MANIBOLANAI, WA and other related clans of my home area. They too, on their part, would also be ready to assist me if I am in need of any food or shelter. I hope that I have given you a simple but nevertheless actual example of one small aspect of the daily thrust and take of village political life. One has to become a part of the village system and structure to really understand and appreciate the pressures, stresses and strains; the customary obligations, and everything that goes with it to make it tick along.

You may recall that I did make the point that there has been and will always be for a long time yet a clearly definable political system based on the order of magnitude and importance of clans forming and accommodating or ending at larger political groups.

I will endeavour to explain some aspects of this clear definable political system based on the order and importance of clans forming and accommodating or ending at larger political groups.

In order to define the political responsibilities of village clans I will give several examples.

The responsibility of regulating and ensuring a regular flow of irrigation water to the gardens would be that of a family of another clan, and not necessarily a family of the clans belonging to upper strata. The responsibility of netting flying fish would be vested in a family of another clan. The responsibility of ensuring a good harvest would be that of a family of another clan. The responsibility of being the chief servants of the leading clan at feasts would be that of a family of another clan. The responsibility of "GWERIGWERI" (sorcery) would be that of certain people of another clan, and so it goes on. All these functions and responsibilities are clearly defined political systems between the clans. However, all these energies are co-ordinated by means of regular meetings or "OGOTARA" by all the clans or by the families that hold these responsibilities to ensure that all those political responsibilities and stresses of the various clans including the upper strata work as smoothly as possible for the good government of the village community as a whole. I might add that the women play a major role in all these activities. In fact the power behind the scenes in all these activities are the women. Thus, it can be clearly seen then that the emancipation of women is already a reality. The children of the families of the clans that hold these village political responsibilities are educated in the village by their elders of these traditions, as well as their proper positions within the systems of the clan and the method and attitude of approach.

I have stated that the politics of the village clans form and end at larger political groups. For example, I believe that some of these expressions of village politics have already found an outlet through district and national organisations such as -

1. Christian Missions
2. Co-operative Associations and societies
3. Local government councils
4. Village land demarcation committees
5. The House of Assembly
6. Trade Unions, including Public Service Union, Police Union, Teachers Union
7. Political parties

You may ask me how this is possible. My answer would be if you took time off to have a close study of these district and national organisations you would find that the village clans either in my district or elsewhere in Papua New Guinea are already represented either directly or indirectly in all these organisations that I have mentioned. So it is logical for me or anyone to see the point that village politics through their respective Papuan and New Guinean representatives are already forming and accommodating themselves at larger political groups. It does seem to me that the

villager, whilst still retaining the parochial style of village politics and his village political structure as well as his representative on the organisations I have mentioned. They are both (the villager and his representative) brought to the point where they must accommodate themselves and their thoughts on a national viewpoint provided for by the political party to which they belong for support. This national viewpoint is also being provided for by Christian Missions. The recent amalgamation of the Papua Ekalasia, the Methodist Church and the United Church of Port Moresby into the United Church of Papua New Guinea is one example. You could possibly get the situation of a Tolai member of the Methodist Church, whilst still retaining his parochial style towards his village chapel, he is brought to a point where he must accommodate himself and his thoughts on a national viewpoint for the fact that his village chapel is part of the United Church of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands.

The formation of a Local Government Association of Papua New Guinea is another example. The rank and file of Local Government councillors will, I am sure, retain their village political structure and system (like his counterpart in the House of Assembly) and will also have to accommodate himself and his thoughts on a national viewpoint for the fact is, he and his Council are now part of the PNG Local Government Association which is a national body with a national point of view. His elected member in the House of Assembly will I am certain, retain his position within his village community political structure, and become parochial in matters relating to his electorate. Who doesn't? However, he must also accommodate himself and his thoughts on a national viewpoint for the fact that the House of Assembly is in fact the national parliament and the only national body that can make laws and pass national budgets for the whole country. The member of the House (his representative) will be expected to help guide the destiny of this developing nation of Papua New Guinea by debates on national issues on the floor of the House.

There are other very important organisations which help to create and channel the villager thoughts to a national point of view. To name a few - (1) P.N.G. University (2) Administrative College (3) Medical Colleges, Church and State (4) Teachers Colleges, Church and State (5) Agricultural College (6) Higher Institute of Technical Education (7) Public Service Association (8) Police Association (9) Army (10) High Schools, Church and State (11) P & T Colleges etc.

It is true that there is a general lack of political sophistication at the village level now but time will prove me right that with all these organisations that I have mentioned in my paper are in being today. The horizons of our brothers and sisters in the

villages will broaden in a shorter time than most people would like us to believe now especially a Department that is very well discussed in Papua New Guinea.

Before going on other aspects of a national character I would like to say that in my opinion I believe that village clan politics began to broaden out slowly from the village boundary on or about 1938/39. This was the year when we made contacts with the outside world by the arrival of (1) The Australian Army (2) Papuans began buying radio sets in my area and began listening to broadcasting stations from Australia and other countries. This pace was accelerated by the outbreak of hostilities in the Pacific war in 1941/1945. I will not mention any names but I still remember the night of September 3, 1939 when there were a large group of Papuans including myself sitting beside a radio set belonging to another Papuan at Samarai. We listened with wonder, silence and fear as Mr. Chamberlain declared war on Germany from London. We tried to make ourselves believe that the broadcast would not affect us at all in Papua but the feeling we had at that time was one of uneasiness. We were brought to the point where we had to recognise and accommodate our thoughts to the implications of this international broadcast from London. There was no other way.

In my opinion I believe that this process and pace of broadening village clan politics was further accelerated since 1946, by several important factors. These happenings have influenced and broadened village thoughts.

- (1) The Administration entering into the field of education, Primary T Schools, High School, Colleges, University etc.
- (2) The liberalisation of the Labour Ordinance, e.g. Cancellation of the 3 year indenture system to 1 year, increase of rural wages to plantation workers, formation of the first Trade Union the P.N.G.W.A. and subsequent introduction of Trade Unions.
- (3) The introduction of the Co-operative movement and rural progress societies and agricultural associations in Papua New Guinea.
- (4) The introduction of Local Government Councils in Papua New Guinea and the creation of a Public Solicitors office in this country to assist Papuans and New Guineans.
- (5) The successful introduction of cocoa cash cropping on village owned land in the Rabaul area by Mr. J.K. McCarthy and Mr. Cottrell Dormer on the Milne Bay District in coffee, coconut and chili.

-) The introduction of better conditions of service and salaries for indigenous members of the Royal Papuan and New Guinean Police Force, the establishment of P.N.G. Army, the Pacific Islands Regiment in Papua New Guinea.
-) The amalgamation of Papua New Guinea into one Administrative Unit with a single Administrator, and the establishment of the Australian Broadcasting Service in Papua New Guinea and later of Administration radio stations.
-) The sending of Papuans and New Guineans to the Suva Medical College for training as medical officers by Dr. Gunther, then Director of Public Health, and visits to Australia by Papuans and New Guineans as students and/or visitors.
-) The participation of Papuans and New Guineans on District Advisory and Town Advisory Councils.
-) Visits by Papuans and New Guineans to countries outside of Australia, e.g. Pacific countries, Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, America, Africa, England, Asia, Europe.
-) The appointment of Papuans and New Guineans to the Legislative Council in 1950 and the election by Electoral Colleges of the first elected Papuan and New Guinean to the Legislative Council in 1961, and the formation of the first Administrator's Council in the same year with a local member on it.
-) The impact of the visit of the United Nations Trusteeship Council under the leadership of Sir Hugh Foot.
-) The findings and implementation of the Select Committee on Political Development of the Legislative Council of 1961/63 which resulted in the election by universal suffrage of the first House of Assembly of 54 elected members. Appointment of 10 under-secretaries and Administration Council members increased to 7 elected members of whom 5 were Papuans and New Guineans.
-) The findings and implementation of the House of Assembly Select Committee on Political Development 1964/1967 which has resulted in the election of the 1968 House of Assembly of 84 elected members, 7 of whom will be Ministerial members and 10 Assistant Ministerial members, Administrator's Council to become Administrator's Executive Council - Internal Ministerial Government.

I have listed some of the major happenings which in my opinion have a lot of bearing on broadening the outlook of village clan

politics though still retaining its basic structure and village behaviour on matters parochial to itself.

I have stuck my neck out already for possible execution by learned professors and lecturers at this Seminar but in spite of this I am now going to proceed to the gallows by sticking out my neck still further, by trying to draw my own conclusions to learn how much power those grass roots of clan politics in villages have and on what national issues it will go along with in the present House of Assembly. In order to travel and draw conclusions beyond my own area in case I am taken to task I mentioned earlier that my father comes from ALEWAI HULA in the Central district of Papua New Guinea and my relatives are at HULA, KAMALI, KALO. My charming wife UNUBA is the eldest daughter of Mr. John Aukai the village chief of Lalaura in the ABAU district. He is the head of the Balarupu No. 1 clan. This clan is the senior clan of Lalaura, and is related to all the other clans at Lalaura as well to most of the clans in the Marshall Lagoon, Kapari and Aroma district. It is also related to the Tutubu Baramata No. 4, Domara. DURAM, BADUBADU, ABULA and DOM villages. The following shows a list of marriages within my family clan.

Sister - married to a young man from Delena, Kairuku	3 children
Cousin's sister's daughter - married to a Kavieng man	2 children
Brother-in-law - married to a Madang lady	1 child
Sister - married to a man from Baniara district	3 children
Niece - married at Milne Bay	3 children
Cousin's sister - married at Gabugabuna	2 children
Cousin's sister - married a Kwato man	5 children
Brother - married to a Trobriand Island lady	5 children
Son - married to lady from the Pacific Islands	-

Many of my relatives either by clan or marriage connections are in New Guinea as well as in the Northern District and Port Moresby. In my own district through my mother, I belong to the Labarata clan which is one of the clans in the district. Having revealed some of my family and clan connections, I think you will agree that I can now tread outside of my district to draw my conclusions on what national issues the village clans and people would support.

Economic Development

To give you a concrete example of what I mean by village level participation in a political matter of national importance, I will tell you something of the Minority Report on the Malaysian

and Resettlement Scheme that I submitted to the House at its last meeting in November, 1967.

I believe that my report is one which should not and must not be ignored by those who hold the economic destiny of this country and her peoples at this time. The fact that the last House passed this Report, clearly indicates -

- (a) the national support of this report from the grass roots of village clan politics and
- (b) the House has acknowledged the fact that there is a very wide gap between those who are actually benefiting from present economic development, either in land resettlement on cash cropping or in other economic ventures and the masses who do not enjoy this through the lack of opportunities.

It is obvious that I am deeply concerned about the present economic situation in the very wide gap that exists between these 2 groups in Papua New Guinea. Every effort must be made by the House of Assembly and the Administration to close this wide gap. I believe that any progressive economic development plan must have Papuan and New Guinean participation from the starting point - that is planning and then continuing through to its implementation in the field with the people in the villages directly involved in it through their Local Government Councils and field officers.

The plan must give our village peoples everywhere in Papua New Guinea ways in which they can participate with real meaning, self respect, the dignity, pride of agricultural development on the land, and a sense of belonging and being part of this economic effort. The Malaysian Land resettlement of the F.L.D.A. is one good example. I believe that this scheme should be adopted as part of the agricultural developments that are being planned for Papua New Guinea. It must not be ignored. In order to save time I would invite the attention of the Seminar to my Minority Report on Land Resettlement; copies of which have been made available to the University for study.

Within the framework of economic development the present House should move to accelerate the extension of the Co-operative movement. It should move to have the Department of Territories give proper recognition of the vital role of the Co-operative Section of the Department of Trade and Industry. I believe I am right in saying that the Co-operative movement in Papua New Guinea is much more advanced than in most parts of the Pacific and South East Asia. Yet it is sad to see this section of the Co-operative branch being neglected for so long. I personally believe that the extension of co-operatives should be directed not only to consumer societies of

small village co-operative stores, but it should extend to include shipping, buying of plantations and working them as an economic proposition, co-operative wholesale bulk stores, leasing of land and developing it into an economic proposition of cash crops like coconut, pepper, citrus fruits, mixed farming, cattle etc. It should also enter into the timber industry, fishing, etc. Of course what I have said about the co-operative movement should also be applicable to individual Papuans and New Guineans who would desire to start off on their own.

Briefly as I view it from a layman's point of view the economic problems of Papua New Guinea seem to fall under several broad headings:

- (1) The urgent need for the creation of a bolder economic development plan, be it land resettlement or otherwise, best suited to the conditions of Papua New Guinea and her society with Papuan and New Guinean participation from its inception to its implementation in the field.
- (2) The development of industries and the exploitation of the country's natural resources with Papuan and New Guinean participation. Papuans and New Guineans should not only be looked upon as the source of labour, but our people should be also trained in the administrative management and professional skills of the industries. Capital formation to create these industries should also be invited from Papuan and New Guinean people.
- (3) The transformation of rural life and the modernisation of agriculture (as I have seen it in Malaysia's economic plan) to provide the opportunity for the villager who constitutes the vast majority of the people of this country to actually participate, so that they can come out of their isolation and share in the prosperity of our country.
- (4) The situation of this wide gap of economic opportunities is between what could be termed the camp of 'the haves' which could include some of us Papuans and New Guineans as well as the expatriate community, and the majority of people in the villages. These could be termed 'the have nots'. This gap must be bridged and closed as soon as possible by a national co-ordinated effort of real partnership in all fields of economic development.

Education

I am deeply conscious of the part played by Christian Missions in the field of education. I am also deeply conscious of the

great effort and participation by the Department of Education in the fields of education. In other words I am here today only through the grace of my primary education in a Mission school, which was followed by practical education in Private Enterprise, then in the Army, and later as a policeman, Local Government Assistant in the Administration and finally a Local Government Councillor. If I do raise some problems as I see it I pray that you will interpret my thoughts as an attempt to find some answers to these problems.

I believe that education is one of the most important problems facing us in Papua New Guinea. The system of education does not seem to have, in my opinion, a national character. Speaking generally the system of education seems to be mostly based on ideas and traditions of Europe of 18th and 19th century. For example in school broadcast, the songs that are sung and taught to the children do not blend in with the traditions of this country. The opening and closing tune to a broadcast of Papua & New Guinea legends over the ABC are tunes that have no bearing at all to the traditions of this country. I also have a feeling that the present system of education seems to cultivate an attitude of looking down on the dignity of manual labour associated with agriculture development. I also feel that not enough time is allocated in schools to teach the children more about the history of Papua New Guinea on such matters as local government councils, District Advisory Councils, Town Advisory Councils and the House of Assembly and their functions and responsibilities. Maybe this is being done. My point however, is that the time allocated to this could be small when it is compared to the times allocated to the teaching of history, traditions and cultures of other countries.

Having stated my own opinions on some of the problems associated with the present educational system, it is only right for me to try and suggest a possible answer. I believe there is a way in which this problem could be overcome. I believe that a Commission should be set up with Administration, Mission and Local Government membership under a distinguished international educationalist to enquire into the problem, and to draw up a scheme for a national educational system for Papua New Guinea. Having done this it should then table its findings and recommendations with the relevant legislation to the House of Assembly for approval.

The demand for schools and teachers from the people is going to increase despite the fact that the Department of Education and the Christian Missions are short of finance and teachers. I feel that this situation could be partly met by a change of high level policy by the Administration, to explore as a matter of urgency for the much greater use in Papua New Guinea of suitably selected volunteer teachers from Australia, USA, England, Philippine Islands and other friendly countries as soon as possible.

I would like to stress the importance of the participation of Papuans and New Guineans in these matters from the inception; as a national issue it is at once instructive politically, and taken as a whole constitutes an important part of our national progress.

There are several other matters which I believe would have the support of the village clans and people, through their elected Members of the House of Assembly as a national issue. I will put them in broad headings in order to save time, on the understanding that you will question me.

Army - Pacific Islands Regiment

The apparent non-recognition of the Army.

- (a) Administration publications do not seem to include the Army.
- (b) No representative to speak for the Army in the House of Assembly.
- (c) This creates the impression that members of the Army (Papuans and New Guineans) are not part of Papua New Guinea.

Administration of Law and justice

- (a) Police Department should begin to take over all police functions from the Department of District Administration which is part of the executive arm of the Administration.
- (b) Magistrates of all courts CNM, CNA District Court. Moves should begin, to have Magistrates placed under a Department of its own and it should be divorced from the executive arm of the Administration.
- (c) Training of more Papuans and New Guineans as Magistrates or Assistant Magistrates so that there is some measure of participation by Papuans and New Guineans in the administration of law and justice.

Economic Development (General)

- (a) Loans for Papuan and New Guinean people -
 - 1) for business etc. - the time factor
 - 2) buying of established plantations, or boats.
- (b) Tariffs on commodities that can be produced in Papua New Guinea but are still being imported such as: eggs, cabbage, English potatoes, tomatoes, fish, poultry, beef, to increase the country's productivity and income, and provide opportunity for village people to participate. Tariff Board must include Papuans and New Guineans.

- c) District Development Committees - to include private membership e.g. Local Government, Co-op. Mut. private enterprise, Missions and elected Members of the House of Assembly.
- d) Residential and business sites for Papuans and New Guineans in all towns of Papua New Guinea.

Unity of Papua New Guinea

- a) Papua New Guinea as one country and one people. A Constitution
- b) Symbols to create unity amongst people.
 - 1) Flag
 - 2) National Anthem
 - 3) Name?
- c) What type of Government - Westminster or Presidential.

The concept of Government

- a) The Administration of Papua New Guinea which is in fact a Public Service with powerful executive power and its relation to the House of Assembly with elected representatives of the people of Papua New Guinea. Which of the two organisations will in fact become the Parliament and Government of Papua New Guinea.
- b) Preferential voting should be simple, as in England.

Administration radio stations

- a) Any access for elected members to speak to their people?
- b) Should stations present one point of view - the official viewpoint - like they do now or should they begin to practice democracy by permitting the private and unofficial point of view to be broadcast.
- c) Recent elections, comments and news items of Regional and Open Electorates and political education generally. Administration views.
- d) Broadcast of House sessions especially question time direct from the House to the village people on Administration and the ABC. No editing of this session.

Health

Need for a change of policy for the re-introduction of Aid Post Orderlies for villages and the training of Aid Post Orderlies to maintain elementary health services in villages.

West New Guinea (West Irian) International Politics

Free plebiscite under United Nations supervision in 1969.

Matters which would not have the backing or support of village politics in the House of Assembly

1. Alienation of Papuan and New Guinean lands as envisaged by the Director of District Administration at the recent District Commissioners conference according to ABC news service.
2. Restrictions of village people fishing on off shore reefs, outside the three mile limit, near their village areas.
3. Alienation and buying of all timber rights from Papuan and New Guinean village owners.
4. Restrictions on or abolition of the raising of pigs in villages.
5. Immigration restrictions of Papuans and New Guineans travelling between Papua and New Guinea.

Conclusion

What I have said and the broad conclusions that I have submitted in my paper, as well as the headings of broad national subjects will show I hope how my own political education started and those of my fellow Papuan and New Guinean men and women. This is with my mother, Aunts, Uncles, and relatives at the various levels of village politics within each clan. I hope also that you have been able to see how politics work from day to day at that time and even up till today when horizons are being broadened to take in matters of sub-district, district and national importance.

In conclusion I would personally congratulate in principle the Australian Government from both sides of the Australian Parliament, that is the Liberal - C. Party coalition and the Australian Labour Party in its work in accepting the findings of the 1961-63 Legislative Council's Select Committee of Political Development and the 1964-68 House of Assembly Select Committee of

political Development in establishing the House of Assembly, in setting up an electoral system under what are probably the world's most difficult geographical conditions. It is clear in my opinion that the efforts and money of the taxpayer, in Australia and this country have been spent unsparingly, and that the honourable intentions of the Australian Government are firmly believed in by most of us Papuans and New Guineans.

Broadly speaking the introduction of Papuans and New Guineans into Legislative Councils, and later the House of Assembly, and the establishment of Local Government Councils constitute the major part of the effort to bring political progress to the people of Papua New Guinea. The assistance given to us in the establishment of Trade Unions or Workers Associations as they are politely called here, must not be overlooked either; even though this assistance may not be so visible to the rank and file now, as it was in the beginning in 1960/61.

Now it is my own personal belief that political education precedes political progress and forms a framework in the minds of the people for the progress that is to be made. The difficulties experienced by most politicians and political leaders in Papua New Guinea are to be found in -

- (a) the difficulty of communication, of reaching into every village level by an Elected Member in his electorate or district, and political parties on a national level.
- (b) The apparent lack of knowledge of the type of highly sophisticated procedures that have been embarked upon by the House of Assembly.

A vital function of any elected member, or any political party on the Papua New Guinea scene is political education. This involves dissemination of information to House Members and to the general public in the villages, such as the concepts of democracy, the role played by political parties, the rule of law and the administration of justice, majority rule, what is really meant by self government, independence etc. To date I believe that these functions have been and are still being performed by the Administration. But is this a wise policy? I personally believe that the Administration political education has not had the effect of enabling a meaningful opinion by the village people on matters I have already raised as well as on the future form of government in Papua New Guinea. I believe this because the Administration has presented only one viewpoint through its pamphlets and radio stations. I believe that competing viewpoints from elected members of the House of Assembly as well as from political parties should also be communicated to the villager. This would then provide a basis for informed opinion, and the concept of

real democracy would then be in actual operation. In other words the Papuan and New Guinean villager who is on the receiving end of all this one viewpoint of political education is certainly nobody's fool.

In European societies a child is bombarded with political education by means of the newspaper that appears on the doorstep every morning and by means of radio and television. He gets a political education whether he wants one or not. The schools in most European countries add to this type of political education by including in the curriculum subjects like "Civics" or "Topics" or "Current Affairs" which treat local and even international politics. With all these channels available to him, even the most uninterested European child grows up with some sort of a national political education; a framework into which he can fit subsequent events and knowledge. This alone I believe you will agree, constitutes a very important part of political progress itself.

Apart from the "one viewpoint" from Administration radio stations, Administration publications, the election speeches by candidates during election time, and the "one viewpoint" Administration political pamphlets, not many of our people have the opportunity of receiving national political education in the ways I have first mentioned. Sophisticated institutions like the House of Assembly and to some degree Local Government Councils are more or less, the end result of political progress and education, rather than their point of departure. They seek to provide the answers to questions that are either unformed or not properly understood in the minds of the people.

I believe that there is an urgent need for our educationists to formulate a subject, call it anything you like, that will cover all aspects of local, national, and international politics for immediate introduction into the primary and secondary levels of all our schools. It is a pity that this was not done long ago. The accent in this type of programme would I imagine, be on the political affairs of other developing nations, in the case of international politics, and of democratic government generally in both the Afro-Asian and Western countries for national politics and the most appropriate of the vast material available for the study of adopting a national government system most appropriate for Papua New Guinea.

It is perhaps true that schools try in various ways to give some sort of political education to our children, but what I am talking about and what I would like to see is a well worked out subject within the educational syllabus that would give our children a grass roots knowledge of the workings of politics

also. To my own way of thinking this is perhaps more important to me than having a Papuan or New Guinean child prepared for an examination in a subject like the history of the Vikings' invasion of England.

We as elected Members of the House of Assembly, and as politicians, can do much to help with both political education and political progress. This can be done in several ways.

- a) Through the platform of the political parties that members belong to, which should be distributed throughout the whole electorate and district for the people to read.
- b) By the stand members may take on certain aspects of a national nature on the social, economic and political issues.
- c) The right and freedom of access to have elected members' views disseminated on the ABC, Administration radio stations and local newspapers including the administration newspaper "Our News" and
- d) By regular visits to our electorates and peoples which should include Administration schools.

However, I might add that elected members who are in fact politicians need a fertile and informed field to work in, and an energetic programme starting at school level can help us and the country in the long run. I might also add that in my parliamentary life from 1961 until today I have travelled extensively not only in my own electorate but in all the districts and sub-districts of Papua New Guinea. Everywhere I go I see evidence and feel sad at the lack of dissemination of broad and accurate political knowledge. For example "self government" to the villager means only one thing - all Europeans will leave. All the big firms are going to close their businesses and leave the country. The Australian Government is going to take away all its monies from the country. Papua New Guinea will be left alone with no money. You people in the villages will be left with your own politicians who do not care for all peoples in the villages etc. etc."

The interpretation of "self government" is tragic, and I can only assume that somewhere along the line of political education this view has been expressed and perhaps encouraged.

This dissemination of knowledge is absolutely essential if the elected member, the politician, the local Government Councillors are to function properly; and if the various House of Assembly Committees that travel about are to collect evidence and receive suggestions and submissions from the people on important matters concerning the

financial and constitutional affairs of our country.

For once I am not asking the Australian Government for something that is going to cost money. I am asking, I am pleading to them to review and re-organise the means they have for disseminating political education. To recognise the fact that there are elected members to this young parliament of Papua New Guinea who have won their place in the assembly by the democratic process of election, and who are in fact political leaders who must be consulted and not ignored.

To use every medium available to them to prepare our people by way of more meaningful political education for what I know will be a happy grown-up future.

EUROPEAN IMAGES OF INDIGENOUS LEADERSHIP

IN BRITISH NEW GUINEA

R.J. Lacey

Background

In the broad view, I am concerned with studying the impact of Western institutions and ideas upon indigenous leadership patterns and leaders in New Guinea. Obviously the European Age in this country brought a variety of institutions, ideas and influences to bear upon indigenous communities. It is a commonplace these days to stress the great variety of social structure and culture evident in these communities. In an earlier paper, I suggested the usefulness of adopting a chronological approach as a starting point in this type of study.¹ The chronological framework is perhaps familiar to you. It begins with an attempt to recapture and analyse the nature of leadership in traditional pre-contact society. Next, it moves to a study of the beginnings of sustained Western contact of great significance, because ideas and attitudes, formed at this time, often became the basis for the development of particular administrative traditions). The next stage was what might be called the era of the village constable and the luluai, in which experiments in native local administration begun by the Germans and British were adapted and developed by their Australian successors. The final stage is the post-war period in which new roles and institutions are developed by the Administration for indigenous leaders in the local and the national spheres through the foundation of local government councils, and the admission of indigenous members into the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly, as well as through the localisation of the Public Service. In the fields of economic enterprise and religious activity, similar developments have occurred. This is also a period in which cult leaders have come to the fore with more frequency and more variety than previously.

Looking at the question from the point of view mainly of administrative policy and practice and their impact upon New Guinea leaders, the chronological approach has obvious advantages. For example, one can readily follow the lines of development and continuity in policy from Scratchley, through MacGregor to Murray and beyond in British New Guinea and Papua. This approach has been used successfully by A.M. Healy in his thesis on "Native Administration and Local Government in Papua, 1880-1960."² Another aspect, that of the response by leaders to the expanding European administration, has been suggested by anthropologists, among them Paula Brown and J.F. Salisbury in their studies of Chimbu and Siane leaders in the

Highlands.³ Here questions are raised about the continuity or the discontinuity of leadership patterns in the situation of change and the opportunities for a wider span of influence introduced by European native administration.

This broad chronological framework is also useful for assembling a wide range of European evidence about the question and assessing its value for understanding the issues involved. The variety in types of European influence can thus be brought out and their impact assessed. However, beyond this the usefulness of engaging in building a large-scale framework ceases. It is merely the starting point, a most necessary one at that, but only that. This becomes quite evident in the process of its construction, because of the differences in the background and social milieu from which the Europeans came at different times in the sequence and faced different sets of issues about local leaders because they were in touch with different societies, having differences in culture, history, social structure and political organisation. Hence the need for studies in particularity and depth both at particular points of time across the local variety and studies of the sequence within a given locality. This approach is necessary in an investigation of a social reality as complex as leadership.

In this paper I propose to examine some of the images that Europeans created about indigenous political leaders from parts of the coastal area of British New Guinea during the early stages of contact and control. This is in no sense meant as a study of the activity and influence of the London Missionary Society, nor of the native administration of the Protectorate and Sir William MacGregor. It is a study based on European sources because my interest is to see how Europeans acquired, shaped and modified their images through the process of contact and control. The indigenous view point will be suggested only insofar as it is caught by the Europeans. It can only be adequately discovered through building up oral history in these communities about their leaders in old times when the white man first brought peace.⁴ Perhaps when this is done we might find that the people of Hanuabada or Aroma for instance, have created images like those discovered by R.F. Salisbury at Vunamani in the Gazelle Peninsula, namely that the greatest "innovators" in our sense became for the people the greatest "traditional leaders".⁵ Perhaps, or perhaps not.

The importance of these images lies in their being early ones formed by influential Europeans about influential New Guineans and their status at the beginning of the European age. They in turn became ossified into traditions and attitudes about indigenous communities and their leaders which shaped policy about what part, if any, these leaders had in the scheme of things the Europeans

ere building. Of course this European Age has a succession of beginnings with the very gradual spread of administration, mission and commercial interests. But the importance of this phase is that here it all began. It would need to be balanced by a companion study of how it all began in the Gazelle Peninsula too.

Missionaries

Since the European members of the London Missionary Society were the first men of their race to work and reside on the coast of the New Guinea mainland for an extended period, their evidence about local leaders is useful. These missionaries worked within limited financial means and with one or two of their number as roving supervisors over the South Sea Island Teachers whom they placed in most of their mission stations. This meant that the Europeans needed to assess the power situation in these places so that they could build up a string of allies to whom they could entrust the teachers' safety. Hence they were concerned to find leaders who could promote their endeavours, or at least give them some protection. In this sense this concern in some remarks by Rev. Samuel MacFarlane in a letter he wrote in 1875.

"Mr. Lawes' difficulty and perhaps danger will arise from the fact of there being no chief at Port Moresby. There are a few leading men there, but they are quite powerless to protect the mission even from the annoyance of insolent boys."⁶

MacFarlane and some of his missionary colleagues had previously worked elsewhere in the Pacific. This may partly account for their preconceptions about what constituted a "chief". MacFarlane's distinction between "chief" and "leading men" is one of the earliest recorded. But his remarks about Motu social organisation at Port Moresby bear no great weight, since he had not been there for sufficiently long to make an adequate analysis.⁷ A more detailed view of the state of society at Port Moresby comes from Dr. William H. Turner who worked with Rev. W.G. Lawes for six months during 1876. In 1878 he read a paper before the learned gentlemen of the Anthropological Institute on "The Ethnology of the Motu" in which he made some considered observations.⁸

"The Motu do not appear to have any form of Government. Every village possesses a certain number of chiefs, the eldest of the number generally having the most influence. The office is hereditary descending from father to son. The distinction between the chiefs and those they are chiefs over we cannot yet determine. The chiefs as a rule possess little or no authority, and have little power to quell disturbances. Their advice is, however, taken in any matter affecting the interests of the village. At Kerepunu the chiefs have more authority than at Port Moresby."⁹

The missionaries' concern to find a leader with "authority" over his people looms large in Dr. Turner's mind too. However, he was able to place his observations in some order. So he distinguishes between different types of chief, points out the hereditary nature of what is later called the "patriarchal" chief and readily expresses the difficulty which a mid-Victorian educated Englishman had in finding signs of a hierarchic and stable class structure in Motu society. He was also quick to point out that the Kerepunu power situation was different from that of Port Moresby.

Kerepunu also made a lasting and favourable impression on W.G. Lawes who visited there in April, 1876. Some of the most detailed descriptions of village life contained in Lawes' journal came from his impressions gained during several of these visits. From them we gain some important images of how the chiefs in this area signified their social status.

"The houses are well built and laid out in streets and squares. The village seems to be divided into districts each of which probably claims one of the nine chiefs we had on board. In each district is one house with a high peak in front and a platform before it. This we were told was the chief's house.....

"...We were all amazed at the cleanliness, order, and industry which everywhere declared themselves in this model New Guinea village. The men are physically very fine, and the women good-looking. They all believe in personal adornment. One of the belles of the place, a chief's daughter, had no less than fifty-four tortoise ear-rings in her two ears, and her nose was pierced too."10

Cleanliness may not have been next to Godliness in those days, but it certainly won for the people of Kerepunu a warm and lasting place in Lawes' heart. Perhaps this picture of order made him feel that there was real authority operating in this village.

He gives a further glimpse of the status of the chiefs at Kerepunu after a visit sixteen months later, in August 1877:

"I find polygamy is rather more common here than at Port Moresby although it is principally confined to the chiefs. Kineope has 5 wives, Ulutopa 6, Kana 3 while Akiava and Mumaona the greatest chiefs have only one. It seems they have as many houses as wives - Kineope for instance has 5 houses, his first wife lives in his big house and is his principal wife, one each with her children in the other houses...."11

He is unclear in the most annoying way about why he distinguishes Kiava and Mumona as the "greatest chiefs" other than on the grounds that they have only one wife among the plethora of wives attached to their lesser fellow chiefs. So, is conformity (may be from afar) to the supposed monogamous English society, the makings of a "great chief"?

Lawes has significance not simply as an observer and analyst of traditional Motu and Kerepunu leadership patterns. Perhaps greater significance lies in the fact that he communicated his thoughts on leadership to those responsible for shaping native policy at the time that permanent British control was being established in New Guinea. For instance he was most concerned that indigenous leaders might be unable to cope with the changed and tense situation brought about by a possible influx of prospectors after the gold discoveries in November, 1877. This is apparent in a letter he wrote in January 1878 to Sir Arthur Gordon, the recently appointed High Commissioner for the Western Pacific.¹² Later Lawes was chosen, with Rev. James Chalmers, to act as an interpreter when Commodore Erskine proclaimed the Protectorate in November 1884. Their task was to communicate the message from Erskine which heralded the opening of the New Age to selected chiefs, first in Port Moresby and then elsewhere along the coast.¹³ The Commodore depended on the advice of the missionaries as to the names and status of the chiefs. Lawes in particular because of his experience and his linguistic skill became an informal adviser to the early officials. It was at the request of Sir Peter Scraghley, the first Special Commissioner of British New Guinea, that Lawes composed a "Memorandum on the natives of New Guinea."¹⁴ This memo has a twofold value. It is the fullest and most careful statement of the views Lawes held about the nature of indigenous leadership at the time and it seems to have formed the basis for official views for some time after. It is worth considering in detail, for both of these reasons.

"There is practically no government in New Guinea. Chiefs are numerous everywhere, but they have very little power. Here and there a chief of more force of character, or greater fighting powers than his fellows exercises authority over other chiefs or villages, but these are rare. We look in vain for chiefs like those in the South Seas, such as Pomare, Maafu, Thakombau, or King George of Tonga. There are different orders of chiefs: one is a feast chief who takes the lead at feast times, and has plenty of gardens, etc.; another is a robber chief, whose office it is to plunder travelling parties, and make raids on small and weak villages; another is the fighting chief - he it is who organises and leads the warriors of his people. But the biggest chief, the nearest approach to real chieftainship, is one who stays at home, who is supposed to control and hold in check the more impetuous spirits of the robber and warrior. His word carries great weight in all the councils of the tribe, but

he has very little control over individuals, and receives very little homage or respect. Every injured and aggrieved person has to seek his own redress or avenge his own insult. There are no chiefs competent to make treaties or agreements that shall be binding on the whole tribe. They cannot ensure that their provisions and conditions will be carried out....

"...any plan (of administration) which is dependent on native chiefs for its success will be a failure, because there are really no chiefs to carry it out. The natives are not accustomed, as they were in Fiji, to work for their chiefs, or to do any public work by tribe or village. They are not accustomed to work at the bidding of their chief...."

It seems that, with the coming of the British colonial administration, Lawes is assessing the possibility of native political leaders serving this administration along the lines developed in Fiji. Lawes feels that New Guinea leaders have very little or no real authority and could not be relied upon to meet the demands of this new political order. On the positive side, he gives a clear picture of the complexity of structure and the wide variety of leadership roles: feast chief, robber chief, fighting chief and the "real chief", who exercises every-day control. On the negative side his judgement seems to have been shaped by a number of preconceptions. He has an idealized picture of what constituted "real leadership" in the South Seas, and which gives absolute value to the ranked and hereditary chiefly system there. Perhaps he also brought with him from England some expectations about what really constituted the true order of society, shaped by his living in a rigidly stratified society ruled by a monarchy and parliament. The clearest indication that these expectations were disappointed and that chaos and lack of authority were uppermost, is to be found in the comment: "Every injured and aggrieved person has to seek his own redress or avenge his own insult..." His own New Guinea experience also colours his analysis. He was disillusioned at not finding a stable political order controlled by men with sufficient authority to support and protect his missionary endeavours. Over all these preconceptions one dominates. To Lawes the order and pattern of New Guinea society is static and cannot be changed. Later in his memorandum he says "The natives are ... superstitious followers of their fathers, and it will be very difficult to get them out of the rut of many generations." This is the way things are and have been, therefore there is little hope of change or of these leaders adapting to changed circumstances and thus "any plan which is dependent on native chiefs for its success will be a failure, because there are really no chiefs to carry it out."

To conclude this brief analysis of the way some of the early

M.S. missionaries developed images of New Guinea leadership, I want to make some comments about the views of Rev. James Chalmers. During his twenty-four years' missionary service in New Guinea from 1877 to 1901 he contacted many groups along the coast and some inland peoples. His range of contacts was, therefore, very wide for his period.¹⁵ Like other missionaries he sought out and made use of local chiefs at all times. Unlike the more scholarly Lawes, he did not leave among his records any fine and detailed analyses of political structure. However, he left many enduring portraits of the chiefly friends and allies he made on his travels.¹⁶ One of the most characteristic is the description he gave in the course of an address to the Royal Geographical Society on 17 January 1887.¹⁷

"...On getting up to the village of Vailala, I landed and made friends with a chief, who gladly gave me accommodation in his dubu or temple. Many came to visit me from all parts during the few days I stayed. I was anxious to visit Namau, the cannibal district around Bald Head, but could not move on until I had seen the two Orokolo chiefs, as I wanted them to assist me. I found that Orokolo and Namau were at enmity with one another, and the Orokolo chiefs could only accompany me part of the way.

"When the two chiefs came in I gave them presents, which my host thought was wrong and he became terribly vexed and expressed himself in strong language, saying, no one had any business to come here and get presents from his white man. I too became vexed and expressed myself in strong terms, saying, I must see my friends, and that all must come and see me, and no one must interfere; that I could do what I liked with my own, and that seeing my host was angry with my friends I should return to the lakatoi and remain on board until I left for the west. I went out on to the platform and called two of the crew, who came, when I told them in a loud voice to pick up my things and take them on board. Several had armed, and so a stranger to savage affairs would have looked serious. When the men were picking up my iron box the old chief came, threw his arms round me, and tears rolling down his cheeks, begged me to stay, that he was sorry, was my friend, and I could always have my friends to see me. I gave him a small present and he at once started and got me some cooked sago. Many times in my travels I have had to take the same decided action."

Besides being an excellent example of Chalmers' melodramatic sense of occasion this vignette shows some aspects of his method of gaining status and ascendancy in a power situation and of winning allies through whom to work.

The closest he comes to theorising about New Guinea chieftainships in a paper he read to the Royal Colonial Institute a week before the above address:¹⁸ "One of the greatest difficulties with which

we have to contend in New Guinea is the want of real chiefs, men or women with real authority. I think at one time there must have been men of such position, who were respected by the whole tribe as having authority, and whose word was law. But the chiefs lost their leadership in their wars, and sorcerers weakened the power of the real chiefs or patriarchs, and assumed to themselves their authority. The nearest approach to a chief with real power is Koloka, of Naara, near Cape Suckling. She is a buxom lady who is always attended by a bevy of maidens, and when she visits the coast or other tribes, has several old and young men in her retinue. She is a woman of character and can hold her own...."

An interesting aspect of these remarks is the suggestion made by Chalmers that the Europeans came in contact with a system of leadership which had undergone profound change. Whether this is the product of his imagination, hankering after a state of affairs both ideal and more understandable to his royalist sentiments, or whether it is based on the actual past events is hard to establish. Maybe, too, Chalmers is inferring that these people have fallen from grace. However, it does show that he saw indigenous leadership not only as a complex reality but as a reality capable of and even undergoing dynamic change.¹⁹ This view is in contrast to the static view held by Lawes.

These two missionaries, therefore, as representatives of their group, had through their extensive experience acquired some sense of the complexity and to them, the chaos of leadership and authority in New Guinea. They had transferred a term from the Pacific to label these leading figures and men of influence - "chief". But in doing this, they had found that the label would not really fit the new circumstances. It is on the grounds of observed status and of office held that they distinguish leaders. They also distinguish between lesser leaders and the "real chief", the patriarch. Lawes particularly becomes negative about the authority and influence of these leaders when he considers the possibility of their being given office in the new political situation. It is this static image of chaos and lack of authority or the machinery of power that he passes on to the administrators.

Administrators

If the Report written by G. Seymour Fort, the private secretary of Sir Peter Scratchley, was an accurate record of Sir Peter's ideas, then it would seem that he was impressed by Lawes' views of political leadership. He compared the social and political organization of New Guinea with that of other Pacific areas and by comparison it was found "quite rudimentary". A "chaos of authority" was found "not only in each district but in each village", and three different types of chieftainship were distinguished. It is instru

to see the bases on which this distinction was made.²⁰

"In a single village there is not unfrequently to be found three rival chiefs, each basing his claim to chieftainship upon a different basis; there is the patriarchal chief, who is, more or less, connected by kin with all in the village; there is the man who is chief by virtue of his individual prowess in war; and there is also, perhaps, a sorcerer chief. It occasionally happened that all three attributes or perhaps two, were centred in one chief - as for instance, Koapena, chief of Aroma - but this is the exception, and not the rule.."

To Scratchley, therefore, New Guinea society presented such a confusing picture that there could not be any general pattern applied to it. However, he did find it a living society, even if his indicator for this was the rivalry everywhere of chiefs. He thus decided to cut through this incomprehensible confusion of leadership and build a native administration based on government chiefs. This flowed from the principle to which he held, that "New Guinea must be governed for the natives and by the natives."²¹ Men with the authority that Koapena of Aroma seemed to possess may have been ideal for this purpose. But lacking such leaders, Scratchley borrowed and adapted a model from the Dutch in Java rather than from the British in Fiji. Through this system it was proposed to "crush out the minor chiefs" in each district and create a tribal chief who would also be a paid British official. He would be responsible for the maintenance of law and order and the safety of all foreigners as well as being the trustee for lands.²² Captain Cyprian Bridge had suggested in correspondence with Scratchley that this man should not only be "the real chief" but that customs relating to succession should be investigated so that the succession of the official chiefs could be fixed by the administration.²³ This scheme was never launched by Scratchley since death caught him before he had a chance to implement his plans.

Leaving aside the ideas of those who followed Scratchley in the protectorate administration, I want to consider Sir William MacGregor. There is a growing body of literature on his administration and particularly concerning aspects of his native policy.²⁴ That he laid foundations and developed policies that were later extended by Murray, is now an accepted fact. Ideally I would wish to analyse his public and private utterances and his administrative and personal actions to find the origins and trace the development of his understanding of New Guinea leadership and its place in his scheme of things. However, this necessary task would be work enough for one monograph. All I can hope to achieve here is to sketch out some of the images formed and hint at the way his thoughts were developing during his ten years' in office.

MacGregor was, first and foremost, a tough, practical

administrator, with a very thin budget and bent on achieving what he considered was something lasting and worthwhile in the limited time allowed to him. I would also suggest that he had a clear sense of his own status and his almost absolute authority at the centre of power. All this coloured his attitude to indigenous leaders. This is immediately apparent in the accounts he gives of his encounters with Enamakala, the Trobriand "paramount chief" as he dubbed him, and his early encounters with Koapena of Aroma.²⁵ These situations are sensed as challenges to be met by him and as opportunities for him to assert the superiority of his power.

There are two revealing statements, one made early in his "reign" and the other towards its end, which shed some light on MacGregor's notions about New Guinea leadership. The first is taken from a despatch written on 31 August, 1889, a little less than a year after his arrival in Port Moresby.²⁶

"It cannot be too frequently repeated that the Papuan is far behind the Polynesian in political development. Each Papuan village suffers from the multiple rule decried in Ionic song for the last 3000 years. The Papuan elder has never at any period of his life rendered obedience, never acknowledged an established authority and there are few or none that have been able to rule save on narrow and precarious tenure. Hence the difficulty of introducing law and of creating small centres of controlling authority is enormous."

It had not taken MacGregor long to measure the powers of Papuan leaders against an idealized yardstick of Polynesian political structure and to find the Papuans wanting. It was clear, in this statement of great frustration, that MacGregor's purpose was to find one "real leader" to be a man for the government. The Annual Report for 1890 bore this out. He spoke there about the endeavours that were being made "to strengthen the position of a number of the leading men in certain tribes, so as to increase their authority and to put on them some responsibility towards the Government."²⁷ At this time there is more guarded optimism about the experiment with government chiefs succeeding. By the end of 1892 he had turned from this experiment and promulgated a Native Regulation Board ordinance setting up village constables, with definite police powers as the "servant of the Government".²⁸ His frustration with the "real chiefs", his lack of support of them in their new office and his lack of funds ended the experiment with the Fiji system of ruling through local leaders.²⁹ Hence the final condemnation of these leaders in the second statement.

In this MacGregor analyses the ills of New Guinea leaders for his fellow Scotsmen:³⁰

"In social combination the Papuans are probably among the most primitive races of mankind.... There are heads of families with some influence and such are distinguished individuals, and there are families that receive greater consideration than others; but with the sole exception of the Kiriwina group, there is no such thing as a chief, in the Fijian, Tongan or Samoan sense, in the whole of the possession so far as it is known.

"There is no such thing as a village, tribal or district council of elders. Plots, plans and common action are concerted by 'asides', by much whispering and sometimes by a few public speeches from someone that wishes to distinguish himself at the expense of the neighbours of the community. There is indeed in a Papuan village no one that could summon a council or compel attendance at it, or that could venture to enforce its decisions....

"The process of welding together individuals into a social unit, with an effective and recognised head, is one of the most laborious tasks of government. When chiefs are not born, or when they are not produced by the superior qualities of the individual, it is a difficult task to create them..."

Thus, exit the chiefs and enter the constables. Hence it was comparatively easy for Murray a generation later to dismiss as disguised and misleading the use of the term "chief". To him there were no chiefs, no administrative system, no courts, no executive authority of any kind "nothing but a very problematical 'collective unconscious' and a few stray sorcerers".³¹ So the realities of Papuan political life, the dynamics of leadership and the possibility of leaders being given the opportunity to adapt to the new order all became covered over by a veil of hardened tradition. It is enlightening to see how the attitudes and ideas that formed the basis of this tradition were shaped by men like Lawes and Dalmeida, Scratchley and MacGregor.

Indigenous Leaders

By way of seeing the formation of these images in a more concrete way, I will conclude by commenting on some images formed about two contrasting but prominent leaders from this period - Boe Vagi of Anuabada and Koapena of Aroma.

W.G. Lawes may perhaps have been the first European to note Boevaki. In his journal there is an entry for 2 April 1876. "Boevaki the Anuapata chief who professes to have embraced Christianity is the only one who has refrained from trading today and he makes great merit of it." In a letter written at Somerset on 12 February 1877 Lawes elaborates a little further.³³ "There is one of the chiefs at Port Moresby, Voi Vaki, who may really be called

the first fruits of the gospel there....He seems to be sincere in all his professions, is an intelligent man, of some importance as a chief..." Lawes has not left any evidence, to my knowledge, by which we may know the grounds for his seeing Boe Vagi as a "chief" nor what type of "chief" he was.³⁴ Recently the anthropologists Murray Groves and Cyril Belshaw have drawn some information from the oral testimony of the Hanuabada people. Groves indicates that Boe Vagi was "one of the very few senior men in Poreporena who had at that time fallen under the sway of the mission. In his youth a successful warrior, he was still undoubtedly a man of some standing in Poreporena....."³⁵ Perhaps more significantly Belshaw found evidence that Boe Vagi "was feared as a sorcerer".³⁶ By May 1883 he had so impressed Lawes that he was selected as one of four deacons in the Hanuabada church.³⁷

He was then to move from a position of prominence in church affairs to one in state affairs. I do not want to discuss the circumstances in which Commodore Erskine chose and invested Boe Vagi with the insignia of office as "Head Chief" of Port Moresby.³⁸ One local story told to Belshaw was that a previous naval commander had chosen him because he was the only one among his rivals who fitted the uniform which he had available for the chief he wished to appoint.³⁹ However, it seems fairly clear that despite his being "a quiet inobtrusive native, with more instinctive civility in his manner than most of his people possess", Boe Vagi was a great disappointment to a person like Anthony Musgrave, the secretary for Native Affairs under Scratchley's successor. Musgrave was relieved when this "wholly useless native" died on 1 April, 1886. Lawes mourned his passing "as an old and faithful friend to the foreigner....although he was not a strong man he was a true one. I never knew him false or wavering in his loyalty to us."⁴⁰ These contrasting obituaries speak volumes about images and expectations formed by these men about Boe Vagi.

The truth about Koepena of Aroma still evades us. He seems to have been brought into the light of the European day by Chalmers some time during 1877.⁴¹ Chalmers wrote a portrait of "our big, honest friend"⁴² Koepena in the heroic and romantic style. He was tempted to compare Koepena, a magnificent physical specimen, to Garibaldi.⁴³ "I remember many years ago seeing Garibaldi at the Crystal Palace, and the one thing that struck me most was the trustful simplicity of the lion visage. In Koepena I can see in his peculiar face and in his great frame that same simplicity - a terrible enemy, but a friend in time of need. He is about five feet ten inches high, splendidly built, having the appearance of a perfect Hercules - every muscle well defined, his gait erect and truly proud, as if conscious of power and superiority.... He has on his body over fifty tatoo-marks, representing that his people have killed over fifty men, women and children...."

Koepena remained a dominant figure in the Aroma region until his death some time between 1893 and 1895. What the traditional basis for his position of influence was is not clear. Nor is it clear what type of leadership functions he performed in his community. Perhaps Seymour Fort's suggestion that he combined several "attributes" could have been correct.⁴⁴ The accepted view among Europeans was that he was a man of extensive influence, who could place 4,000 fighting men in the field at a few hours' notice.⁴⁵ He kept in the public eye through these years because his people were so often involved in trouble and killings. Hence MacGregor's first official encounter with him on his own territory at the village of Moapa was a challenge to the autocratic Scotsman. The inevitable fall came when Koepena was disgraced by a show of force made by MacGregor in July 1893. He was even forced to hand over his nephew for trial as a murderer.⁴⁶ MacGregor's obituary some time after his death is most sour and scathing:⁴⁷

"It was customary among Europeans to think that the late Koepena of Aroma on the south coast, was a great chief; when the pinch came it was found that he possessed no authority whatever. But some years before that Mr. Bevan found that Koepena's influence was not sufficient to cause his baggage to be transported from the beach to his house in the village. He was friendly to white men, and he exploited cleverly his connection with them; but, though considered the most influential man on the coast he could not arrest one of his own tribe or compel him to carry a portmanteau."

Few of these early Europeans were able to discover the reality and subtlety of indigenous leadership at the time. They were in a new situation and brought to it ways of thinking and attitudes which produced limited, defective and, in some cases, false images of this reality. Because they were in a situation of power and change, whether they were missionaries or administrators, they tended to look for political leaders, men of authority, "real chiefs". Hence they found leaders who had no authority or influence because they did not fit into over-simplified British or Polynesian patterns. Meanwhile the realities of village life went on in Hanuabada and Aroma and these images may be caught on their side so that the balanced picture may be drawn. Perhaps on their side a negative attitude towards these strange new white leaders developed and hardened through disappointed expectations.

EUROPEAN IMAGES OF INDIGENOUS LEADERSHIP

IN BRITISH NEW GUINEA

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- 6 L.M.S. Papuan Letters 1875 MacFarlane to Mullens. Dr. A. Prendergast, Balmain Teachers' College, noted this letter for me.
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- 9 *ibid.*, p.495.
- 10 W.G. Lawes, Journal, 5 April, 1876, p.36. Mitchell Library MS. A387
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"There is no native local government capable of dealing with the difficulties which are sure to arise from the presence of a number of white men. There are no powerful chiefs, as in many of the South Sea Islands.....Every village has its own chiefs, but in the Port Moresby district, these have no power to punish an offender and exert really no authority over individuals. The natives are generally thievish, and many of the white men are licentious; difficulties are sure to arise... and there is no native power to cope with them. There is no native government that could be helped and strengthened to meet the case....." See also H.M. Chester, Narrative of Expeditions to New Guinea, in a series of letters by Henry M. Chester, Police Magistrate, Thursday Island. Addressed to the Honourable the Colonial Secretary of Queensland. Brisbane, 1878, Letter of 20th July 1878, p.4.

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W.G. Lawes "Memorandum on the Natives of New Guinea" (at the request of Sir Peter Scratchley) British New Guinea Report for the Year 1886, Appendix D. pp.24-6.

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Some of these are to be found in J. Chalmers, op. cit., Chapter 9, pp.177-232.

J. Chalmers, "Explorations in South-Eastern New Guinea", Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, 1887, Volume 9, pp.71-86.

J. Chalmers, "New Guinea, Past, Present and Future", Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, 1886-7, Volume 18, pp.88-122. See especially pp.93-4.

Perhaps the comments he made about Boe Vagi provide some more concrete proof for his interpretation:

"In all the tribes of New Guinea there are numerous chiefs, but in ancient times it was not so. They had one, and one only, whose word was law for war or peace. In the Motu tribes the ancestors of Boi Vagi...were great chiefs, and in his father's

time he alone held the power. Wherever he went he was looked upon as the ruler of the Motu tribe, and was treated accordingly.... Since his death the chiefs have never been able to obtain all his power and influence, although the chief at Port Moresby is looked upon as the principal chief of the Motu people of that and other tribes."

J. Chalmers, Pioneering in New Guinea, p.207.

20 G. Seymour Fort, Report on British New Guinea, from data and notes by the late Sir Peter Scratchley, Her Majesty's Special Commissioner, 1886, pp.14-15.

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22 G. Seymour Fort *op. cit.*, pp.14-15.

23 Bridge to Scratchley as above.

24 For instance, the work of A.M. Healy, J.D. Legge and Roger Joyce.

25 For his confrontation with Enamakala see particularly British New Guinea Annual Report 1891-2, Appendix A. "Despatch Reporting Visits to the D'Entrecasteaux and Trobriand Groups" pp.1-7; and Annual Report 1896-7, pp.37-9. His first meeting with Koepena is reported in Annual Report 1889-90. Appendix B "Despatch Reporting Visit of Inspection to District of Aroma" p.27.

26 C.O. 881/9/(141) Despatch No. 51. Enclosure by William MacGregor 31 August 1889, p.76. (I am grateful to Dr. A. Prendergast for referring me to this document.)

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- 37 W.G. Lawes op. cit., M.L. MS A389, p.49. Entry for 6 May 1883.
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- 39 C.S. Belshaw, op. cit., p.22.
- 40 A. Musgrave, "Memorandum on Native Policy in Her Majesty's Protected Territory of New Guinea" British New Guinea Report for the year 1886, Appendix D. pp.17-35. See especially pp.27, 29, 30. Note too C.O. 422 No. 2 John Douglas Special Commissioner, Despatch for 13 July 1886 on Boe Vagi's daughter as the possible inheritor of his office.
- 41 One naval officer, investigating a massacre of seven Chinese seamen at Moapa in October 1880 claimed that the Aroma people "do not appear to have any regular chiefs, Koapina being one made by Mr. Chalmers the Missionary...." P.R.O. microfilm (M.L.) 2704 ADM 122/8 No. 8. "Reports of Massacre....at Moapa....New Guinea....to Commodore Wilson.." Chalmers makes no mention of this himself, neither do Erskine, Romilly nor MacGregor.

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- 43 J. Chalmers, Pioneering in New Guinea, pp.199.
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EUROPEAN ATTITUDES IN PAPUA, 1906-1914

H.N. Nelson

The Commonwealth of Australia assumed power in the Territory of Papua with a becoming reluctance. Financial responsibility was accepted by the Commonwealth in 1901; the Papua bill, formally regulating Australian administration, was presented to parliament in 1903; passed in 1905; and proclaimed in Papua on the 1 September 1906.¹ To mark the transfer of power, Captain F.R. Barton, the administrator, gave an address "to European residents, visitors, and others" gathered in Port Moresby.² At the time there were approximately 700 Europeans in the Territory. Half of them lived in the Eastern and South-Eastern Divisions; less than thirty lived in the Gulf and Western Divisions.³ In a society in which over seventy percent of the population were men over sixteen, most were miners, missionaries or government officials; a few others were traders and planters.⁴ For thirty-two years Europeans had lived in Papua. It was time enough for impressions to harden to "truths", and groups of Europeans within Papua had come to share well defined attitudes about their environment. Already Territory residents had come to refer to the land that ruled them as "down south".⁵ The formal transfer of power to Australia and the holding of a Royal Commission in the same month gave them an opportunity to re-affirm and clarify attitudes.⁶ What did they think of the country they occupied? What did they think they could do with it? And what did they think of the Papuan people whose country they had come to share? In the written records of the period the missionaries and government officials readily gave their answers; except in their appearances before the Royal Commission, the miners, planters and traders were not so articulate. Nearly all who commented on Papua did so for people who lived overseas. It is difficult to say how far and to what extent this influenced the opinions they expressed.

* * * *

The land was extensive, broken and profuse; visual impressions varied from one area to another. The chairman of the Royal Commission Colonel Kenneth Mackay, looked at the straggle of iron-roofed buildings between Paga and Tuaguba that made up Port Moresby in 1906 and made the terse understatement, "it is in no sense architecturally beautiful".⁷ Others who concentrated their attention on the houses scattered about anywhere and anyhow⁸ generally agreed with Mackay, but those who looked to the Harbour and the clear line of the hills saw something to praise. Hubert Murray, who admitted an inclination to exaggerate the merits of his adopted home, wrote that the "true glory of Port Moresby" was the brilliant interweaving of colours at

sunset seen, by preference, from Tuaguba. Murray went on to quote Octavius Stone's claim that the view from the hills about Port Moresby was superior to those in the Swiss, Pyrenean, Scandinavian and Caucasian Mountains. Rouna Falls, then reached by a horse track, was praised without reservation (it was "noble in volume, beautiful beyond compare") by a succession of visitors.⁹ But Murray, like any other long-term resident, was conscious too, of Port Moresby's defects; without made roads and reticulated water the town was soon left brown and dusty by the dreary, smoky south-east and the prolonged dry.¹⁰

Samarai, with its neatly laid out streets and walks, its profusion of growth and colour, and its island setting, had all the qualities to meet the visitors' preconceptions of tropical beauty.¹¹ Mackay, who let his prose dwell too frequently on golden sunsets and blue waters, found he had to use extra-terrestrial images to do justice to Samarai:

The richness of colour on either shore, the lights and shades, the suggestion of sensuous content, of nature triumphant over all the lures of the artificial, made up the fairest scene I have ever known out of a dream.....I doubt if in all the world there be a more beautiful spot, for it is a cameo cut by immortal hands out of sea, and shore, and sky, and ever to me it will remain a very garden of the gods.¹²

It was the sight of Samarai, said Mackay, which first made him hopeful for the future of Papua. Parts of the south-east and other islands gave a similar delight. Henry (later Bishop) Newton wrote of the Dogura area. As with a number of other writers, it was the colours and the sunset which he chose to stress in his most lyrical passages:

Very beautiful are the lights and shades on the mountains and valleys in the late afternoon, gorgeous is the colouring of the sunset sky, violets and reds, and pinks and purples shading one into another and gradually fading away in the short twilight of the tropics.....¹³

Few men had penetrated the mountains of the interior, but Kokoda, the station furthest inland, had been praised for the wide expanse of heavily timbered and well-watered country which gave rise to optimistic speculations about the future of the area, and R.W. Williamson, the British solicitor and dedicated amateur anthropologist had thought the mountains north of Yule Island "rival the finest beauty spots of Switzerland".¹⁴

Across the Gulf and into the Western Division the mud and mangroves could not so excite the imagination. Murray wrote of

the Gulf's "repellent gloom" yet at the same time he also felt that it had "a curious fascination".¹⁵ W. Beaver, for a time Resident Magistrate, Western Division, thought that Daru with its crotons and Hibiscus could "almost be a beauty spot" but there was nothing appealing on the Bamu:

It is a melancholy and lifeless river, as lifeless as one could imagine no tropical river to be By day it has a dreary stillness, but at night when you are anchored a host of swampy sounds and the maddening drip, drip, among the trees get on your nerves.¹⁶

the waves dashed against the numerous mud bars along the coast by the south-east fascinated Baxter Riley, the London Missionary Society representative at Daru, although he too was more conscious of the vast quantities of mud than the grandeur of wild seas.¹⁷

To nearly all Europeans Papua was new, it was different.¹⁸ That difference they found difficult to define. Chignell, the Anglican Missionary, thought he had found a distinctively Papuan scene when he saw a group of village houses and their inhabitants with "tropical jungle behind the houses, betel-nut palms and granadillas and crotons and dracaenas and limes all about the station and, as background to everything, and not so very far away, the splendour of the mountains, towering golden against the sky.....";¹⁹ but Beaver could write: "Everyone realizes that the scenery is magnificent....."; that difference the Europeans were conscious of was not merely a matter of the appearance of the country.²⁰ In their writings about Papua the term "fascination" occurs frequently. The fascination lay more in what they saw happening and in their own needs which were met in Papua, than in the appearance of the country. The grandeur of the scenery was remembered for the benefit of overseas readers, not because it reflected a constant interest of the European community.

By the early twentieth century Papua had acquired such a reputation as the home of the most virulent fevers that observers found it necessary to stress the virtues of the climate and decry the opinion that it was not a country suitable for permanent white habitation. Now that quinine cured bouts of fever and temporarily stopped further attacks, Newton found newcomers to the Territory looked upon sickness almost as though it was self-inflicted and relegated to myth the old stories of communities languishing from chronic fever.²¹ The Royal Commission was faced with overwhelming evidence that the climate was suitable for European residents. The Government Medical Officer at Samarai, Dr. R.F. Jones, told the Commissioners that he had been fifteen years in the tropics and he knew no healthier tropical area.²² H.L. Griffin, the Resident Magistrate in the Gulf Division, assured the Commissioner that the type of fever found on the west coast of Africa was much more severe

than anything in Papua.²³ Even in the west the Commissioners were informed by R. Bruce, a storekeeper and a trader, "I say there is no fever and very few mosquitoes".²⁴ Faced with this evidence the Commissioners concluded: "it may unhesitatingly be said that the country has been much maligned", and they were confident that like northern Queensland, Papua would soon be accepted as "comparatively healthy".²⁵ To bolster the confidence of investors and settlers the Handbook, compiled by an energetic Staniforth Smith, added its bland assertion:

The misconception as to the unhealthiness of the climate for Europeans is fast dying out. Settlers and officials who have lived almost continuously in the Territory for the last fifteen or twenty years enjoy excellent health.²⁶

But there were reservations. Some men argued that regular periods of rest were necessary if health were to be maintained. Mackay noticed that children over the ages of four or five tended to become "flabby and anaemic",²⁷ and Murray believed that women and children living permanently on the coast would suffer a decline in health and vigour.²⁸ The answer lay in the establishment of hill stations or "sanitoria". Most centres of white population were close to areas which could serve as hill stations, although the enthusiastic Beatrice Grimshaw was obviously exaggerating when she claimed that because of its altitude most of Papua was cooler than England.²⁹ Acting upon the recommendations of the Royal Commission, the government decided to establish hill stations. In 1910 Murray could report that in the "cool and bracing climate" of Hombron Range (sic) an orchard and a vegetable garden had been established, and rest homes were planned.³⁰ Murray painted an invigorating picture of cool air, clear running water, an abundance of fresh milk, fruit and vegetables in which jaded officers and their families must have quickly refound their vigour. But the hill stations never became as popular as might have been expected - Sogeri was never to rival Poona or Simla - and the administration was soon aware that it had little money to spare for facilities to rejuvenate staff.

While Europeans of good constitution could live permanently on the coast, it was also accepted that they must dress sensibly, and it was axiomatic that they could not work with the same full vigour as those living in cooler climates. The dress recommended was a drill or duck suit with a military collar and a flannel shirt.³¹ For outside work a woollen or khaki shirt could be worn. The Handbook claimed; "The most suitable head-gear is a wide brimmed pith or helmet hat"; Beatrice Grimshaw thought the colonial felt hats were now more commonly worn than helmets.³² When A.C. English, who was both an Assistant Resident Magistrate and a plantation owner, appeared before the Royal Commission he

...d up the experience he had acquired living in the Territory since MacGregor's day. The white man, he said, could hope to do a little work in the morning and the evening; he could not work constantly.³³ The chairman of the Commission accepted his evidence: "Papua will never be a white working-man's country..."³⁴ The missionaries generally agreed. The fathers of the Sacred Heart Mission who had attempted to build roads into the mountains of the inland opposite Yule Island had suffered greatly and some had died; this was accepted as further evidence by the European community that the white man could not carry out manual labour in the open.³⁵ The Anglican Bishop Stone-Wigg was virtually alone in his belief that the Papuan was equally unfitted to labour in the tropics.³⁶ The orthodox opinion was that it was to the Papuan's physical advantage to work for two or three years on a plantation.

The period immediately after the proclamation of the Papua Act was a time of heady optimism. Papua might contain valuable minerals, an extensive timber industry might be developed, and cattle and horses might be grazed over wide areas. There was no doubt that Papua would soon be growing an abundance of tropical crops. The soil was "rich, virgin, and easily worked"; the climate was suitable; the country was excellently watered, "streams, ever flowing, and pure at the sources from which they come, are to be met with every few miles"; and there was ample land for future development.³⁷ Copra, rubber, and sugar had been proved to be safe investments; coffee, tobacco, hemp, maize and cotton would probably be successful.³⁸ The witness even assured the Royal Commissioners that in the Eastern Division there was a vast area of "good rich country" capable of supporting a large European population of planters and dairy farmers. Less than a decade later Beaver, who had tramped and daddled over much of the Division, reported that the "superlative soil was patchy" and limited in area.³⁹ Yet Beaver could still see a future for the Fly River valley as a producer of bananas and sugar. Matrice Grimshaw helped advertise the opportunities:

For the well-bred man who because of his racial pride will never say die, for the man with youth and strength and common sense, and the woman who will 'do without' and see him through - Papua is the country.⁴⁰

Men of such aggressive spirit were needed by Australia herself; the Royal Commission therefore suggested that Australia might endeavour to entice migrants to Papua from the English living in India rather than suffer the loss of some of her best settlers.⁴¹ Grimshaw would obviously have agreed with the Commissioners' belief that irrespective of origin, the future guardians of Papua's destiny should be "British in blood and sympathies".

New land and labour ordinances were passed to make easier the

way of the prospective planter. Recruits could now be signed on for up to three years, and land could be leased free of survey costs and with a suspension of rents for the first ten years. A boom in the demand for land occurred after the Report of the Royal Commission; 15,000 acres were applied for in March 1907 and 20,000 in April.⁴² By 1910, 363,425 acres had been alienated, a growth which started from a base of only 2,089 acres in mid-1906.⁴³ A further 33,073 were leased in 1911, but already forfeitures for failure to meet improvement conditions had risen to over 32,000 acres so that the real increase was negligible.⁴⁴ Comfort could still be drawn from the increasing acreage under crop:

1910-11	15,881 acres
1911-12	24,000
1912-13	35,000
1913-14	43,000 ⁴⁵

At the outbreak of the first world war the rate at which new areas were being planted had declined, and the total area held under lease had shrunk to 230,000 acres. A number of planters who had taken up land had left,⁴⁶ and shareholders in Territory plantations were beginning to show their dissatisfaction at the long postponement of any return on their capital. The Annual Report for 1913-14 estimated that £800,000 had been invested in plantations in Papua by that time.⁴⁷ In the same year the total value of the four export crops, copra, sisal hemp, rubber and cotton, was £32,798. To disillusioned shareholders the Annual Report could only recommend that they visit Papua and see the thriving plantations of the Central and Eastern Divisions.⁴⁸ Those unable to make the trip could look at the series of photographs of Giligili plantation published as an appendix to the Report; 3,500 acres of neatly weeded young coconuts, close ranks of several hundred labourers, and mounted overseers in white coats and helmets.

During the early years of growth and optimism there seemed to be only one factor that could limit expansion, a lack of labour. As fears of exhausting the labour supply rose, attempts were made to estimate the number of Papuans who could ultimately be recruited. There was some doubt about the size of the total population, but it was thought that there might be a potential labour force of only 20,000. As one labourer was required for each three acres planted, at the rate of growth in 1910 when nearly 10,000 acres were planted, it was reasonable to assume that the labour supply would soon be exhausted.⁴⁹ Murray suggested that the remedy was to adopt labour-saving devices. The steam plough, thought Murray, would enable the planter to dispense with seventy percent of his labourers.⁵⁰ But the application of such radical new aids to production would not offset the shortage of labour; it had to be admitted that an inadequate labour supply was the effective bar to

the exploitation of Papua in one generation.⁵¹ Others argued that it was essential labour be imported from Asia or nearby Pacific islands. This idea was strongly opposed by Newton, who pointed out that a White Australia entailed a Brown New Guinea.⁵²

As the rate of growth became slower, fear of a labour shortage disappeared, and the 1914-15 Report was able to state briefly that without opening up new areas for recruiting, labour was plentiful.⁵³

Although Papua was always seen primarily as a producer of tropical crops, there were times when it appeared that the discovery of minerals might transform her economy. The Lakekamu goldfield was opened up, copper was produced at Sapphire Creek, and coal was discovered. There were still hopes for extensive copper production in 1914 when the outbreak of the war interrupted plans to build a railway to connect the mines with port facilities. The discovery of oil at Vailala raised more immediate hopes:

It is certain now that we have petroleum, but it is still uncertain how much we have.....If, as we are justified in expecting, the field proves to be an extensive and a valuable one, the History of the Territory will be entirely changed, and will be moved at once, as it were, into a higher plane....⁵⁴

The Report of the following year was still optimistic, but hopes were fading by 1914-15: "The petroleum field is not likely to become immediately productive, though prospects continue to be quite favourable."⁵⁵

By 1914 the achievements of the previous years had forced the Europeans in Papua to modify their vision of the Territory's economic future. Murray could now state that the European population would never be large, in fact, "Papua [would] never be a white man's country", an admission in sharp contrast to the spirit of his evidence before the Royal Commission in 1906. Yet when he reviewed the first ten years of Australian rule Murray chose to measure the degree of achievement by selecting statistics about European plantation and mining production.⁵⁷ The area planted, he pointed out, had risen from 1,467 to 47,319 acres; and although he was conscious that he had "no very cogent evidence", he felt confident he could assert there is no longer any doubt as to Papuan agriculture; it is no longer regarded as an experiment, for its success is already considered as assured!⁵⁸ He excused the failure of production to show an increase corresponding to that of the planted area by stating that coconut palms take seven years to come into maturity. The vision had failed to materialise, but it was yet to be replaced by another. Beaver could speak of the Papuan being given an education to make him "a good type of peasant proprietor" and he commented on

the increasing sale of copra by coastal villagers: "I look on trade of this kind, where the article is produced by the natives themselves, as a most valuable and true development of the country. His was an exceptional view; most saw the Papuan as an unskilled labourer, nothing more.⁶⁰

Beatrice Grimshaw observed that white men in tropical colonies always claimed that they had "the invaluable knack of 'getting on with natives'".⁶¹ It was a conviction important for their own prestige, both when they were with other Europeans and when they were commanding their labourers. They apparently saw no contradiction in proclaiming their own proficiency in getting the best out of a "line" and at the same time accepting that no white man can ever hope to understand the ways of the native. The barrier to understanding was more than just a result of the failure of Europeans to completely master a Papuan language, although some were well aware of their linguistic inadequacy. Newton, who had made a close study of the language of Wedau during his fifteen years in the Territory, listened to the fierce and rapid interchange of the orators at a feast and commented: "If one only really knew the language, which no white man does, what an insight one would get to the thoughts and ideas of the people at feasts!"⁶² But even if he gained a precise knowledge of inflection and idiom, the European still could not gain a real insight into the thinking of the Papuan because "the minds of the white and dark races are working on different planes"; or, as Murray wrote, "the abysmal difference between the stone age and the twentieth century forms a chasm which it is almost impossible to span..."⁶³ The difficulties of understanding were increased by the Papuan habit, so it seemed to the Europeans, of acting for absurd motives. Most commentators had a selection of stories to illustrate the quaint irrationality of the Papuan. The 1907-8 Annual Report, in order to stress that the inner mentality of the people was beyond comprehension, described the case of two men from inland of Rigo who thought they might as well be hanged now all pleasure had been taken from their lives by the enforcement of the law that they were not to throw their spears at the police.⁶⁴ European beliefs about Papuan customary law and behaviour were summed up in the expression "it is pure Papuan to punish a murderer by hanging his cousin".⁶⁵

To most Europeans, whether they were planters, government officials, missionaries or occasional visitors who had their baggage carried from the wharf, the capacity of the Papuan as a worker was important; and all were ready to pass authoritative judgement. There were two directly opposed points of view. English, in his uninhibited way, told the Royal Commission on the first day it took evidence in the Territory that the Papuans were becoming "more and more slothful" and this deterioration was continuing apace. It was particularly advanced in Port Moresby where, he said, "I

not help noticing the lazy, lolloping way of the natives. They will not even get out of your way."⁶⁶ A succession of planters and traders and some government officials agreed with English.⁶⁷ At first, they were prepared to concede that in the past when the Papuan had to be constantly prepared for war he had been alert and active; but now that peace had been imposed work was left to the women and the men had declined into sloth. The opposite view was expressed by R.L. Bellamy, the A.R.M. in the South-Eastern Division, and Musgrave, the Government Secretary. Musgrave said that the Papuan was "anything but a lazy person When passing through a village you will always find them engaged at some handicraft."⁶⁸ The missionaries Newton, Stone-Wigg, Chignell, Butcher and Ballentine also denied that the Papuan was lazy, but only the Methodist Ballentine had the chance to present his views before the Royal Commission, and then he gave the qualified answer that the attitude of the Papuan to work varied from one community to another. In his writings Chignell ridiculed the idea that the European had to teach the Papuan to work; the Papuan had always worked, he argued, in order to survive he still had to work constantly at a wide variety of tasks.⁶⁹ Even had other missionaries given their opinions before the Commission, it is still doubtful whether the final report would have been altered; the Commissioners were only too ready to accept the point of view put forward by English. They concluded that the European, bringing with him peace and improved tools, had "plunged [the Papuan] into a condition of peaceful sloth". He had been forced too quickly from the stone to the iron age, and the result had been "to render him more effeminate, and correspondingly indolent and wanting in manly self-reliance".⁷⁰ The answer, of course, was to force the Papuan into habits of industry; and here the Commissioners found that their plans for rapid economic advancement and the recovery of the Papuan's manly vigour were neatly complementary. The Papuan must supply labour for the plantations because the development of the Territory's resources were impossible without him, and he must become a labourer for his own salvation.

Between the two extreme opinions held by some missionaries and planters, a number of Europeans accepted the view that the Papuan did not work hard, but that this was a direct result of his environment; he could achieve a standard of living which enabled him to survive in reasonable comfort without great exertion, so why could he work?⁷¹

Murray, although he agreed with the Royal Commission's belief that "if the Papuan cannot be induced to work he must die",⁷² did not consider the Papuan to be lazy so much as lacking in determination and perseverance";⁷³ he could not as yet be expected to work at the one task for long periods. Murray also made the odd assumption that had the Papuan ever introduced a system of slavery, bits of industry would have been inculcated into a group of people.

His assumption was a result of his belief that man went through certain stages of development; the Papuan had passed from the nomadic to the settled stage and the next "necessary stage in human development" was some form of despotism. But slavery as an institution had just not occurred to the Papuans, he believed.⁷⁴

Apart from the general debate about the readiness of the Papuan to work, there were further disputes about the merits of different groups of Papuans, and the levels of efficiency they could be expected to reach. The Handbook, addressed to intending investors, assured its readers: "The indentured Papuan labourer is considered by competent authorities to be quite equal to the 'Kanakas' of the Melanesian Islands..."⁷⁵ and that he quickly adapted himself to plantation life - " [his] hereditary occupation". Beyond that, the Handbook claimed, the Papuan had shown an aptitude to acquire technical knowledge. For those who doubted the ability of the Papuan as a craftsman, there was a description in the Annual Report of Charles Abel's workshop at Kwato Mission:

At Kwato may be seen a shed full of whizzing wheels and hissing straps, and circular and vertical saws, besides a planing machine and a lathe - all this machinery, as well as the engine and boiler, being conducted by Papuan youths without any help from Europeans.⁷⁶

The Commissioners looked at the Kwato workshop and remained unconvinced. Mackay wrote that Abel had specially selected his group of tradesmen, and that he was finding it difficult to recruit another lot equally talented. Only a small minority of the Papuans could aspire to positions calling for technical skills; the rest, Mackay believed, must remain as they had always been.⁷⁷

Opinions about which Papuans made the best labourers were even more a reflection of prejudice and less of knowledge. There was some agreement that the Kiwai made the best overseer,⁷⁸ but for the rest each employer had his favourite recruiting area where the people always exhibited the desired characteristics of "spirit" or "obedience", or were "uncorrupted" or "advanced". Ultimately the question came back again to whether the "boys" were handled in the right way or not.⁷⁹

For well over a decade the Papuans had been employed as police. The Armed Constabulary, equipped with heavy .303 rifles, bandoliers slung across the shoulder, and dressed in dark blue jumpers and red-braided ramis, impressed visitors who saw them at drill or in action. Griffith, who at one time was Commandant of the Armed Constabulary, argued that the Papuan "was fit to take his place alongside any negro troops in the world".⁸⁰ The Royal

Commissioners, after hearing of the fighting qualities of the police and seeing their soldierly bearing, believed that should the occasion arise the Empire had "some of the best material in the world for native troops" in Papua, and could quickly raise there a force of 30,000 troops.⁸¹ But they would have to serve under white officers; for native troops, it was believed, were strongly influenced by the quality of their leaders. Should the white officers not show up in a suicidal position, then their troops would remain with them; the faintest showing of fear among the officers and the men would come a rabble. Once having gained the respect of his men, the white officer could command a loyalty beyond what could reasonably be expected of human fidelity.⁸² Some Papuans, it was admitted, could make good N.C.O.s, but generally these were exceptional men. Bishop Boismenu warned the Royal Commission, "Papuan blood runs under the military garb" and unless the European officers were always present to enforce strict discipline there was every chance that the police would indulge in rape and mayhem.

Experience gained in recruiting for the police appeared to give weight to the argument that it was possible to draw clear distinctions between the aptitudes of Papuans from different areas.⁸⁴ The Kiwais made N.C.O.s, men from the Northern Division formed the basic fighting force, while in the Central Division the men were intelligent but they could not tolerate the enforcement of discipline nor did they have the power to command.⁸⁵

Few Europeans speculated on the origins of the people they lived alongside. From the writings of Seligman, Rivers, Haddon and Ray, the most generally accepted theory was that there were two main migrations into Papua.⁸⁶ West of Cape Possession were the Papuans, tall, dark people; and to the east were the Papuo-Melanesians, a more recent migration of lighter skinned people from the north and east, although it was assumed that at some time in the past all the peoples of the area had probably migrated from south-east Asia.⁸⁷ After the British Ornithologists Union expedition to Dutch New Guinea and that of Williamson to the Mafulu people, it was agreed that there was a third element in the population, the pygmies or pigritos, a group whose existence had been suspected for some time.⁸⁸ Except among those such as Beaver, Holmes and Saville, who contributed much of the basic data for particular areas, the attempts at a detailed tracing of the movements of peoples by using selected indices did not excite general interest.⁸⁹ Some Europeans wondered whether the Papuan was regressing from some higher civilisation, a belief which was encouraged by the finding of stone mortars and pestles on the Yodda goldfield.⁹⁰ Probably Murray summed up the common attitude when he wrote that the Papuan was neither progressing nor regressing and, without the coming of the European, would have remained at the same level indefinitely.⁹¹

Because (for a variety of motives) it was of greater concern to them, Europeans were more inclined to comment on whether the Papuan population was increasing or decreasing. The size of the total population was not known. Murray, Staniforth Smith and the Royal Commission, all reflecting different opinions within the government, gave the following estimates: 250-300,000, 300,000 - 400,000, and 400-500,000.⁹² Beatrice Grimshaw, in keeping with her general enlargement of life in the Territory, thought there were 750,000 Papuans.⁹³ Without more than a rough estimate of the total population, commentators could either restrict their observations to particular areas, or they could make wildly speculative generalizations about the country as a whole based upon theories explaining the effects of the coming together of two divergent cultures. In the Trobriands and in the Western Division there were repeated reports of the population declining. Bellamy claimed that the population in the Trobriands had declined by half since MacGregor's day, and he attributed the decrease to the effects of venereal disease.⁹⁴

In the Western Division it was the inland people who were said to be decreasing rapidly.⁹⁵ Jicar, the Resident Magistrate, listed several reasons for the decline; infanticide, too early marriage, lung diseases, fear of sorcery, and another factor: "the men all appear to die very young, and those that are living are much debilitated by self-abuse, caused probably by the scarcity of females".⁹⁶ For a people so blighted Murray could offer little hope:

Of course, it is hopeless to attempt to preserve these tribes if they kept up the customs referred to, and to break them of such practices, though possible perhaps to persistent and well-directed missionary effort, is under present circumstances, entirely beyond the power of the Government.⁹⁷

Other areas were more fortunate. The Resident Magistrate's report for the Northern Division in 1907 said that the population of Ioma was increasing, and in the following year there was an assurance that the population of Mekeo and Rigo was not declining. Those who made predictions about the fate of the Papuans as a whole were influenced by what MacGregor had termed "the weight of analogy" against their surviving contact with European ways; so many other aboriginal peoples seemed to be declining or even headed for extinction.⁹⁹ To some the chances of the Papuan suffering from apathy, and ultimately race suicide, seemed high. The alternatives appeared to be that either the Papuan advanced or he died. Murray in 1912 thought the "advance" need not be very far:

This racial despair is a great evil, and the best cure is to encourage those who suffer from it to work, and so give them something to live for; to substitute an industrial ideal for the old ideal of murder and bloodshed that we have taken away. Any one who has had the opportunity of comparing the condition of native labourers after they have worked for a few months with their condition at the time they signed on must have been struck with the improvement in their physique, and I think that the improvement in their morale is equally great; that is, in the majority of cases, for some of them must fall by the way, and one occasionally finds a native who might have been a decent enough fellow if he had remained in his village, but who has had his head turned by association with Europeans and has been spoiled for life.¹⁰⁰

the "industrial ideal" he had in mind was signing on for a period as plantation labourer; some would be unable to accept the new ideal, apparently because the way of life offered was inadequate but because of their own inherent deficiencies. At least Murray expected the majority to survive. More precise information about the population was obtained from the Central Division in 1915.¹⁰¹ An attempt was made in twenty-two villages to obtain the population figures for 1900, 1910 and 1915. The figures showed a slight decline in the first period but an increase over the fifteen years. Murray believed the results confirmed his earlier assumption that in those areas controlled by the government the population as a whole was neither increasing nor decreasing.

There was wide discussion of Papuan religious beliefs. Griffith wrote bluntly that "The natives of British New Guinea have no religion nor any form of worship...",¹⁰² but his subsequent comments revealed that a basic difficulty in any discussion about the religious beliefs of the Papuans was the definition of the term religion.¹⁰³ Griffith could claim that they had no religion and then go on to describe a custom in the Gulf of placing in a man's house a wooden figure to represent "the spirit of the enterprise" about to be undertaken, and he referred to a widespread belief in "spirits". In the formation of attitudes about Papuan religions, the Europeans received inadequate assistance from those who came to make objective studies.¹⁰⁴ Williamson's account of the religion of the Mafulu in his book The Ways of the South Sea Savage was most restricted to the general observation:

The religion of the Mafulu is apparently confined to a belief in, and fear of, ghosts and spirits generally, and I could learn nothing of any observances relating to any supernatural power.¹⁰⁵

Landtmann, who had lived among the Kiwai for two years from 1910 to 1912, wrote the chapter on religious beliefs in Beaver's book, Unexplored New Guinea.¹⁰⁶ His approach was to consider the religion of the Kiwais as an embryonic form of some "higher" religion. He listed the manifestations of higher religions not found among the Kiwai; they had no temples, no priests, no public prayer, no systematic belief in gods or a supreme being, no organized worship and no belief in the punishment of evil and the reward of good. And in those customs and beliefs he did become aware of, he detected the grain of other developments; the giving of presents to spirits was a "very simple form of offering", and the belief that the carved posts of the men's houses were sometimes animated was "another instance of the first development of religious ideas among the Papuans".¹⁰⁷ It was an approach unlikely to lead to understanding.

Some of the missionaries looked for evidence of religious practices and beliefs similar to those found in Christianity for the practical reason that they hoped to use them as a foundation for their own teachings. Abel, Butcher and Stone-Wigg believed they could find such a basis. "I never felt I was among an irreligious people", wrote Butcher, and he was confident the attitude of the Papuans eased the way to conversion.¹⁰⁸ Stone-Wigg gave a more detailed analysis of the elements of Papuan religions which could be used by the missions: the Papuan assumed a close and constant influence over the material world by the immaterial, he felt it necessary to propitiate the spirits by offerings and by sacrifices, he made incantations to improve the efficacy of his own actions, and he had a belief in an after-life. The Bishop summed up: "What a basis is here for the building up of the Christian faith and the Christian life!"¹⁰⁹ But the Papuan would never master the "metaphysical subtleties" of Christianity. Rather than regret this fact Stone-Wigg considered that it could be the basis of the Papuans' contribution to Christianity:

It may be that these simpler races are being gathered in at this time, in the all-seeing providence of God, for no less a purpose than this - to preserve the simplicity of the Faith. Theirs is the childlike acceptance of fundamental facts, not an intelligent grasp of metaphysical subtleties.¹¹⁰

Of those who wrote on Papuan religions, Holmes was able to give one of the most coherent and credible accounts, and at the same time display a respect for the beliefs he encountered.¹¹¹ He pursued at length the elusive ideas of the Namau people of the Gulf, particularly their concept of the imunu. In about 1910, after a decade of living among the people, Holmes claimed he gained an insight into the meaning of imunu. By persistent

questioning he had established that it was not a God as a Christian understood the term, it was not a hero-ancestor, it was not a ghost; it was intangible yet manifested itself; it dwelt in all things and made them what they were, it was the distinguishing "personality" of all species and groups. Then at the end of a day spent pondering the problem he spoke to the young Papuan about to prepare the evening meal:

"Your people say everything has its own imunu, but they also say that when a tree is felled its imunu is expelled." He replied, "That is so." "Well, then," I asked, "how can this table have an imunu, seeing that when the tree was felled from which its timber was sawed the iri imunu, tree imunu, fled to another tree habitat?" I can recall the image of that lad's face as I write; it beamed with amused interest as he put this question, "How could it be here as a table if it had not an imunu inside it to hold it together?" I did not regard this as a poser, and replied, "It is here as a table because skilled men sawed the timber from a felled tree, cut it into lengths, shaped them into legs and top, nailed and glued the parts together, and it is held together by glue and nails, not by an imunu." He stooped down, got under the table, drew his finger-tips along the planks, came from under the table, stood up, drew near to me, held the finger-tips so that I could see them plainly and said, "Those tiny pellets you can see under my finger-nails came from the table, others will fall from it like them, and so the table will go on wasting until it will crumble away altogether; then, and not until then, its imunu will flee away and it will no longer be a table."

It was my turn, but I had nothing to say; only much to think about, to marvel about. He had not done, however, until he had given me what he considered the most conclusive evidence of the presence of imunu in things. Again he stretched his right hand towards me and said, "Each of those little pellets between my finger-nails has its imunu; if it had not we could not see it, it could not be."¹¹²

Holmes classified the religion of the Namau as animism,¹¹³ and said that he had failed to do justice to its depth and significance as perceived by the Papuan. Perhaps Holmes had misconstrued some aspects of the religion he had observed, - he could not completely escape his own religious presuppositions - but there is a difference between the description offered by Holmes and that of many other writers of the time: he did not escape complexities by claiming Papuan ideas to be vague or hazy, terms which recur in other accounts.

The power of sorcery was noted by many and deplored by most. To missionaries and administrators alike sorcery was the curse of Papua. In almost identical terms the missionary, H.M. Dauncey, and Murray, reported that if sorcery could be banished most serious crime would disappear at the same time.¹¹⁴ Neither was hopeful that this could be achieved in a short time. Even the most civilised Papuan, it was said, still believed in the power of the sorcerer.¹¹⁵ The apparent irrationality of sorcery and the Papuans' persistent acceptance of it, was one of the most important factors offered in support of the assertion by some Europeans that it was futile to attempt to understand the mentality of the Papuan.

The anthropologists may have had little to tell the European community about the religions of the Papuans, but there was one concept taken from the scientists which the amateur observers did seize upon and invest with great power. Totemism was seen as an all-pervading force in Papuan life. Bellamy reported that in the Trobriands "the influence of the totem reaches out through every phase of native life." In more colourful terms he went on:

It is a free-masonry of the sheltering Trobriand palm. It is the primary cause of lying in every sitting of the Native Magistrate's Court. It tends to screen the criminal and links the Corsican Vendetta to the Trobriand Islander's revenge.¹¹⁶

Having found among the Mafulu little evidence of advanced forms of art common to other areas of Melanesia, Williamson searched for a reason. It was, he decided, a result of the absence of totemism. They had no totemism because they were the descendants of some of the earliest migrants to enter New Guinea, a "pre-totemistic people".¹¹⁷ In arguing that totemism was a major stimulus to art in Melanesia, Williamson was consciously following a theory put forward by Haddon.¹¹⁸

Most Europeans had a collection of idiosyncratic judgements which they were ready to pass on the Papuan: he had a short memory, he had no concept of truth, he was incapable of showing gratitude, he had no concern for the future, he was motivated by avarice, he was impatient. Three characteristics in particular were discerned and discussed: his licentiousness, his conservatism, and his being a member of a "child-race". Some saw the Papuan indulging in uninhibited promiscuity, others saw a different but regulated system of morality; on the question of what should be done about the Papuans' morality (or immorality), opinion was equally divided. Stone-Wigg thought that "impurity" was the greatest evil the mission teachers had to fight. Moral laxity prevailed both before and after marriage, he believed. The young converts at the mission

were frequently being tempted to commit "bad deeds". One young man, wrote Stone-Wigg, had left the mission for a visit to some neighbouring villages, and while away he had been tempted to "commit sin" fifteen times. Apparently not all were so frank for Stone-Wigg thought that one of the evils of immorality was that it led to untruthfulness; offenders lied shamelessly to avoid an admission of guilt.¹¹⁹ The language as well as the lives of the converts had to be purified. The Bishop was confident that great improvement had already been made in cleansing the people's everyday language of obscene terms.¹²⁰ Newton, for a time a contemporary of Stone-Wigg in Papua, did not agree that impurity was the missionary's greatest foe. He believed that although there was some exchange of wives, all customs were regulated by a strictly interpreted code; there was no "mere licentiousness".¹²¹ Holmes made a similar comment about the Namau. On the other hand the Ipi, he thought, were strictly monogamous and adhered to a standard of morality infinitely higher than is known in any civilized land today".¹²² Butcher said that in the Gulf the buguru ceremony was an occasion for much promiscuity, but that he opposed the ceremony only after venereal disease was introduced to that area and a strict sexual morality became essential.¹²³

The belief that the Papuan was conservative sprang in part from the visitors' first impressions of Hanuabada. For several decades the Hanuabadan had lived alongside the Europeans who aimed to transform his beliefs, his government and his economy. Yet to the casual observer he appeared remarkably unchanged; his house, his boat, his clothes, his language and his economy remained largely his own. Not all saw the "slavish conservatism" of the Papuan as something to be deplored. Grimshaw thought it allowed him to retain a self-respect which might ultimately save him from extinction.¹²⁴ Holmes found that the determination of the Papuan to cling to old customs did not prevent them from accepting new ideas and ceremonies introduced by the missionaries. For Holmes the Papuan simultaneously exhibited the characteristics of conservatism and "ultra-liberalism".¹²⁵ By contrast with the rest of the Papuans, the Kiwais were thought to be "far too susceptible to foreign influences and ideas".¹²⁶

As Monckton noticed, many writers on New Guinea spoke of the Papuans as being "child-like".¹²⁷ By this they could mean a variety of things; the Papuan could not be expected to understand complex matters, he lacked self-discipline and his moods were likely to fluctuate quickly and unexpectedly and his life was marked by basic simplicity. Both Newton and Boismenu used the assumption that the Papuan responded like a child to advocate stricter punishment of offenders by the administration. Papuans, like children, said Newton, "must be taught the heinousness of offences by a punishment they will dread".¹²⁸ Boismenu agreed, but added that as little

credence could be given to the child witness, so little weight should be given to the testimony of a Papuan in the courts; and he had little faith in the magistrates. They had

suddenly sprung up from an admirable diversity of careers from those of cook and bird-stuffer up to that of doctor of medicine. Now, such good people are really ill-prepared to exercise judicial functions....¹²⁹

That the Papuan was "child-like" was a widespread but not universal attitude. Monckton had introduced the subject to show that the common belief was false. He did concede that some writers might have spoken to Papuans who appeared childish, but this was

just as a hypothetical visitor from Mars might try and discuss foreign politics with a Sussex yokel, or the higher mathematics with a costermonger, and then report to the Martians that the inhabitants of the Earth were all fools.

And the enigmatic Monckton, who could shoot a man in what he referred to as a "nigger incident", went on to substantiate his case:

Men such as Bushimai of the Binanders, Giwi of the Kaili Kaili, Paitoto of the Mojuru, and Bogege of the Maisina, were really men of a high order of intelligence, and withal unselfish; no poverty, as poverty is known amongst us, existed under their sway.¹³⁰

The future which the Europeans offered the Papuans was generally modest. Murray spoke of a responsibility for preserving the Papuan and "raising him ... to the highest civilization of which he is capable".¹³¹ Even preservation seemed an optimistic aim to some, perhaps undesirable. W.J. Durietz had argued before the Royal Commission that the Papuans should be chased out of the Gira goldfields area. When asked exactly what he meant, he eschewed ambiguity: "Well, I mean they should be shot at, or something like that".¹³² It was the future given to some Aborigines and Indians of other areas. If the Papuan did survive contact with European culture just what level of civilization could he be expected to reach? The Royal Commissioners were pleased to find that the Papuans were capable of learning English, and they recommended that attendance at schools teaching English be compulsory; but they had not accepted Abel's belief that the Papuan could be a skilled labourer.¹³³ Abel and Bromilow saw it as imperative that the Papuan be taken from his village; to Bromilow the village was "contaminating", while Abel believed that unless the Papuan was taken from his village and given new skills

s country would be usurped by those who did have the necessary skills.¹³⁴ The Anglican mission, said Newton, had not attempted to give technical or industrial training. They did not want a "parody of European or Australian civilization". What they aimed to do was to gain an acceptance of Christian teaching within village life; character, principles and ideals would be transformed while the village unit and its economy remained, at least initially, intact.¹³⁵

Those facing the difficulty of deciding just what sort of a civilization the Papuan could reasonably be expected to aspire to could not gain much assistance from the anthropologists. An anthropologist can now assert that there is general agreement that different peoples have the same ability to acquire culture.¹³⁶ There was certainly no such agreement before 1914. The British expedition to Dutch New Guinea in 1910 thought they could gain an estimate of "an uncivilised man's intelligence" by testing the content to which he could count. The expedition members failed to make their quantitative judgement, not because they doubted the effectiveness of their method, but because they could not agree on their data; some thought the "pygmies" could count to two, others thought ten.¹³⁷ While the experts could not agree, the Europeans in Papua were free to make their own widely divergent estimates of the Papuan's intelligence, and to allot him an appropriate role in the future.¹³⁸ In any case in matters of race there has always been a wide gap between popular beliefs and conclusions arrived at by the scientific method.

Because they made certain assumptions about the thinking and behaviour of the Papuan, the Europeans in turn felt obliged to act in particular ways. There was, of course, the necessity for the police officer never to show fear, but all members of the European community had responsibilities. The Commandant of the Armed Constabulary, Bruce, warned that when the Europeans on Segeri fled their plantations because of ill-founded rumours of the approach of a raiding party, the prestige of the white man had suffered a widespread and long-term decline. It was even possible, thought Bruce, that the subsequent murder on the Laloki of the market gardener, Weaver, could be related to the shameful behaviour of the Europeans on Sogeru.¹³⁹ Murray instructed his officers to "treat the natives with a certain amount of aloofness" and not on any occasion allow the familiarity that would bring them "to anything approaching the native level".¹⁴⁰ It was, argued Murray, a policy of necessity when the officers were so few and the people they ruled so many; it could, he admitted, be described as administration by bluff. But Murray also said that those Europeans who were not officials should remember "that racial superiority brings with it duties as well as privileges", and there was the opportunity for all Europeans to exercise a broad influence for good on the Papuans.¹⁴¹

The Royal Commissioners were concerned that the European community was not being treated with the affection and respect owed to a "higher race".¹⁴² In his evidence before the Commissioners, English had said that "gross discourtesy to Europeans" was increasing. The fault, he thought, lay with the European community, particularly the missionaries who "allow the natives to enter their houses and sit with them, take blossoms from their trees, and no check is placed on their movements at all".¹⁴³ The Commissioners recommended that every white man should show "by the honesty and cleanness of his every-day life that he is worthy of the claim to superiority.. They also said that employers should allow no familiarities with their "boys", and always be strict and just. This piece of advice was taken up by the Handbook:

Those employers or overseers who obtain the most satisfactory result from their native labourers are men of good character, experience in working Papuan natives, and who, while strict in discipline, are humane and just in their treatment.¹⁴⁴

Expressed starkly, the ideal was for the Europeans to be strict, just and aloof; the Papuan was to be respectful, obedient, and, if capable of fine sentiments, grateful.

The final degradation for the white man was "to go native".¹⁴⁵ There was always the chance that the white man would neither maintain his own standards nor raise the Papuan's; he would sink to the level of the majority. The decline sometimes came when a white man took a Papuan wife, but it could begin with the slightest relaxation. In a bad novel - its penultimate sentence is, "I turned towards her, and though she turned away, I saw her eyes, and her eyes were glorious" - Cecil Ross-Johnson has his hero, Guy Carteret, and partner establish a trading station and plantation in the Gulf. They were the only two Europeans living anywhere in the area. Carteret and his partner decided on their mode of living:

We had often discussed the question of our future home and life, and we were both of one mind in deciding to keep up, as far as possible, the minor decencies of civilisation - to put a coat on for meals, to have the table properly laid, and so on. It sounds trivial, I know, but I think the first downward step of the man who eventually lives like a native, with no desire to leave the village - that first step is when he dispenses with a table-cloth and butter-knife.¹⁴⁶

The frightening ease of the decline was expressed in the epigram attributed to the Resident Magistrate of the Western Division:

Discarding one's socks leads to the beach and a loin-cloth".¹⁴⁷
The European, by choice and by circumstances, adopted his attitudes
to the Papuan; once having done so he found he had at the same time
assumed the obligations of position and power. It was as well for
the sanity of the Europeans and the Papuans that not all took their
obligations as seriously as Carteret.

EUROPEAN ATTITUDES IN PAPUA, 1906-1914NOTES

- 1 The reasons for the delay are discussed in J.H. Gibbney, "The Interregnum in the Government of Papua, 1901-1906", The Australian Journal of Politics and History, Volume XII, No.3, 1966, pp 341-359, and J.A. La Nauze, Alfred Deakin, Melbourne, 1965, Volume 2, Chap.20.
- 2 There was also an explanation of the significance of the ceremony given in Motu. The Papuans had their fears assuaged. "You need not feel alarmed by the change which is made today. You will still be under the British flag...". Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers, Annual Report Papua, 1906-7, p.8.
- 3 Annual Report 1905-6, p.19.
- 4 Annual Report, 1906-7, p.24.
- 5 A.K. Chignell, An Outpost in Papua, London, 1911, p.111.
- 6 Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers, British New Guinea: Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the present condition including the methods of Government, of the Territory of Papua, and the best means for their improvement, 1907.
- 7 K. Mackay, Across Papua, London, 1909, p.13.
- 8 R.W. Williamson, The Ways of the South Sea Savage, London, 1914, p.87.
- 9 Mackay, op. cit., p.163.
- 10 J.H.P. Murray, Papua or British New Guinea, London, pp.46-47.
- 11 But not to Chignell op. cit., p.16, Samarai was "just a piece of Scotland over again".
- 12 Mackay, op. cit., pp.46-48.
- 13 H. Newton, In Far New Guinea, London, 1914.
- 14 Williamson, op. cit., p.192. A.E. and Henry Pratt, Two Years Among New Guinea Cannibals, London, 1906, had previously praised the Mafulu country- and included a photograph (p.245).

in support. Beatrice Grimshaw, too, had struggled up the M.S.C. Fathers' road and written fulsomely of a "country, wild beautiful". Adventures in Papua with the Catholic Mission, Melbourne, 1913.

Murray, op. cit., p.56.

W.N. Beaver, Unexplored New Guinea, London, 1920, p.212.

E. Baxter Riley, Among Papuan Headhunters, London, 1925, p.19.

E.W. Elkington, The Savage South Seas, London, 1907. p.16, happily made Port Moresby part of the south seas romance so that it became a "lovely fairyland, full of romance and adventure".

Chignell, op. cit., pp.16-17.

Beaver, op. cit., p.18.

Newton, op. cit., pp.64-65.

Royal Commission, p.33.

ibid., p.141.

ibid., p.144.

ibid., p.X.

M. Staniforth Smith, (ed.) Handbook of the Territory of Papua, 2nd ed., Melb., 1909, p.12.

Mackay, op. cit., p.165.

Annual Report, 1909-10, p.26.

B. Grimshaw, The New New Guinea, London, 1910, p.55.

H.L. Griffin, An Official in British New Guinea, London, 1925, p.143 says Grimshaw believed too much of what she was told.

Annual Report, 1909-10, p.26.

Handbook, p.68.

Grimshaw, The New New Guinea.

33 Royal Commission, p.4.

34 Mackay, op. cit., p.34.

35 ibid., p.168.

36 M.J. Stone-Wigg, The Papuans: A People of the South Pacific with late additions by Right Rev. H. Newton, Aust. Board of Missions, 1933, pp.39-40.

37 Royal Commission, pp.X,XI. Murray thought the Report did "full justice" to the resources of the Territory. After the publication of the Royal Commission the task of boosting the Territory was continued by the Handbook; Papua the Marvellous: the Country of Chance, Govt. Printer, Melbourne, no date and no author but probably written by Beatrice Grimshaw in about 1910; and G. Inglis, Papua: "A Grandchild of Empire", London, 1912.

38 ibid., pp.XI-XVIII.

39 Beaver, op. cit., p.285.

40 Grimshaw, The New New Guinea, p.87.

41 Royal Commission, p.XIII.

42 Murray, op. cit., p.341.

43 ibid.

44 Annual Report 1910-11, p.11.

45 From Annual Reports.

46 Griffin, op. cit., was one of those who had been attracted to planting and then struck trouble during these years.

47 Annual Report 1913-14, p.142.

Some investors had been deliberately misled by promoters who had exaggerated the already optimistic conclusions of the Royal Commissioners. See F. Burnett, Through Polynesia and Papua, London, 1911, p.186.

48 Annual Report, 1913-14, p.7.

49 Annual Report, 1909-10, pp.29,30.

ibid.

Murray, op. cit., p.356. "We must... no longer cherish dreams of exploiting Papua and the Papuans in a single generation."

Newton, op. cit., p.298.

Annual Report 1914-15, p.6.

Annual Report 1912-13, p.5.

Annual Report 1914-15, p.6.

Annual Report 1916-17, p.9.

Annual Report 1916-17, p.9.

Annual Report 1914-15, p.6.

Beaver, op. cit., p.286. I do not know when Beaver wrote this. He had joined the A.I.F. early and was killed at Polygon Wood in 1917. The book was published in 1920.

Looking back, Murray, in Papua of Today, London, 1925, p.280 and in Review of the Australian Administration in Papua from 1907 to 1920, Govt. Printer, Port Moresby, p.36, could say that a scheme for educating Papuans had been considered in 1911-12 but had been abandoned because of a lack of funds. Murray had already considered the first steps which would lead to the type of policy he was able to describe immediately after the war: "we are taking steps to assist in the education of the natives, both general and technical, and by a system of 'native plantations' we expect to be able to improve native agriculture and to increase the economic value of the Territory." Review, p.VI. In 1914 "nothing whatever" had been done to raise the Papuans to "the highest state of civilization which they are capable of attaining", Papua of Today, p.281. It is also true that by 1914 Murray was being accused of giving too little assistance to European settlers, Papuan Times, 14.1.1914.

Grimshaw, The New New Guinea, p.119.

Newton, op. cit , p.131.

Annual Report, 1906-7, p.11.

Annual Report, 1907-8, p.19.

- 65 Beaver, op. cit., p.293.
- 66 Royal Commission, p.4.
- 67 e.g. Hunter, Greene, Clunn, Jiear.
- 68 Royal Commission, p.7.
- 69 Chignell, op. cit., p.28.
- 70 Royal Commission, p.XIII.
- 71 e.g. Beaver, op. cit., p.297, and Griffin before Royal Commission p.140: "They are not an energetic race, as food is so plentiful."
- 72 Murray, Papua or British New Guinea, p.347.
- 73 Murray, Review, p.8.
- 74 Murray, Papua of Today, p.219.
- 75 Handbook, p.59.
- 76 Annual Report, 1905-6, pp.19-20.
- 77 Mackay, p.53.
- 78 Grimshaw, The New New Guinea, p.160.
- 79 Murray, Papua or British New Guinea, p.347 gives an interesting summary of employer attitudes to different groups of people.
- 80 Annual Report, 1906-7, p.100.
- 81 Royal Commission, op. cit., p.XV.
- 82 Monckton, Last Days in New Guinea, London, 1922, p.11.
- 83 Royal Commission, p.135.
- 84 Annual Report, 1909-10, p.101, gives origin of recruits: West. Div. 52, Kumusi & Mambare Div. 44, N-E Div. 42, Gulf Div. 37, East Div. 25, S-E 2, Central Div. 11, Total 213.
- 85 Annual Report 1910-11, p.57, report from Commandant, J.T. O'Malley.

Seligman, Rivers, Haddon and Kay had been members of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait in 1898. Apart from the Reports of the expedition their most readily available writings were: A.C. Haddon, Headhunters: Black, White and Brown, London, 1901 (a popular account of the Expedition); W.H.R. Rivers, The History of Melanesian Society, 2 Volumes, Cambridge, 1914; and C.G. Seligman, The Melanesians of British New Guinea, Cambridge, 1910. S.H. Ray in Report of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits, Volume 3, "Linguistics", Cambridge, 1907, stressed several conclusions about the relationships of people in the area which could have influenced general thinking: There was a difference between the Papuan languages west of Cape Possession and the Melanesian languages to the East. (Ray mapped the distribution of the two language groups.) The Melanesian languages of Papua were related to those of other Melanesian Islands. The Melanesian and Polynesian languages were related. And there was a possible but not definite relationship between the Papuan and Australian languages. Haddon in the introduction to Williamson's The Mafulu Mountain People of British New Guinea, London, 1912, wrote a summary of the "ethnological history" of New Guinea.

Murray, Papua or British New Guinea, follows this division in the people, p.95. The terms had been used by Seligman. G. Brown, Melanesians and Polynesians: their life-histories described and compared, London, 1910, pp.15-17, gives speculative details about movements out of south-east Asia.

A.F.R. Wollaston, Pygmies and Papuans, London, 1912 and C.G. Rawling, The Land of the New Guinea Pygmies, London, 1913 give accounts of the British Ornithologists Union expedition. R.W. Williamson, The Mafulu People of British New Guinea, and The Ways of the South Sea Savage. Haddon wrote an appendix to Wollaston discussing the background to the pygmy debate.

Three important articles giving details about the Papuans were Seligman, "A Classification of the Natives of British New Guinea", Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Volume XXXIX, 1909; Haddon "Studies in the Anthropogeography of British New Guinea" Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, XXVI, 1900; and Migrations of Cultures in British New Guinea, the Huxley Memorial Lecture for 1920.

Mackay, op. cit., p.114 and W.E. Bromilow, Twenty Years Among Primitive Papuans, London, 1929, p.114 thought the Papuans were regressing, at least in some ways.

91 Murray, Papua or British New Guinea, pp.373-4.

92 *ibid.*, p.350, Royal Commission p. XIII, and Handbook, op. cit. p.11.

93 Grimshaw, op. cit., p.114.

94 Annual Report, 1906-7, p.13.

95 *ibid.*, p.16. Beaver, op. cit., also later reported a decline in some areas in the West.

96 Annual Report, 1906-7, p.17.

97 *ibid.*

98 *ibid.*, p.15 and Annual Report, 1907-8, p.20.

99 W. MacGregor, British New Guinea: Country and People, London, 1897, p.40.

100 Annual Report, 1911-12, p.8.

101 Annual Report, 1914-15, p.15.

102 Griffith, op. cit., p.196.

103 See P. Lawrence and M.J. Meggitt, eds., Gods Ghosts and Men in Melanesia, Melbourne, 1965, pp.6-9 for a recent discussion of the definition of religion. A.C. Haddon, ed., Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits, Volume 5, "Sociology, Magic and Religion of the Western Islanders", Cambridge, 1904, followed J.G. Frazer's distinction between religion and magic, but admits: "It was extremely difficult, indeed practically impossible to get any definite information respecting the belief of the people as regards spirits generally.", p.355. Seligman, The Melanesians of British New Guinea, discusses the religions of the Koita, the Roro, the Southern Massim and the Northern Massim. His comments are generally free of judgements, but not comprehensive and he was largely dependent on what government officials and missionaries told him.

104 A.P. Elkin, Social Anthropology in Melanesia: A Review of Research, London, 1953, p.XII, could write: "But we have not learnt the system of values and attitudes nor the philosophy and religion of the peoples' studies." It was more true before 1914!

- 5 Williamson, The Ways of the South Sea Savage, p.280. Williamson was in the Mafulu country for several weeks only and during much of that time he was disabled. He writes more on religion in The Mafulu etc. but admits he was largely dependent on what the M.S.C. Fathers told him.
- 6 Beaver, op. cit., Chapter XXV, "Religious Beliefs and Practices of the Kiwai-Speaking Papuans", by G. Landtmann.
- 7 Beaver, op. cit., p.316.
- 8 Butcher, op. cit., p.121.
- 9 Stone-Wigg, op. cit., p.30.
- 0 *ibid.*, p.48.
- 1 Holmes, op. cit., p.9. Haddon in the introduction expresses his dependence on articles written by Holmes.
- 2 Holmes, op. cit., pp.154,155.
- 3 Newton, op. cit., also classified the religions of New Guinea as animism, p.161.
- 4 H.M. Dauncey, Papuan Pictures, London, 1913, p.44; Annual Report, 1907-8, p.8.
- 5 Beaver, op. cit., p.135.
- 6 Annual Report, 1906-7, p.63.
- 7 Williamson, The Ways of the South Sea Savage, p.236.
- 8 *ibid.*, p.235.
- 9 Stone-Wigg, op. cit., p.31.
- 0 *ibid.*, pp.31-32.
- 1 Newton, op. cit., p.208. Bromilow thought the Dobuans, in common with all Papuans, were licentious. Griffith made the general judgement "morals are practically non-existent", op. cit., p.187, and probably many would have agreed with him.
- 2 Holmes, op. cit., p.52.
- 3 Butcher, op. cit., pp.194-5.
- 4 Grimshaw, The New New Guinea, pp.43-44.

- 125 Holmes, op. cit., p.22.
- 126 Beaver, op. cit., p.154.
- 127 Monckton, op. cit., p.100.
- 128 Newton, op. cit., pp.22-23.
- 129 Royal Commission, p.134.
- 130 Monckton, op. cit., pp.100-101.
- 131 Murray, Papua or British New Guinea, p.360.
- 132 Royal Commission, p.47.
- 133 See p.582.
- 134 Abel, op. cit. pp.104-5.
- 135 Newton, op. cit., p.251.
- 136 S. Tax, ed. Horizons of Anthropology, Chicago, 1964, "The Transition to Humanity", C. Geertz, p.40, of G.H.L-F. Pitt-Rivers' term "culture potential" in The Clash of Culture and the Contact of Races, London, 1927, p.3.
- 137 Wollaston, op. cit., p.207.
- 138 Often judgements of the Papuan's intelligence were expressed negatively, e.g. "far from being a stupid race", occurs in Annual Reports of 1906-7 and 1907-8.
- 139 Royal Commission, p.110.
- 140 Murray, Papua or British New Guinea, p.354.
- 141 ibid., p.367.
- 142 Royal Commission, p.XIV.
- 143 ibid., p.3.
- 144 Handbook, p.59
- 145 E. Silas, A Primitive Arcadia, London, 1926, p.51 has a melodramatic picture of the planter who "has gone native", a "disgusting sight"!

46 C. Ross-Johnson, The Trader: a venture in New Guinea,
London, 1909, p.79.

47 *ibid.*

NEW GUINEA: THE ETHNOHISTORY OF FIRST

CULTURE CONTACTS

J.L. Whittaker

Out of the no-man's land between anthropology and history, a special field called ethnohistory has been delineated.

Gregory Denning recently defined the ethnohistorian's aim:

Ethnohistory's prime concern is not with myth, legend or genealogy, or with historical reconstructions of illiterate societies, or with the origins of these societies. The ethnohistorian's prime concern is with the description of illiterate societies by literate observers at the time when contact between the two had not changed the illiterate society. ¹

When Valentine attempted an acculturation study of the Lakalai people of New Britain, he found that their history could not be given sequential and chronological coherence without the information that was available only in European records. He said, "...only by piecing together an ethnohistorical account from sources on both sides of the contact relationship can an investigator find a meaningful order in a changing situation which is not fully understandable from either side alone."²

My aim in this paper is to sketch a large view of the two historically distinct societies - European and New Guinean - to provide a framework for future regional studies in depth that must be done if we are to arrive at a valid history of New Guinea. The material I have used is selected from documents describing first culture contacts which are included in Volume I of "Source Material for New Guinea History to 1888", now in process of publication.

A half-century or less saw all the main islands of Polynesia opened to European contact. Foreign impact on Polynesia might be described as shattering compared with the early sporadic and tentative probes into New Guinea. In the three hundred years preceding permanent European settlement in New Guinea, only the fringes of the mainland and the adjacent islands were examined. At least until 1870 there was no thought of pushing into the interior or of establishing any sort of permanent settlement. Europeans merely forged links to a chain of casual contacts with coastal peoples that had been started at least three centuries before the Portuguese arrived in the Pacific. Traders from the islands of

the Indonesian Archipelago, Malaysians, and possibly Arabs and Chinese had already forged many links.

Some of the earliest European explorers who touched on the west and north-west coasts of New Guinea were surprised to find certain items of Asian manufacture and indications of contact with Islam, and to hear Malay words in the people's vocabulary.³ Had a report from yet another culture visited New Guinea after its three centuries of European contact, say about 1860, he would have found no more evidence of these contacts than a few trade items and a few words from a sailor's vocabulary. James Selwin, a beachcomber on Williamez Peninsula about 1815, told the ship's surgeon, Coulter, he was substituting English for the native "gibberish". Coulter found the natives' language overlaid with damns and curses peculiar to a maritime life.⁴ At Port Carteret in 1849, Captain Koppel was greeted by, "What ship that?" "God dam!" "Rum got?" He thought the manners of the people were not at all improved by their intercourse with more civilized nations.⁵

A fascinating aspect of ethnohistory is the analysis of descriptions of first contacts. Such descriptions can be highly entertaining: the human mind, confronted by entirely unfamiliar objects or ideas, reacts in strange and unexpected ways. Nothing about the Motuans of the Port Moresby area so infuriated an English traveller as their failure to invent the words "Thank you!" - or a Melanesian equivalent for thank you.⁶ Nothing so offended the Victorian sensibilities of a missionary and a royal navy man as the natives' custom of greeting them by holding the nose between the forefinger and thumb of one hand while the forefinger of the other hand probed the navel.⁷ Such an "uncouth" greeting was one more piece of evidence to confirm opinions expressed by European forerunners, that the people of New Guinea were barbarous.

A study of attitudes revealed by Europeans and by New Guineans can help us to understand the values and assumptions that coloured their experiences and directed their behaviour. Perhaps the most staggering of all the awarenesses resulting from the study is the realization of the time it has taken for Europeans and New Guineans to accept what James McAuley calls "the most elementary fact: that they shared a common humanity!"⁸

What did the New Guinean think of the white man? Did he think of him as a man like himself, or as something less than or more than a man? Did he have any answers as to where he came from or why he came? There is always the evidence preserved in oral tradition, but the truth is not easily arrived at. In the collecting of ethnohistorical evidence we have a similar problem to the naturalist, William Macleay, when he employed natives to gather specimens for his collections. They were so anxious to

ease him that they brought loads of common species. Macleay said he had to accept all those worthless grasshoppers and butterflies, because to have done otherwise would have dampened their enthusiasm, and he might then have missed the valuable specimen that was occasionally brought in.⁹ In their desire to help, the enthusiasm and ingenuity of the native people can lead them to create an entertaining "story from my village". There are surely answers fully preserved in legend, but it would be foolish to accept them without corroborative evidence.

Records left by some of the more perceptive and sensitive European observers occasionally give us insight into the New Guinean's thoughts and feelings; however, we must approach conclusions warily for we can never be sure that what we see is not merely the interesting result of the observer's misinterpretation of a scene or conversation. What appears to be a New Guinean viewpoint could be nothing more than a European view disguised.

It would seem that apart from Torres' voyage along the south-east of New Guinea in 1606, Portuguese and Spanish knowledge was limited to parts of the west and north-west coasts. Yet ten years before Torres' voyage, Cornelis Wytfliet published a world map that showed New Guinea separated from Terra Australis by a narrow strait. One of the Dieppe maps published as early as 1542, and based on a Portuguese model, also shows Torres Strait and a fairly accurate outline of the north, east and west coasts of Australia. When the Dutch sought information on New Guinea from the natives of Ceram and Banda, the latter reported they could say nothing certain respecting the islands of New Guinea, but that there were Portuguese living on the south side of the island. But as they also reported they had never seen any Portuguese ships, it seems likely that the Dutch misunderstood their informants.¹⁰ The information on the early parts was probably not first-hand, but gathered from ports in the Far East. The evidence we have of Chinese trade missions throughout the Archipelago as far as Timor makes it not improbable that the Bismarck Archipelago, New Guinea and even the north-west coast of Australia were known by the Chinese and other mariners of the Far East. Richard Parkinson, who knew the people of the Bismarck Archipelago and of New Britain so well, felt that "Many of the peculiar customs of the natives might well be the rudiments of an old culture introduced by the original discoverers."¹¹ G.F. Carter's discussion of the potential of Asian sailing craft before European entry into the Pacific lends some attractiveness to this idea.¹² It is unlikely that material will come to light to prove that the natives of Humboldt Bay and the Admiralty Islands with "remarkable long Jewish noses",¹³ and those of the Katau River having features "very marked Jewish character",¹⁴ are part of the Lost Tribes of Israel; it is also unlikely that evidence will come to light to prove that the Tolais learned the delicate operation of trepanning

the skull¹⁵ from the diffusion of Egyptian culture, or that the "Egyptian" art forms described by D'Urville at Dorei¹⁶ resulted from the same diffusion of culture. However, it is possible that the archives of Madrid as well as those of other centres, particularly in Asia, contain material that would fill out the meagre picture we have of New Guinea before 1600.

Observers tend to project their tensions. Observations are thus coloured by what one has been told to expect, by what one desires to see, and by what one hopes to perform; and the impressions that are formed depend on the degree to which these expectations are met. For the first three centuries of European contact with New Guinea, the island frustrated all expectations, so that the general impression formed over this period was that New Guinea experiences could only result in disappointment. The nature of the first contacts was shaped by these emotions and was generally unfortunate for the peoples of both cultures.

The Portuguese and Spaniards were men in a hurry. From the new lands of the Pacific there had to come the reinforcements necessary for the Catholic army in its life and death struggle with the Lutherans and Calvinists, and the riches that would guarantee material power in Europe. Various reports placed an island of gold east of Timor, or south-east of Java. Pigafetti and Saavedra associated gold with New Guinea,¹⁷ and Grijalva was looking for islands believed to abound in gold when he was wrecked in Geelvink Bay.¹⁸ Prado was convinced there were many mines of rich metals to be found in New Guinea; the mayor of Tidore told him the natives of New Guinea made chains of the gold for themselves and bracelets for their women.¹⁹ Prado's account of contact with the people of Mailu shows the peculiar combination of benevolence and ruthlessness in the Iberian make-up: upon the natives not responding to their signs of peace, the Europeans felt they were "losing time by treating them with further consideration. They knelt down, and saying a Pater Noster, and an Ave Maria, gave them a Santiago (an attack with the invocation of S. James) and they pressed on, shooting them as they fled." After the slaughter, the besieged natives, - about three hundred of them, and mostly women and children - came down the hill. Prado says he was sorry to see so many dead children they were carrying in their arms. He selected fourteen boys and girls of from six to ten years, and girls of from six to ten years, and carried them off to Manila where they were baptized "to the honour and glory of God."²⁰

Employees of the Dutch East India Company were anxious to discover trade commodities that would justify New Guinea being brought into the fold of their commercial empire, because unremunerative voyages were not tolerated by the Company. The

visions governing their action are seen in the exasperation of
 tyts who spent several days explaining the clauses of a treaty in
 aves and massoi bark to the people of Orin, feted them in good
 anish wine, and ended by accomplishing nothing more than "a
 ndful of flies."²¹ They, also, found nothing attractive in New
 nea, - in the land, the prospects, or the manners of the people.
 lliam Dampier's journal, in contrast, is refreshing in its
 timism: "In this expedition [of 1700]," he wrote, "the
 scoveries were not great enough to excite envy; and yet they may
 serve attention and prosecution, since, though the countries were
 t rich which we saw, yet they were pleasant, and appeared
 tremely capable of improvement."²² At New Britain the people
 d not appear to understand his gestures of friendship so he
 istled a shot over their heads and continued firing along the
 ast to frighten them. He took from them what they would not
 ve - fruit and pigs of which they had plenty - but was particular
 sending exchange gifts to be placed on the beach next day.

On the evidence of Dampier's description of New Britain,
 John Campbell, writer and scholar, pressed for a British
 commercial settlement there.²³ The Dutch mused gloomily on "the
 maging, spying and writings of the well-known English traveller,
 lliam Dampier," and the fact that he could not hide "the desire
 ich he has for New Guinea and the hope to use that country for
 cable advantages for his own nation."²⁴ De Brosse, the French
 atesman and chronicler, preferred to see a settlement in New
 itain of good French citizens instead of English pirates.²⁵

The growing interest of eighteenth-century philosophers in
 land peoples who appeared to lead a happier if less sophisticated
 istance than that of Europeans at home did not extend to the New
 nea natives; they were consistently reported as miserable, fierce
 d primitive. Even Bougainville, the incorrigible romanticist,
 ould find nothing attractive about the Tolais other than that they
 re "active and robust". Put out by their timidity and
 one-slinging, he nevertheless "would not return them evil for
 ill," and confined his show of power to the firing of a rocket
 frighten them.²⁶ The romanticism that surrounded most of the
 cific Islands came to New Guinea a full century later in a
 fferent form. By this time, New Guinea was one of the few regions
 the world that had not been explored. Ignorance of what lay
 yond the coastal fringe gave rise to fanciful speculation of a
 ite incredible kind. "Captain Lawson's" publication of his
 ventures in New Guinea whetted Victoria appetites for the new
 d bizarre. In one day of adventures, Lawson was plagued by
 ndreds of crocodiles and "no fewer than fifteen moolahs", -
 mals he described as like the Indian Tiger, only handsomer.
 s greatest adventure was the ascent of a mighty mountain, over
 000 feet above sea level. After enduring terrible sufferings

with skin cracked and bleeding, eyes swollen and bloodshot and lungs gasping for air, Lawson finally reached camp below the snow-line, "thoroughly beat!"²⁷ Although a gigantic hoax, the tale, even after it was repudiated, served to centre British interest on New Guinea. The 1870s saw the first penetration into the Port Moresby hinterland and an increasing number of excursions along the river systems as well as overland.

From about A.D. 1800, growing trade with China led to the establishment of sea routes between Sydney and Canton. Popular routes from Port Jackson were through Bougainville Strait²⁸ or St. George's Channel,²⁹ and the result was more frequent and sustained contacts between New Guineans and Europeans. New Guinea ports which could supply food, wood and water to ships en route to distant ports were sought. Whalers sought not only provisions at these ports but native replacements for depleted crews. Labour recruiters made regular New Guinea ports of call to collect workers for European plantations, particularly in Samoa and Queensland.

The dangers of negotiating the New Guinea coastline in inadequate vessels produced tremendous tensions in the early explorers; they saw much to hold in awe, but little to admire. Nineteenth-century mariners, made relatively secure by advances in sea travel, were able to enjoy the sights and see beauty where it existed. Other tensions that had coloured the impressions and governed the actions of early explorers, such as the urgency of religious missions and the desperate search for riches or trade, had no longer any significance. Religious fervour had given way to scepticism in some cases and to a degree of tolerance in others; the illusion of great riches was dispelled. There were fortunes to be made, certainly, but only after long periods of hard work and dangerous living.

Europeans making contact with New Guinea at this time were naval officers and ratings, natural scientists, missionaries, traders, merchant seamen and escaped convicts. It appears that these last two groups were the earliest to make sustained contact:

There are upwards of thirty white men now on Ascension and two on Nuttei, and by accounts derived from several of them, there are Europeans and American seamen at present domiciled on the Admiralty Islands north of New Guinea, on New Ireland, New Georgia, on Pleasant Island, Ocean Island, on some of the Kingsmill Group, on Navigator's Island, on the Fiji Islands and many of the Friendly Islands

The majority of Europeans scattered about the Islands is undoubtedly composed of seamen who have deserted from or been wrecked in whalers, but there are others who have left

small trading vessels chiefly connected with New South Wales, or the Sandwich Islands, employed in collecting tortoise shell, "beche-de-mer"; etc. and no small portion of their numbers also - I strongly suspect - is composed of runaway convicts from the penal settlements. It appears their occupation is divided between collecting tortoise shell and breeding stock for the supply of whalers, or others, that may call for refreshment.³⁰

An unpublished journal of a ship's surgeon on the whaler "Gypsy" describes a regular European settlement of eighteen deserters from Sydney ships at Gower's Harbour, near Cape St. George, before 1843.³¹

It is wrong to presume that the gentlest contacts were made by those Europeans gently reared in an enlightened class of society. Missionaries sometimes warred with their flocks: the Rev. George Brown raised a punitive expedition against the natives of Nodup who had murdered his native teachers.³² Thomas Manners, a common sailor of a whaler, rejected a passage home to England. He said he had nobody elsewhere who cared about him, the natives of New Ireland had been kind to him and they had lived happily together.³³ When a dozen or so canoes approached H.M.S. "Bramble" off the south-east coast of Papua, Thomas Huxley claimed that Captain Yule lost his nerve, and shouting, "Now, I give you fair warning! I give you fair warning!" fired amongst them. "So little did the natives understand me" writes Huxley, "that while some looked astonished, others laughed though it had been something done for their amusement." Upon Yule repeating his action, "the natives felt that if a joke it was a very queer one, looked one moment as if in utter astonishment, then seized their paddles and paddled away as if the devils were behind them. One man took up water in the palm of his hand and cast it toward the "Bramble" as if "Casting the dust from off his feet" at such a treacherous set".³⁴

Huxley interpreted the casting of water at the "Bramble" as an act of disdain and rejection; Kolff interpreted a similar gesture towards the "Dourga" in 1826 as an expression of hostility.³⁵ But in the New Guinean, it was probably part of a ritual whereby the grower protected himself from evil. At Cape Valsche the natives threw powdered lime through cane tubes at James Cook and his party.³⁶ The sailors on board ship thought at first they had fire-arms. John Hunter had a similar experience at Duke of York Island. He thought the lime was used by the natives to blind their enemies.³⁷ These could be, however, the earliest examples we have of the New Guinean's attempt to experiment with sources of power by imitating the white man's ways.

Having looked even cursorily at the cultural backgrounds of the Europeans involved, it is easy enough to understand why they saw and

thought as they did. But now comes the real work of the ethnohistorian: what did they really see? What was the cultural background of the New Guinean, and in what ways were his attitudes changed by the new experiences? Was the New Guinean's approach essentially friendly because he thought the Europeans were more than men and had come to bring him material advantages? Or was it essentially hostile because he thought the Europeans were less than men and brought evil?

Terence Connel and Jim Hutton were Irish convicts who escaped the penal colony at Sydney and reached the south-west coast of New Guinea. They finally found refuge with the Horraforas people who received them kindly, "believing they were something supernatural as there were no ships by which they could come". After Hutton was killed in inter-clan warfare, the Horraforas gave Connel high rank, "and finally, having full confidence in him, placed him in the dignified position of head chief; as king of the tribe", which amounted to, in Connel's words, "over two thousand warriors, plenty of women, and be dad, children to no ind!".³⁸ Thomas Manners, a beachcomber of ten years' residence on New Ireland, was described as "haughty enough for any chief, ... a habit acquired by so long a residence on this island, and exercising so much authority over a people whom he considered so much his inferiors, and who looked upon him as a god!".³⁹ The Rev. Gill, on Katau River in 1872, described how his arm was rubbed by one of the Torotoram people to see if the white would come off. "They call us Malakai, i.e. "ghosts" or "spirits", he said. "God is spoken of by our teachers as "the true or great Malakai". The heathen of this part of New Guinea and of the Straits, invariably associate the idea of whiteness with their notion of a spirit. Our gifts were elliptically designated "malakai" i.e., (belonging to) glistening spirits."⁴¹

Chalmers described a ritual by the natives of Bald Head which he interpreted as his presentation to the gods.⁴² Natives of the Madang area told James McAuley that their people had thought the Russian scientist, Mikluho-Maclay, to be a manifestation of their deity.⁴² John Hunter's party at Duke of York was greeted first by stones and spears, and then by a procession of natives singing songs and carrying green boughs. On the beach they piled their "peace-offering" of food. On top of the pile was laid a small living male and female dog with their mouths and feet tied, while in the middle was stuck a young tree from the branches of which hung lengths of braided fibres. "What this could mean," wrote Hunter, "we were wholly at a loss to comprehend, unless, as the head of this young tree was designedly bent down by the lines.... it was a token of submission."⁴³ Hunter was sure that a sign of friendly intention was the natives' singing in one tone followed by the mimicking of a dog's bark. The bark he thought certain proof of their friendly disposition.⁴⁴ John Moresby's reception

at Killerton Islands was rather similar in ritual. At first the natives met the boat waving weapons and shouting defiantly. After consultation amongst themselves, they returned to the "Basilisk" carrying a dog. The leader sprang on to the ship and dashed out the dog's brains on the quarter-deck, whereupon the manner of the rest of the natives appeared to change to a show of friendship. Moresby's officers, incensed by the defilement of Her Majesty's deck, bundled the natives off the ship and threw the sacrifice after them. A large crowd was then seen assembled on the beach round the body of the dead dog, in noisy consultation.⁴⁵

The tensions of these Europeans making first contact with a strange race allowed them to think of the meeting only in terms of "friendly" or "hostile". It is probable that neither of these terms had any application to the scene. Even where the performance of a rite was recognized, the purpose was not guessed. The Europeans were seen as spirits who could make good or evil sorcery. If their power were for good, then a ritual could be performed to bring them under control so that they could be made to give up or at least to share their powers. If their power were for evil, they might be driven away, or, failing this, brought under control and rendered harmless.

Some Europeans, like the convicts and beachcombers who lived to become permanent residents of New Guinea, were able to adopt the role the people cast for them, even though they did not realize that they were doing so. By joining in inter-clan warfare and acting as military advisers, they proved they brought power to be used for the good of the people they joined. Europeans who failed to live up to their role were not so fortunate. It soon became apparent that they had come to take things away from the people instead of to give great powers. In addition to their demands for food, the Europeans were often eager to prolong their stay unduly, and to try to enter the villages and even their domiciles. In many cases, these acts were an unpardonable affront. The people of Port Moresby were persuaded to accept native mission teachers into their community. When the mission boat returned to Moresby in October 1875, the Europeans' arrival was not greeted by the natives with any feeling of pleasure. Four of the teachers and many natives had died of measles which was introduced into the country with Christianity.⁴⁶

In their giving, the visitors appeared mean, and to withhold the important powers while offering things of dubious worth. "They ... do not set a value upon iron work," said John Hunter of the people of York, "beads or looking-glasses they were not much pleased with, but rags of white linen, strips of scarlet cloth, or anything of gay colours, they were very anxious to have; nails they could not accept at all."⁴⁷ Of the people of the Gazelle Peninsula, Captain Strauch of the "Gazelle" wrote:

.... at times they seemed doubtful whether to take the steel articles or the cloth for trade. It was obviously a battle between their common sense and emotions. The red cloth intrigued them, it seemed they were drawn to it, and despite their doubts they seized it impulsively. As the cloth was in large pieces the natives seemed under the impression that in exchange for their wares they were to receive a whole bolt of material; they were very upset when, after handing over their wares, they received only a strip. Often after a native received a smaller portion of material than he obviously had anticipated, his neighbours laughed at him and made him the butt of jokes. They expressed disappointment in the same way; a native trader stood in his canoe offering his wares with one hand and the other hand extended ready to receive the large portion of cloth; when he saw that the cloth was being torn he started to hiss, and with his free hand to slap his thigh. When he realised the inevitable, he tried to receive the larger piece of cloth. His neighbours joined in the hissing during the purchase, thus voicing their joint protest. It is astonishing the impact this cloth of Turkish Red had on the natives, or rather, this red colour, because they would not take other colours when they could get red - it was always their first demand, and there must have been a special reason for this. 48

Until the missionaries made their appearance in the late 19th century Europeans came always as receivers, not givers. They expressed annoyance that the people were eager to accept gifts but were reluctant to give something in exchange. "One native of New Ireland emerged from the bush," wrote Keppel, "as naked as he was born; we thought, at first, that this was his way of proving to us how little we might expect to get from him; but they were all in the same undress uniform."⁴⁹ Both European and New Guinean had mistaken their roles. From the latter's viewpoint, the white spirits had so much power they could not possibly need any thing from him; his task was to help in the ritual of propitiation that would persuade the spirits to share their powers. His confidence in the rituals appears to have been profound, and is illustrated by the actions of some who seized the anchors and attempted to pull the great ships to land. The Dutchmen, Schouten and Le Maire were amazed to see a native of Green Island attempt this;⁵⁰ over two centuries later, the German, Strauch, off Gazelle Peninsula, described how no sooner had a canoe come alongside than "a native grabbed a rope hanging over the side and tried to pull the ship away after him. The sailors stopped him and belted him with the rope, but he was not unduly concerned about his punishment."⁵¹

The gradual realization that the Europeans were not going to

are their magic formula for producing the things of their material wealth gave the native people a completely different attitude to the visitor. When the Rev. George Brown asked Chief Tolili of the adjoining region for a meeting, the Chief sent a reply that he had taken four of Mr. Brown's teachers, and further intended to eat them all, as well as Mr. Brown and all white men of the island. He further stated that men-of-war might come, - he did not care for them, - they only came for pigs and yams, there was not enough food in their own country; he did not care for muskets, he could dodge bullets; men-of-war would be afraid to follow him into the bush.⁵²

In Tolili's reply there is not only a challenge to the white man's power but a questioning of his claim of superiority as a being. In many of the primal myths which attempt to explain the light skins and powers of the white men, there is an assumption that in the beginning all men were equal, and that one section of mankind - the ancestors of the white men - advanced to power through undeserved luck or trickery. Burrige relates a myth of the Tangu people, a land from Madang, in which the dark descendants of one man are condemned to live out a primitive village existence in order to atone his crime of spearing a magic fish, while the pale descendants of his brother progress to wisdom and power.⁵³ From the Taupata people of South-East Papua comes the myth related by Giblin, in which the lighter skinned Lavarata clan stole from their neighbours, the Aurara clan, all their belongings and magic tree, which they allowed out and sailed away in. The tale ends thus:

When the white people came to Taupata everyone knew that they were the descendants of the old Lavarata clan, but because their fathers had taken all the utensils and weapons they had grown wise and become people of property, while the Aurara and other folk had stayed as they were.⁵⁴

people educated to these, or similar beliefs, the white man appeared to have no right - certainly no exclusive right - to his powers; he had no right to "return" and expect hospitality unless he came to give redress or to make compensation.

The European visitor in search of fresh food could not understand why the natives were not eager to trade their fruits, and were always reluctant to part with a pig. These attitudes were not generally met with elsewhere in the Pacific. They could not know that they were outside the native peoples' system of distribution of food and other objects. The natives already had their special trading partner relationships, whether on a small local scale, or on a large scale, as in the Kula Ring described by Malinowski.⁵⁵ The exchange of such gifts formed part of a ritual and the reciprocal obligations involved formed the basis of their morality. Acceptance of a trading relationship with the outsider would have involved the learning of a

whole new concept and its effect on the social and economic security of the people would have been considerable. A New Guinean achieved status by fulfilling his moral obligations within the system of gift exchange. The European must have appeared to him as something quite different from himself, because the stranger had status gained from an entirely different source - the possession of material goods.

The European trader was used to practising within social structures based on kingship or chieftainship. As a first step to negotiation, it was his habit to give small presents to those of minor influence, and to reserve the most and valuable for the king or chief. In New Guinea he was puzzled by the absence of a familiar social structure. The old ploy, "Take me to your leader!" met with no response, because chieftainship, where it existed, was far less highly developed than in most other countries. The man of influence was hard to recognize: in appearance he was usually no different from the rest. The European could not be expected to know that the man wearing a necklace of pigs' jaw-bones had status and thus influence, because he had fulfilled zealously all his obligations to his group; or that the man without bone adornments and standing near him, had even more status and influence because of his superior knowledge and skill in magic. It would also have been impossible for the uninitiated to know the extent of a "big man's" influence. This could only be learned by trial and error. The plan of the Marquis de Ray's colonists to enter into treaty with the neighbouring chiefs of Port Praslin, New Ireland, and become the head of a Franco-Oceanic confederation,⁵⁶ appears naive, when we consider that even a relatively minor piece of negotiation could involve the goodwill of a great number of people. On the Katau River in 1887, Strachan tried to exchange trade goods for the people's wooden gods. Strachan secured the god from the "priests" by exciting their cupidity, but the transaction was made difficult by the arrival of peoples of three principal tribes besides men from some of the farther inland tribes to prevent the exchange.⁵⁷

The New Guinean was usually as selective in his purchase as the European; in fact, it appears that in his selection he was not after the object of practical use or superior quality as much as the object he fancied was used by the white man to create the thing of use and quality. His efforts to take the "powers" that were not freely given by the Europeans gained him the label of thief. His dishonest dealings with the visiting ships contrasted sharply with his honest behaviour within his own group and confounded many a European trader.

It must have seemed to the New Guinean that the visitor fought hard to retain his powers for his exclusive use. Some Europeans, when their safety depended on their own wits, inadvertently encouraged this misunderstanding by making a deliberate show of power to impress

the natives. Acts of European "sorcery" included the pounding of the shoreline with the great guns, and the lighting up of the night sky with rockets. D'Albertis, the Italian naturalist, kept the natives of Yule Island under control by exploding shells, dynamite and rockets. A black flag flying over his fortress was a sign to the natives that he was about to use his powers against them.⁵⁸

Missionaries who came as "givers" also failed to meet the natives' expectations. They said they had come to bring them "the word" and to teach them the most important things of life. But they withheld the magic words that would allow the New Guinean to accrue material wealth. The missionary's sermons did not reveal the white man's secrets. The young geologist, Stone, attending the first service in the chapel at Port Moresby, said the congregation appeared to know it ought to be quiet, but every now and again the word "koi-koi" (lie) was heard in reference to something Lawes was saying.⁵⁹ It must have seemed to the people that the native teachers offered more straight talk or truth. A sermon preached by a Fijian teacher in New Britain illustrates this:

See what the lotu has done for us. We have houses, we have a big ship to come and visit us and bring us cloth, beads, etc., Mr. Brown has a big house and is a powerful chief; all this has lotu given us; how good a thing lotu is - it is better than taboo.

to which the chief replied: "If lotu will give all things, then it can give taboo also; if they can show us how it will give taboo, I will go to lotu often."⁶⁰ Richard Parkinson claimed some of the self-trained native teachers of Christianity encouraged and joined ancient customs and secret societies while others forbade all the ancient customs without giving the people anything better, or anything at all to take their place.⁶¹

The New Guinean appears to have grasped the idea that the white man's secrets would be forthcoming only if inter-clan warfare stopped. Macfarlane, at Teste Island in 1877, said, "When I spoke of there being no more fighting, loud unanimous consent and apparent disgust with the whole business of cutting off heads might have led a stranger to suppose that they were all rigid members of the Peace Society."⁶² A native at Dorei, sensing the European's disgust with cannibalism, assured Captain Keppel that there was no truth in the rumour that his people were cannibals; then, in a flash of conscience, he qualified this by saying that he, personally, only indulged in the particularly dainty parts, such as the palm of the hand.⁶³ The ritual of cannibalism was in the acquiring of strength or some other desirable trait to be used for the preservation of the clan in a hostile world. The European was unable to rationalise the inhumanity of this practice, but was able to rationalise his own

acts of inhumanity. The Rev. Lawes, addressing a congregation at Exeter Hall in 1879, tried to describe "the low moral condition" of the Port Moresby people. Their main source of pride, he said, was not in the medals and ribbons upon their breasts, for they had no such adornment. Instead, they proudly wore tattooing marks that indicated they had shed human blood.⁶⁴ The labour recruiter, Wawn explained that he always tried to get his recruits out of sight of their homeland quickly before second thoughts and homesickness set in - an emotion he equated with the temporary homesickness experienced by the English emigrant as he sailed down the English Channel.⁶⁵

The Europeans' insistence that warfare should cease, whether it was because it interfered with his commercial enterprise or with his missionary work, made for tremendous social change. Warfare was a necessary part of the social system. A "big man" gained his status not only through sorcery or gift exchange; he could also gain status through his prowess as a warrior, or as a mediator of battles. All accounts of warfare make it clear that little blood was spilled. The serious interchange was, in fact, very brief, most time being taken up in the ceremony of preparation for the battle, when warriors would challenge their opposite numbers in true Billingsgate fashion and gain status with every boast. Parkinson contended that war had a stimulating effect on the native that it sharpened his mental powers and developed him physically, and that without wars, a savage people become mentally and physically indolent.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, in order to carry out his copra enterprise Parkinson had to establish peace in his territory: "I get on well with the natives", he reported ingenuously, "I rule them virtually from Cape Gazelle up to our place and far in the interior. I have had some very bad scrimmages with them a few times but always lick them fearfully with my Bouka boys (of which I have 150) and the consequence is that all the surrounding districts are now at peace. A remarkable custom of the Tolais is their system of revenge: if A injures B, B burns down C's hut, or makes a hole in his canoe, or sticks a spear in the pathway so that C is nearly sure to run against it. C is expected to settle the account with A, the first aggressor. Off East Cape, a native came on board Romilly's ship to confess the killing of a white man, and to bring payment for him, - four arm shells and a pig's tooth. "Such is the value of the man's life he wrote Romilly. "The poor wretch was much astonished when he was put in irons; he could not understand it at all."⁶⁹ To the native, who had attempted to comply with the rules of the only system he knew that of negotiation through gifts, - the white man's actions must have seemed illogical and horrifying.

The traditional social structure through which the New Guinea natives gained status, and thus satisfaction, was weakened by the imposition

of the white man's authority. Where there appeared nothing to take the place of his old values, he was forced to look for something new. Frustrated by what he considered as the white man's refusal to teach him the secret of material success, he has had recourse in many instances to the adoption of a new cult or other forms of sorcery which he hoped would wrest the secret from the white man. In the intervals between such experiments, the void has often been filled by acts of physical aggression against Europeans or by passive resistance to European administration. Emotionally displaced persons create serious problems for a colonial government. Problems would be fewer if satisfactions received by the native peoples from the values in their old system were at least partly replaced by the new. After a period of sustained contact with another culture, some alien values are inevitably borrowed, then absorbed. Where New Guineans have had this type of contact with Europeans, material wealth has become important to them. The alien system should also provide, therefore, opportunity for the people to receive satisfaction in this area; but as Charles Rowley has pointed out,⁷⁰ all the evidence suggests that these people will not be satisfied with the possession of goods alone. It is the status that comes with the possessing - the status they feel will give them equality with the Europeans - that they crave.

Before values can be replaced or substitutions made, we have to know what the old assumptions, values and needs are, and which new ones have gained acceptance. Ethnohistorical evidence is one way of gaining insight into the values held by a society. The study of sources with this end in view is both a fruitful and important task.

NEW GUINEA: THE ETHNOHISTORY OF FIRSTCULTURE CONTACTSNOTES

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PERIODS IN KUSAIEH HISTORY

W.S. Wilson

Kusaie is a lush tropical high island, 42.3 square miles in land area, located at the eastern end of the Caroline Islands which lie to the north of Melanesia.

Culturally, Kusaie is Micronesian. The language spoken by the people is called Kusaiean and is closely related to Marshallese, Ponapean and Trukese. The island of Kusaie was fairly isolated before contact. The nearest other land is the atoll of Pingelap which is 144 miles away to the west northwest. Unlike their neighbors the Marshallese, the Kusaiens were not a seagoing people. From legends, however, references to other islands such as Ponape and even Yap indicate sporadic contacts with other parts of Micronesia.

Physically, Kusaie is almost circular and about 8 miles wide at the widest point. The interior of the island is characterized by two mountainous masses. The highest point in the northern part of the island is Mount Matunte which is 1,911 feet high. The southern portion of the island is dominated by a chain of mountain peaks of which Mount Crozer or Finkol is the highest at 2,079 feet.

The island has four good harbors, Orat or Coquille on the northwest coast, Lelu on the east coast and the twin harbors of Taf and Utwe on the south coast.

In terms of native practice of land utilization, Kusaie can be divided into a number of ecological zones. The mountain peaks form a zone which is exploited for certain valuable trees which may be used in canoe building. The Kusaiens find here too other trees from which lumber may be obtained. In the mountains are also urmeric and many medicinal plants as well as food plants including a variety of breadfruit tree which bears later in the mountains than in the lowlands, thus extending the breadfruit season.

The next ecological zone consists of the dark volcanic soils on the lower mountainsides and flatlands. This is the zone which is ideal for the planting of breadfruit, dryland taro (Colocasia) and bananas and is also utilized for planting of coconuts.

Freshwater swamps are common in the lowlands and constitute a zone for the cultivation of giant swamp taro (Cyrtosperma) and reeds which are utilized in housebuilding.

Another zone is the flatland which often forms between the freshwater swamps and the beach. The soil in this zone is a combination of sand and decayed organic matter. This is the best area for coconut plantings and for certain varieties of breadfruit. Plants such as hibiscus and other strand plants flourish here.

The beach areas form a zone which Kusaiens exploit for the gathering of shells and other marine life.

The shallow waters inside the reef are exploited for fish as are the deeper areas and the reef itself.

Kusaie's subsistence economy did not change appreciably before the last few years which have seen increased educational and administrative activity affecting Kusaie.

Some of the periods in Kusaien history according to the scheme I propose overlap with one another. The significance of this for the writing of Pacific history will be discussed later.

Precontact

The first period, which is not a historical period at all, but rather a prehistorical one, is the precontact. This period, of which little is known, ended when Duperry visited Kusaie in June of 1824. At that time Kusaie was unified under a 'king' and about 18 chiefs who held title at the pleasure of the king and who exercised rights over districts assigned by the king. The inhabitants of the 57 districts delivered food and labor as demanded by the chiefs. A half of the produce of the land seems to be about the maximum demanded.

Early Contact

Duperry's visit in 1824 was followed by Lutke's visit in 1828. Both explorers reported that the Kusaien people were friendly, but the chiefs somewhat less so. During this early contact period there were several hostile incidents involving Europeans and Kusaiens. In 1835 two ships were attacked by Kusaiens. One ship was burned and the crew massacred. Another ship escaped with two surviving crew members. In 1843, still another ship was burned by Kusaiens. After that, relations appear to have improved. Although the end of the early contact period is somewhat arbitrary, we can use 1843 as a convenient date for ending it.

Whaling Period

1837 is taken as the beginning of the whaling period for Kusaie because this was the year that relations between the king

Kusaie and the whalers became friendly. Before 1837 whalers had stopped at Kusaie but relations were uneasy. During this period as a result also of early contact, the population of Kusaie began a severe decline from a contact population of about 2,000. The population did not start to recover from the effects of influenza epidemics, syphilis, gonorrhoea and other diseases until after 1880 which time the population had declined to less than 200.

The whaling period ended about 1865 when whaling declined in the Pacific. Kusaie played a role as one of the most desirable places to spend the winter.

Missionization

The missionization of Kusaie began in 1851 when the Hawaiian mission of the American Board of Foreign Missions sent Reverend Snow to Kusaie with his wife and a Hawaiian couple. The ministry of Snow was so successful after a rather slow start that little opposition has been left on Kusaie for other denominations. By 1905 the church on Kusaie became independent, ending the period of missionization. Missionaries on Kusaie after 1905 were primarily concerned with the operation of the school at Mwot (Woot) for Marshallese, Gilbertese and Carolinian students.

Spanish Period

In 1886, the Spanish consolidated their position in Micronesia and successfully countered a move by Germany to seize Kusaie and other Caroline Islands in 1885. The Spanish who were long established on Ponape never did have much direct effect on Kusaie. The Spanish period ended in 1899 when the Germans purchased most of Micronesia from Spain who had lost Guam and the Philippines to the United States.

German Period

The German period began in 1899. During this period, the copra industry was encouraged, and the Kusaiens enjoyed indirect rule. Palikna or King John was elected with the approval of the German administration. By this time the office of king had lost its absolute powers and the church was supreme; King John also served as head of the church.

Japanese Period

The German period ended and the Japanese period began in 1914 when the Japanese took advantage of Germany's involvement in World War I to seize German holdings in Micronesia. The Japanese period

from 1914 to 1944 was one in which Kusaie was not an important administrative center until the war when 7,000 Japanese soldiers were stationed there. The Japanese rule on Kusaie is remembered for its strictness and sometimes harshness and its educational and economic activity.

United States Period

In 1945, the United States period on Kusaie began. Kusaie is not an administrative center under the American Administration. The Kusaiens run their own affairs and have made some progress in the field of education. A period of acceleration of many programs affecting the Kusaiens is now in process.

Discussion

The attempt to delineate periods in Kusaien history points up a few problems in the writing of history in Oceania.

First of all, Kusaie like other Pacific islands and Pacific cultures, is more or less unique because of isolation. The history of Kusaie is therefore a problem in itself. The history of Oceania of necessity must deal with many hundreds of such histories. An examination of the periods in Kusaien history, however, suggests some themes for broader schemes.

One scheme might deal with the history of early contact which is spread over a wide time range beginning in the 1500's and continuing into the present in some of the more isolated parts of New Guinea. Histories of exploration form the base line for a history of early contact which should deal with the internal adjustments of the societies in contact and also with the early effects of contact such as disease and depopulation.

Whaling is a theme which is related to and in some cases almost synonymous with early contact. Whaling in the Pacific became important in the 1830's, reached a peak in the 1850's and declined in the 1860's. The influence of whalers was very important in Kusaie, but was also important in other parts of Oceania, especially Hawaii and other parts of Polynesia.

Missionization is another theme around which history of Oceania can be written. Missionization begins early and is still in progress in the Pacific so that unlike whaling, the time period is not limited.

Other themes in a history of Oceania would involve activities such as copra raising, sugar raising, gold mining and others.

The last four periods outlined for Kusaie are in terms of the powers which dominated the area in succession. Again we have here suggestion of an organizing theme and that is the history of each colonial power in Oceania.

The problem of writing an overall history of Oceania is to connect the separate strands of the histories of many islands and local groups with the various unifying and diversifying influences which have been experienced by peoples in Oceania. At the points of contact between the local histories and the successive influences, there should be found situations from which true generalizations can be made. Oceania provides a historical laboratory in which each island and local grouping represents a series of experiments waiting to be analysed.

APPENDIX

A Short Chronology of Kusaie History

DatesIncidents

1529

Sept. 14

Spaniard Saavedra sighted Kusaie.

1804

The American Whaler, Captain Crozer sighted Kusaie and named it Strong's Island. Crozer's ship was called the Nancy.

1824

June 5 - 15

Duperry in the ship Coquille stopped at Kusaie for 10 days. Lesson, a member of the expedition reported on the visit.

Awane (King) Salik I was reported to be senile at this time. Known Kings before Awane Salik I were:

Awane Sa IAwane LikiakAwane Na

The population at this time may have been as many as 5,000 or more (according to a later estimate made by the mission) or most probably about 2,000 (according to Duperry).

1827 - 1828

Dec. 8 - Jan. 1

Lutke, the Russian explorer visited Kusaie with the ship Senjawin. He reported the people friendly.

1830 - 1860

Whaling became significant in the 1830's, flourished in the 1840's, reached a peak in the 1850's and declined during the 1860's.

1835 - 1837

Awane Su II who reigned at this time was described as a usurper, brutal, inconsiderate and unfriendly to Europeans.

35

Attacks on two ships

1. One crew was massacred and the ship burned at Lelu because a daughter of a chief was thrown in the water and drowned.
2. Captain Stock on the Hondura arrived at Lelu. Most of his crew and he were killed but 2 crew members escaped with the ship to Ponape.

metime between
37/38 and 1852

The "Dark" Typhoon (Pākā lōs)

37

Revolt

Awane Su II tried to take Tofol (a land division) from Salik, his sister's son. Salik and 6 sons revolted. They defeated and deposed Awane Su II.

37 - 1854

Reign of Awane Lepalik I

At this time there were 18 titles. He was known as King George. He was friendly to whalers.

42

At one time there were 3 whaling vessels in Okāt, 2 Americans and 1 Canadian. Five whalers stopped at Okāt harbor this year.

43

Captain Parker was killed and his ship, Henrietta, burned in Okāt harbor over the rape and seizure of women. (see 1853)

45

Delessert visited Okāt. Two Englishmen came on board the ship.

50

Two Americans, Kirkland and Hussey, settled at Lelu to trade with whalers.

50

First visit of the Emily Morgan. During the eleven day visit there were three ships there. (Lelu)

51

ril

Second visit of the Emily Morgan. At that time there was a Ball Alley at Lelu.

Kirkland, the trader, estimated the population to be between 1400 and 1700 people.

- 1852
August 21 Reverend and Mrs. Snow arrived from Honolulu with Opunui and Doreka.
- October Fourth visit of the Emily Morgan.
- 1852
December First formal Church Service given by Snow.
- 1852 -- 1856 75 whalers stopped at Kusaie during these four years according to Snow.
- 1853 Hammet investigated the destruction of the Henrietta (1843). Awane Lepalik I told him that he had executed 14 men and 4 women who had been aboard the Henrietta. This was said probably just to prevent reprisals.
- 1853 Snow reported that he was discouraged.
- 1854 Death of King George. At death of the king, a chief, Sesa, became dictatorial and seized land. Because of this, Awane Su III became king. He was the son of King George.
- 1854 - 1856 Reign of Awane Su III
- 1855 Influenza epidemic
113 deaths and 86 sick persons out of a population of 1,106.
- 1856
Sept. Awane Su III died. (Snow reported that he died of dissipation). (Kusaie opinion was that he was throttled by his successor)
- October Recurrence of influenza. 20 ships anchored at Lelu. Population 950 (earlier that year the mission census counted 975 people)
- 1856 - 1858 Reign of Awane Oa
- 1857 Awane Oa discovered a plot by four white men, 14 Rotoma men, and one Negro to seize power. All but 2 Rotumans married to Kusaiens were expelled. A law was made to bar permanent settlement by whites.

- 58 Public confession of adulterers at the mission ordered by Rev. Snow. Public confession became, and still is, a feature of the Kusaian Church.
- 56 - 1863 Reign of Awane Lepalik II. He had two wives, sent women to ships and was a pagan.
- 59 Population was 748.
- 60 Not much progress in religion and morals according to Snow.
- 61 Improvement in church attendance and also a revival of Kusaian religion.
- 62 The church had over 100 hearers and 27 members. Snow left for Marshalls to return for annual visits.
- 63 Awane Lepalik II died suddenly one week after seizing land belonging to the Christian congregation. He died while supervising replanting of the land he had seized.
- 63 - 1874 Reign of Awane Salik II. He opposed Christianity.
- 64 Missionaries return for visit. Fifty new converts.
- 67 There were two stone chapels on the mainland and one on Lelu. 197 members.
- 68 Population had declined to around 600.
- 69 Ten titles had lapsed. Only 8 titles left. Wife of the king joined the church (was later expelled in 1871).
- King permitted people to choose 7 representatives to sit with him and enact laws and regulations.
- 70 Godeffroy and Sons opened a copra trading station.
- 71 First Kusaian Pastor was ordained (Liliaksa).

- 1874 Bully Hayes' vessel the Leonora sank at Utwe. At this time Harry Skilling was in Lelu.
- Census population 397 (Males 237, Females 160).
- 1874 - 1880 Reign of Awane Su IV (elected).
Awane Salik II was deposed at a meeting in October of 1874. Awane Su IV was supporter of the church.
- 1877 or 1878 Capelle Company began operation of Kusaie. (Later, a trader from HERNSHEIM informed the king that the Capelle Company failed. When the Capelle trader returned the people were angry at HERNSHEIM).
- 1879 Reverend Snow left, Dr. E.M. Pease and Mrs. Whitney began the Marshall Islands School at Woot.
- 1880 HERNSHEIM scandal. HERNSHEIM demanded 133,000 pounds of copra as well as money for unpurchased trade goods (copra was delivered).
- At this time the population had fallen below 200 people. This was the lowest population point.
- Tribute was still being given to the King as well as a share of copra.
- There were only five titles at this time.
- Captain Melander, copra planter and ship captain, began operations on Kusaie.
- Dr. Gulik from Boston Mission visits Kusaie.
- 1880 - 1888 Reign of Awane Su V (elected).
Awane Su IV was deposed for giving Woot to the missionaries.
- 1881 HERNSHEIM scandal investigated by German Consul General. (Decision unfavourable to the Kusaiens).

- 882 Gilbert Islands Training School moved to Kusaie. (Mr. Wakup)
- 884 Formal recognition of class distinctions abandoned by Awane Su V.
- 884 - 1910 Dr. Edmund M. Pease on Kusaie as a child.
- 885 Germans raised the flag on Kusaie. (Dispute was referred to Pope Leo XII. Germany won right to trade, fish and set up coaling stations).
- 886 A third school moved to Woot.
- 886 - 1899 Spanish Rule (no attempt to govern internal affairs on Kusaie).
- 887 Jaluit Company formed. Trading station opened on Kusaie.
- 888 - 1893 Alice C. Little (missionary) on Kusaie.
- 889 or 1890 Six-month reign of Awane Lepalik III
- 890 Tidal wave, many killed.
- Captain Melander married Neneus.
- Rev. Frank E. Rand transported to Kusaie from Ponape by American Commander.
- 890 - 1905 Rev. and Mrs. Irving Channon on Kusaie.
- 890 - 1910 Reign of Awane Sa II (returned from Honolulu to become king)
- 890 - 1914 Miss Jessie C. Hoppin on Kusaie (visited until 1933. Took Rose to the mainland).
- 891 Typhoon (6 houses destroyed, no deaths).
- March 3 and 4
- 893 Earthquake
Typhoon
- 898 Only two or three Kusaiens attended Woot.

- 1899 - 1914 German Rule (Germany acquired Marianas and Carolines by purchase from Spain).
- 1900 Religious revival (about $\frac{1}{2}$ adult population was in church at end of revival).
- 1901
Feb. 2 Christian Endeavour founded by Dr. E.F. Ri
Kefwas was first president.
- 1905 Kusaie Church becomes independent.

Marshall Island Training School left Kusaie
- April 19 - 22 Typhoon
- 1906 Gilbert Islands Training School moved to Ponape.

Kusaiens and Caroline Islanders attending Woot.
- 1910 After withdrawing from Truk 2 missionaries and their wives arrived on Kusaie.
- 1910 - 1957 Reign of Awane Na (Palikna)
- 1914 - 1945 Japanese Rule
- 1914 - 1920 Japanese Navy Rule
- 1914 Nanyo Boeki Kaisha replaced Jaluit Company.
- 1920 - 1922 Japanese Civil Government under Navy Rule.
- 1922 Single Japanese policeman at Lelu.
- 1928 - 1932 Rev. and Mrs. George Lockwood at Woot.
- 1932 Japanese land survey.
- 1935 Japanese colony consisted of 25 persons.
- 1936 - 1940 Clarence F. McCall (missionary) on Kusaie.
- 1936 - 1941 Miss Baldwin on Kusaie.
Miss Eleanor Wilson on Kusaie.

37

Population 1267 (males 645, females 622)

Total Population 1332 (Chamorro males 1, females 6; Japanese males 31, females 9; Foreigners males 3, females 5).

	<u>1937</u>	<u>1936</u>	<u>1935</u>	<u>1934</u>
Imports -	87,130	(70,805?)	(54,945?)	(32,632?)

Exports -	125,223	70,805	54,945	32,632
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38

Nanyo Kohatsu Kaisha came to Kusaie (Failed in raising sugar cane).

39

Nanyo Kohatsu Kaisha started Truck gardening on Kusaie.

40

Nanyo Kohatsu Kaisha had a poor crop.

41

Two Japanese women at Woot. (Ren. Suzuki and Yamada).

Wages for Kusaiens 1 yen per day. (Mr. Herman paid 2 yen and board but sometimes less).

44

September

Kusaie bombed by Americans, population flees to hills.

45

United States occupation.

48

Population 1775

50

Population 1865

51

Population 1952

52

Population 2060

53

Kusaie Municipal Budget \$2,000

56

Population 2,320

64

Population 3245 (Males 1709, Females 1536)

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VIII CLOSING ADDRESS



BRITANNIA, ANGLIA, MELANESIA

O.H.K. Spate

This, the second Waigani Seminar, on the History of Melanesia, has four sponsors: the Council on New Guinea Affairs, the Administrative College, the Australian National University, and the University of Papua & New Guinea. To the College in particular we are indebted as our hosts; indeed it has acted as a host on a larger scale to the new University itself, and I am sure, Mr Vice-Chancellor, that I am speaking for you, your colleagues, and your students when I say that this generosity will always be gratefully remembered. For me personally it is a source of very great pleasure that my first public appearance as Director of the Research School of Pacific Studies, which through its New Guinea Research Unit and by other research has played a not inconsiderable role in the intellectual activity of the country, should take the form of an address to a seminar largely sponsored by two Universities with which my connection has been close from their beginnings. I regret, I am sure we all do, that the genial and energetic leader of the Unit, John Crocombe, cannot be with us tonight. We have of course the no less genial and no less energetic Ken Inglis, who, apart from his fascinating direct contribution, has provided much of the impetus for the holding of Waigani. To him, and to all those who have worked behind the scenes, our thanks are due.

Apart from my pleasure in the perhaps slightly sentimental association I have mentioned, there is the more serious pleasure arising from the intrinsic interest of the Seminar itself. A few years ago many, even of those here assembled, would have thought it scarcely possible, even a fantastic dream, that so many people, from such diverse fields of activity, could have been brought together at Port Moresby to discuss in detail the history of people and places often assumed to have had virtually no history; by which would have been meant, of course, no formal history in the European sense; at least a sort of second-hand connection with history through the two great wars into which these people and places had been passively, almost accidentally, dragged. Even this is of course a vulgar error: the history of Melanesia as the arena for European activities has its own lively interest. But beyond this lies a realm whose fascinations are only beginning to explore: the history of Melanesia in its own right as a large, if fragmented, sector of the earth's surface and the home of peoples who have themselves made history.

Perhaps in the common rooms of remote and ancient universities this history which the Melanesians have made might be written off,

by the traditional and the imperceptive, as local history, trivial and parochial. But the principles of good historical work can be illustrated on any material whatsoever - one of the best pieces of real history I have read was a paperback history of soccer, whose author I am sure would have been vastly surprised at finding himself taken as seriously as that; but he had the stuff of a good historian in him. Further, universal history is made up of an almost infinite congeries of local histories, and a sufficient answer is the old classical tag: to a full man, nothing human is alien. One might also say that this lofty Eurocentric attitude suggests a vulgar disinterest in our own European origins, which were local and parochial enough. We were all "natives" once.

I regret that I have been able to attend only a few of the sessions of the Seminar, thus missing some very interesting discussions; but until nine days ago I was in Southeast Asia and hence had to devote much of my time in Port Moresby to this hastily written paper. I have however read all the papers, with great interest and indeed excitement. Possibly some who are not professional historians may have felt a little diffident in view of their amateur status, but their contributions may have been all the more valuable for that: I am sure the professionals, present or future, would prefer their material raw rather than processed by their dear colleagues or rivals. There were about forty papers, and I hope I may be excused the task of summarising and commenting on the lot seriatim: this would be, I am sure, a tedious and artificial exercise, and moreover a pointless one, since most of you will have heard or read them, and good wine needs no bush. Rather I shall present some more or less random reflection on history and my own experience of it, referring specifically to some papers where they seem to enter naturally into my argument - if argument is the right word for what I fear will prove a rambling and egotistical discourse. To those who do not so enter into this discourse, my apologies and my assurance that no criticism is implied.

Although I do not intend a detailed summation, I cannot refrain from a general summary to indicate the very remarkable range of talents and interests mobilised for the discussion of what as I have said, may appear to be a merely local and parochial theme but one which widens out and has its linkages with very great movements and events. The past geography of the southwest Pacific, the expansion of Christendom, imperialism, the two greatest wars which have devastated our earth - these are not narrow, local, parochial.

To begin with, we had three papers on the background of economic history: there could have been thirty, but these can stand as a

ample of what remains to be done. Here I should like to acknowledge specifically the non-academic contribution by Mr Nicklason: the history of Steamships is not only interesting in itself and for its delights on social history, but a pointer to a large field of research. Then we moved on to Administration and Administrators, and here we had the pleasure and privilege of hearing two major participants in our history assessing their own works and days: Colonel Murray, whom we rejoice to have had with us, and Sir Donald Ireland. We may hope on their behalf that they had the enjoyment of emotions recollected in tranquillity; though in Sir Donald's case the tranquillity might have been a bit dented at question time, had he not shown himself such a past-master of the stonewalling retort parliamentary.... Sir William MacGregor and Sir Walter McNicoll were also revalued, the latter, if I may say so, in a charming and altogether satisfying blend of filial respect with frankness. The factor of personality among the rulers was also brought out by the study of Dr Hahl, and this formed part of an especially valuable contribution to this Seminar; the foray into that terra incognita of Australians, the German phase in New Guinea, so important as the initiatory phase of modernisation. Perhaps the impression which remains is of the Teutonic thoroughness with which the New Guinea Company organised itself into practical disorganisation. Students of the East India Company will recognise the ambivalent attitude of Christian missions brought out in the Rev. Dr Wiltgen's paper, contribution at once to the study of the German phase and the study, perhaps even more important, of the expansion of Christianity in Melanesia.

No sensible discussion of the history of Melanesia could possibly ignore the rise of Christian missions, and this Seminar was certainly not done so. Although nearly half of its population is still not even formally Christian, New Guinea (and even more New Guinea) is in a sense a far more Christian country than Australia, Britain, or the United States; after all, it is some little time since in these more "advanced" countries the proceedings of trade unions and co-operatives were initiated with prayer. If the impact of Christianity represented a profound recasting of traditional cosmogonies and mores, the impact of the Pacific War was a traumatic shock: this too we have discussed in three papers. Then there have been fascinating contributions to the understanding of our history from other disciplines, in papers on biogeography, linguistics, anthropology, human biology, and archaeology, while we can only regard Dr Panoff's paper as our contribution to the history of ideas. For archaeology I may perhaps refer with some legitimate pride to the fact that in 1951, after my first visit to the Territory, I wrote of problems whose solution, if attainable at all, could only be attained by archaeological techniques, now at last being undertaken by Jack Golson's merry men. Finally, the last group of

papers forms essentially a contribution to sociological history.

The net has been cast wide, and the haul has been rich: here as Dryden said, is God's plenty. As I wrote long ago in another context

...every clue must be followed up and all is grist to the mill: a passing reference to a crop or a building stone in a mediaeval poem, a footnote explaining some anomaly in a census table, an assemblage of heavy minerals in a river-gravel, the detail of a minor campaign in a forgotten war, the name of a pub - any of them may be significant.

This principle has been triumphantly vindicated in the extraordinary range of papers, highly diverse in origin yet all bearing on our main themes, presented to the Seminar. Indeed, we may not too immodestly claim that Waigani might well serve as an interdisciplinary model to academic institutions much older than the Australian National University and the still younger University of Papua & New Guinea.

So much by way of my formal duty of summing-up: let me now return to some personal reflections on history, reflections excited by the most stimulating experience of this Seminar. As I warned you, they will be egotistical - I may perhaps be allowed to cover myself with a Samoan shield lifted from Professor Davidson's armoury. I must also warn you that most quotations are strictly from memory.

First, as to the "use of history": do we, can we, really learn things of value from what Gibbon called the record of the vices, crimes, and follies of mankind? Very much has been written on this, often enough ending in the cynical reflection that we learn from history that we, and those before us, have failed to learn from history. Like all of us academics, the historian in his inaugurals - as Professor Davidson in his inauguration to this Seminar - feels the compulsion to satisfy himself, if nobody else, that it is all worth while. Professor Davidson indeed introduced a converse lesson - the value to the historian of having himself been a participant in the making of history, and once again Gibbon is to the point. He had been a militia officer, and for a few weeks in the year he had to make out marching orders and arrange to billet his Hampshire Grenadiers in the local pubs; he had also sat for some years in the House of Commons, where he never spoke; yet he thought - and very justly - that this limited experience was "not unuseful to the historian of the Roman Armies and Senate. In history, as in other walks of life, an ounce of practice may be worth a deal of theory.

One of the most revealing recent discussions of the use of story - particularly revealing to us since it also was delivered in a quasi-colonial context - is that of Professor Wang Gungwu in his inaugural lecture to the University of Malaya, which I shall now summarise. (Incidentally, I shall try to get another out of him when he joins our School later this year.) He distinguishes three uses of history, none of them exclusive of the others but with varying proportions of significance according to the historical context of a given time and place. To quote him directly:

The first and probably the most common use of history is when the group, the family, or clan, or tribe, searches for a kind of folk-memory, for the one past which will preserve the group's identity and strengthen the group's capacity to survive.

This sort of history has always existed in New Guinea, in the form of myth, tradition, cosmogony and genealogy. It has played an extremely significant role in the rise to unity and nationhood of fragmented and oppressed peoples in Europe - Ireland, the Slav countries, even Italy and Germany. On a larger scale than that of the tribe, its significance for Papua and New Guinea needs no pressing, and to this forging (the word is not meant literally, though forgery has on occasion served its purpose) our Waigani seminars make a direct contribution. It has its dangers of distortion, as Professor Wang points out: it is so easy to slide over from a proper pride in newly discovered past achievement to gross exaggeration and wild propaganda for glories that never were. But it remains a most essential element in the building of a nation.

Professor Wang's second use is more empirically utilitarian: history as example, "the cumulation of past experience", warning against errors, providing models of tactics in critical situations, generally giving some vision of evolutionary progress though sometimes proceeding by way of the awful warning and issuing in a pessimistic vision of degeneracy - "the Dark Ages are returning" as a result of luxury and materialism. This is perhaps what is usually meant by those laymen who think that history has any use; and indeed this approach to history can be of real value in forming what were schools of national character and intelligent political styles. It too has its traps: it easily falls into mere moralising, and may tend to carry over, too easily, good advice derived from past situations superficially analogous to our own but perhaps with built-in differences in depth. The remedy of course is more depth, but this is much easier to call for than to attain. Later on I shall try to illustrate the use of this approach to Melanesians, drawing not from Melanesian but from European history, and you may feel that

I have myself fallen into the trap of too-easy analogy.

Finally, in Professor Wang's view, is history as an attempt to understand man's place on earth, his destiny, his own nature, whether that place is regarded as being within a Divine scheme of things or in a secular view of "Progress" or in a Stoic acceptance of man's insignificance and the inexplicable nature of his activities. This is indeed a noble function of history, one capable of grandeur and cosmic vision, whether that vision be one of Divine Providence, as in St Augustine's City of God, or of divine indifference, as when Alfred de Vigny has Nature, symbolise as the Earth-Mother, address man, putting him in his place:

Seeing nor hearing them, unmoved I bear
 Alike of ants and men the populations,
 Nor tell apart estate from grave, nor care
 Though wearing them, to know the names of nations;
 When you are gone, still silent I shall roll
 Alone, serene, towards an unknown goal,
 With lofty breasts and brow cleaving the heavens...

In this age of man's conquest of everything but his own deep-seated irrationalities and savageries, it is perhaps as well to be so brutally reminded of his limitations; limitations of course which on a religious view can be transcended, or perhaps at times evaded. We may but rarely be able to attain these heights, on which far greater minds than our own have often enough gone astray; but we should at least be aware of them as an ideal, to be able at times to say with the Psalmist "I have lifted up mine eyes unto the mountains..."

To these uses of history I would add, in our particular context, one for the use of Europeans: the use of regional histories to illuminate our own past. We must not fall into the fallacy of accepting cut-and-dried phases of society, hunters, gatherers, nomads, cultivators, and so on, proceeding in one straight evolutionary line with virtual uniformity of succession and direction if differing rates of advance; but it is observable fact that there are situations existing in the present, accessible to direct observation, which present distinct analogies to situations in the European past, accessible only to painful and often fragmentary reconstruction.

India, for example, is a vast museum of economic history, from almost Neolithic or at least early Iron Age societies at one end of the scale, with every species of domestic manufacture and entrepreneurship, coexisting with monopoly capitalism and State Socialism: here the pages of Lipson or Cunningham are alive before

ur eyes, and I am inclined to think that a year in India should be part of the training of the economic historian. To give another example from my own experience, I had done first-hand work on the geography of Domesday England; I had even found the village which had "woodland for eighteen pigs and two-thirds of another pig", which seemed to me a pretty refined statistic for the eleventh century. But I had never felt what Domesday England was like to live in till I found myself in the Burmese Shan States: the same area and population as the England of 1086, the same spacing and size of the little towns, the same counties and petty baronies, the same monasteries and five-day markets; only instead of the Syrian pedlar with his pack across a mule, the Chinese pedlar with his pack on a bicycle. This indeed was regional geography to the rescue of history.

And so sometimes in this Seminar I have felt that I was re-living the past of my own people. I cannot pinpoint my clan affiliations with the precision of Mr Guise; I do know that on the paternal side my ancestors came from the last heathen kingdom in England, Sussex, which stood out against the new Faith for nearly a century; and that they were pretty certainly waiting - very reluctantly, called into the Home Guard - for William the Conqueror. Those old units of England, once all-important in the life of the people and now functionally forgotten, the hundreds and rapes and tithings and wapentakes - how much they resemble tribal areas in the Highlands, their fragmentation and often their lack of geographic rationale reflecting petty migrations and clan wars, with the place of assembly under the moot-tree, insignificant or non-existent now, or the ceremonial ground. I do not want these analogues to be taken too closely, that would be very unscientific history; only to give some idea of how to me, a man passionately interested in the past of my own people and the past of mankind, like seems to call to like, perhaps in a thin ghost-like voice but always poignantly over the centuries, over the Ocean Sea.

There is a wider analogue. For what was pre-Roman Britain but a small backward island, "the last unknown", inhabited by tribes who painted themselves blue for battle and burnt, if they did not eat, their prisoners; a backward and barbarous island, lying close to a large developed metropolitan power with a highly advanced technology, and hence bound to be drawn into its colonial orbit? As I have said, we were all "natives" once. Later, after the conquest, the efficient material exploitation, the Missions and the educating, there was the prolonged worry as to whether Rome was really going to abandon Britannia, and conversely whether the Britons really were fitted for self-government yet. As we know, they really weren't, at least when confronted with the Saxon onslaught. Perhaps the Romans had been too paternalist, too much inclined to bring things from Canberra.

In their turn the Saxons were subjugated by the tough efficient Norman imperialism, so shocking to those who believed in traditional easy-going values, in communal ways in the village: as the Anglo-Saxon chronicler says, "it is shameful even to write what King William thought it no shame to do", when all that he in fact did was to take a census of production. Indeed, at times the Normans who took over my country seem to have regarded the Saxon peasantry with rather less benevolence than the most bloody-minded old-style planter: the only good Saxon was a dead Saxon, only unfortunately the natives were needed for labour on the manor; an attitude very openly stated (though by this time without a racial reference) as late as the Norfolk Rebellion of 1549. Yet Britons and Saxons survived these barbarisms and imperialisms to grow into England. There is, I think, a really useful "use of history" for Melanesians here: old values may be subverted, old traditions fade, but the people can survive, adjusting however painfully to new and bewildering and even shocking ways of living and thinking; can survive and can grow in strength and cohesion.

Here, most unfortunately, the analogy breaks down in one cardinal point: the time factor. What Europe took centuries of patient human effort to accomplish, the new nations of the post-colonial world are asked to achieve in decades. Yet what man has done, man can do; there are new tools for the task in communications media undreamed of by our forebears; and then there are few more constant factors in history than the stamina and resilience of agrarian societies.

Reading Mr Fenbury's paper on contacting the Mokolkols, I found myself thinking: how much we would give for some young Roman D.O.'s report on first meeting say those notoriously tough savages the Silures in their wild Welsh hills; or again, reading some of the Mission papers, for a report of the talk at the base - not the official report to Rome! - of say St Wilfrid on the Sussex heathens, or for the German lands St Boniface or St Willibrord - rustic Saxons by origin, the equivalents of the Polynesian pastors

The literacy and self-consciousness of the Catholic Church did ensure that we do in fact have some personal record of the pioneer of the Gospel. What we do not have, what we would give much more for than even the Roman D.O.'s report, is any view from the receiving end; even more than a Roman Fenbury, we would love to meet an ancient British Bugoto. We can be certain that the mission story looked very different from the mission records to those heathens whose priests were slaughtered and whose ceremonial groves were destroyed by Charlemagne with fire and sword. We would like also the German version of the society Tacitus describes; though I doubt if the originals could do better in the way of rationalisation.

an his approval of the custom of making a collective tribal decision on important questions twice - once at night, when everybody got drunk and said just what he thought, and then again the morning after, when second thoughts prevailed.

Some such records we have, too few; I would like to digress to all of one precious document reporting from an Asian angle the "discovery" of Asia by Europe. It has strictly speaking nothing to do with the theme of this Seminar, the history of Melanesia; but, as you will see, there are certain interesting similarities in Indian and Melanesian responses.

The document is a letter from the Captain of Colombo to the King of Kandy, reporting the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505:

There is in our harbour of Colombo a race of people with fair skins, but sufficiently comely (you will recall the lady in Scripture who was black but comely); they wear hats of iron and jackets of iron; they walk up and down without ceasing; they eat hunks of stone and drink blood (ship's biscuit and (with luck) good Madeira); and they will give two or three pieces of gold or silver for one fish or one lime...

How far it sounds very much like the Indian (and British) reaction to the arrival of the American armies in 1942; and I am sure that the New Guinean reaction was no different. So also for the last observation of this very perceptive Captain of Colombo: "but their customs are very good."

For our own past, this longing for the authentic voice of our forefathers is pining for what is not and cannot be; the positive point is to recognise that, as Mr Bugoto and Mr Guise have shown, it is not too late to rescue these precious potential records of Melanesia; what for us Europeans is lost in a dim irrecoverable past is here fresh, in the recent past, still within recent memory; and its recording cannot fail to help future generations of Melanesians to understand themselves and their identity, which we have seen to be one of the first uses of history. Not the least admirable thing in Professor Inglis's admirable paper was his instant insistence on the opportunities in this direction which are still, but perhaps for not much longer, open to us; and Barrett's lively talk had similar pointers. I think we may be well assured that the Department of History in the University of Papua and New Guinea is not neglecting, and will not neglect, this task.

Finally there is the local factor, the genius of the place,

especially dear to the heart of a geographer. It was put perfectly by Kipling in a poem which I am glad to say is entitled Sussex:

God gave all men all earth to love
 But, since our hearts are small,
 Ordained to each one spot should prove
 Beloved over all.

Few things are more moving to me - still, though it must be thirty-five years since I last visited it - than a spot in the Gog Magog Hills near Cambridge, where Neolithic Icknield Way is crossed by Roman Via Devana and by an Anglo-Saxon war-ditch, the Fleam Dyke, while thrown in as a bonus is the embankment of an abandoned railway of the 1840s. Not far away one church has monolithic columns in its little aisle, monoliths looted from a Roman town which was ruins when the Saxons came, and another boasts what is alleged to be the skin of an unlucky straggler from a Danish raid, cured into leather and nailed to the door. Or there is Old Sarum, notorious as an uninhabited rotten borough in the nineteenth century, where the great banks of the pre-Roman Iron Age hill-fort encircle a square-built Norman keep, and now carry a 1940 pill-box commanding the route by which, quite possibly, Cerdic's war-band entered to form the Saxon kingdom of Wessex. In such places, where our history seems at once fossil and alive, one can but feel a holy awe.

Here we cannot as yet have such dramatic juxtapositions of the ages; they will surely come. As the work of the palynologists and archaeologists pushes the known origins of settled life in New Guinea further and further back, more precious fossils will be revealed, more reconstructions of past cultural landscapes will be possible. I am not a Moresby man nor (even more obviously) a Motu, yet I could not help being thrilled - and that is the exactly right word - by the deepening of our knowledge of the historical geography simply of this local area displayed in the Taurama papers. Much more work of this sort needs to be done - we are only at the beginning - and I am sure it will be done. Then again the European phase in New Guinea is in one sense certain to be a passing phase; there is no Empire on which the sun does not set sooner or later. But it will undeniably have been a seminal phase, and its monuments - and I would include such things as the Sapphire Creek copper mine as well as the Hagen eagle - will deserve preservation, as India preserves the monuments of the British Raj alongside the glorious fossils of her own more ancient cultures. All, in time to come, will speak of that part of the past in which New Guinea took the first steps to nationhood.

It is more than my hope, it is my firm conviction, that the establishment of the University of Papua and New Guinea will make

most essential contribution to the formation of this feeling of nationhood, for which its students, drawn from all parts of the Territory, have a special responsibility. I am very proud indeed to have been directly and personally concerned in the foundation of the University. Less personally and less directly - I did none of the hard work - I have been concerned, through my position in the Research School of Pacific Studies and its New Guinea Research Unit, with this Waigani Seminar, which seems to me to be one of the tools with which our two Universities can add something to the foundations of a Papuan and New Guinean nation. For me, these are very great privileges. As the Dean of the Faculty of Geography in the State University of Moscow put it in a letter to me, "to have had a part in such things, that is something a man can never forget". That must be the excuse for the personal flavour of this address.

I think then that we can take legitimate pride in what we have done; there is more, much more, to do. Regional history, local history, family history - all are necessary to the understanding of the family of man. As the Chinese proverb puts it, "All men are brothers under the winds of heaven"; we are all the sons and daughters of Adam and Eve. The state of the world to-day, the tragic news of the shooting of Senator Robert Kennedy which we have just received from America, as much as any quarrel in a Melanesian village, bear witness to the fact that the relations of brothers may be fratricidal. This will never be overcome until every people in the world can make, of itself and for itself, a just assessment of its place in the great scheme of human history. That calls for a balance of pride and humility; it is certainly the most difficult, but also the noblest, task of honest history. For our fragment of the family of man, for our sliver of time, I think we have made some contribution to this end, a contribution modest in scale, but honest and honourable.

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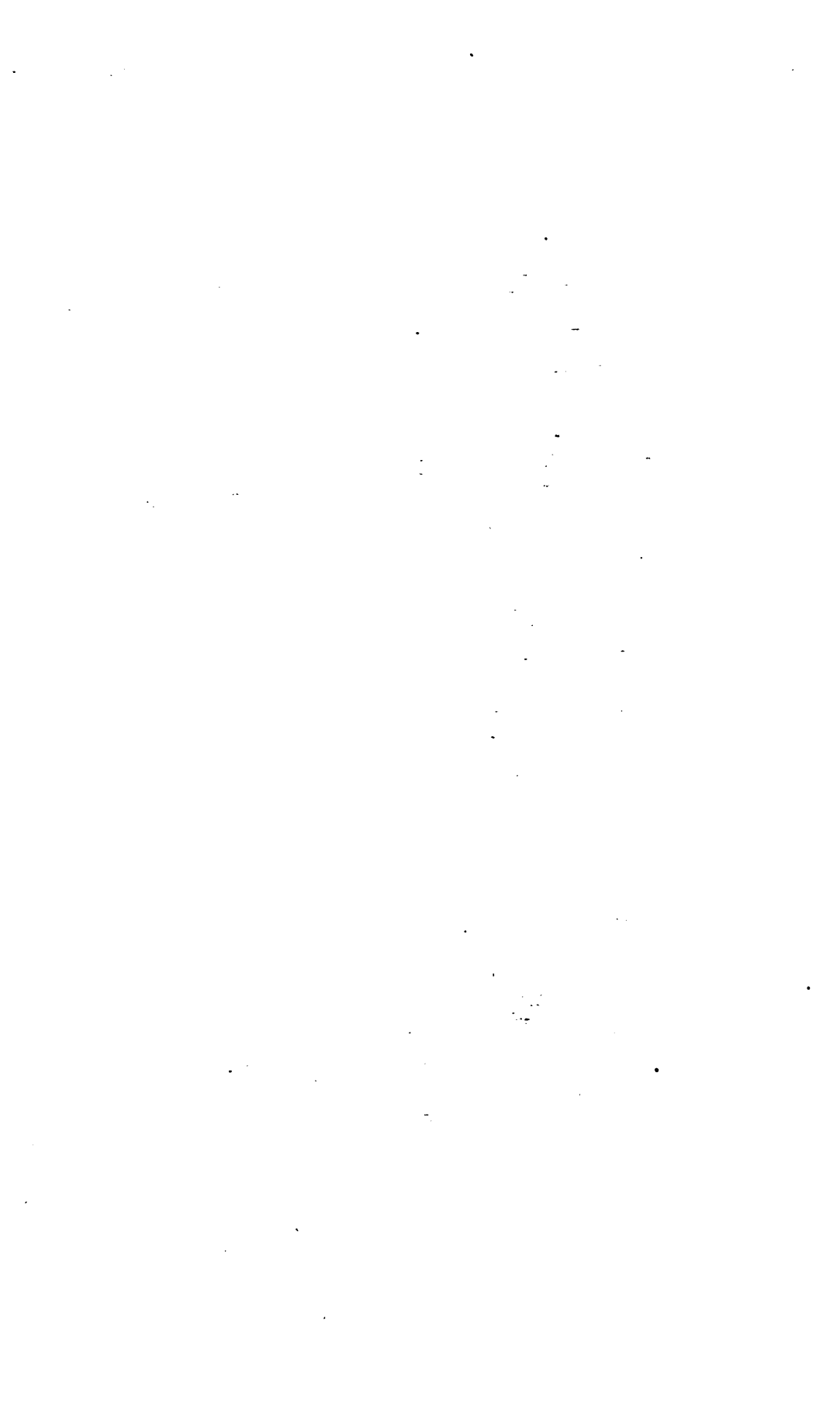
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